







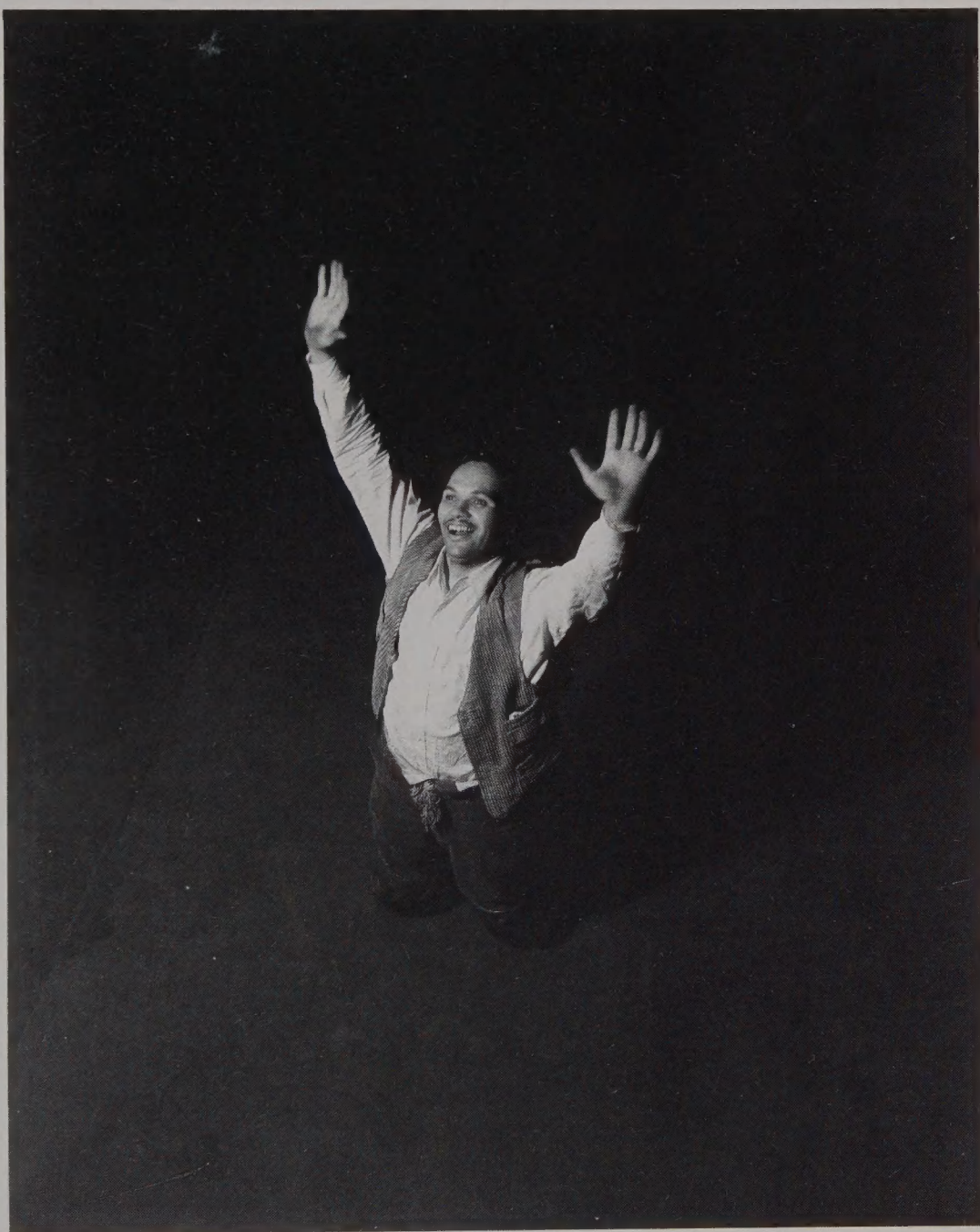






# The Musical Quarterly

Spring/Summer 2011 Volume 94, Number 1-2 [www.mq.oxfordjournals.org](http://www.mq.oxfordjournals.org)



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# The Musical Quarterly

Spring/Summer 2011 Volume 94, Number 1–2

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# Witnessing Music: The Consequences of History and Criticism

Leon Botstein

In the bibliography of his fascinating new book, *Romanticism and Musical Culture in Britain 1770–1840* (Cambridge, 2010), Gillen D'Arcy Wood divides the citations from the secondary literature into two categories: “literary criticism and history” and “musicology.” This is graciously ironic, for in the preface the author confesses that his book seeks to “unite” two fields of study, literature and music, both located in his life’s story.

The book’s remarkable and confident ease with music and music history as objects of study comes as no surprise since the author reveals that his ambition to integrate the study of literature with music began with music. Wood initially embarked on a potential career as a pianist. In the process he encountered the stiff standards and deadly routine that are part of the athletic side of professional instrument playing. He also remembers the attendant rationalizations by those unable or reluctant to do the work, the well-rehearsed invidious distinction between technical prowess and so-called artistry. This tension, cultivated, as the author knows, mostly by those without the requisite athletic skills, has its own distinguished history in the period Wood writes about. Robert Schumann’s failure to develop into a concert pianist is a complex and contested subject, but there is little doubt that his struggle with trying to become a virtuoso colored the logic and rhetoric of his highly influential published criticism. Schumann argued persuasively, in the 1830s, for the need to distinguish between dazzling superficial effect (primarily on the piano and in piano literature) and profound sentiment in musical art. In its highest form, the technically brilliant and the aesthetically sublime could be combined in one artist without contradiction, as in the cases of Czerny and Liszt.

Wood realized that indeed, as Liszt never tired of arguing, there was an inherent dialectical and reflexive connection between inner sentiment and the prowess necessary to realize that sentiment. One had to

have the skill to make the music one wanted to hear actually sound; in turn, the limits of the musical imagination were contingent on what one could make happen with one's instrument. This was the source of Liszt's genius as pianist and composer (and Paganini's as violinist, guitarist, and composer). Ultimately Wood rejected his earlier dismissal of "mere technique" (not that there always have been soulless musicians who can play fast and accurately) and realized that he was not cut out to be a pianist in the first place. He entered the academic study of literature only to be astonished by how competitive and isolating the subculture of graduate study in literature is in comparison to his experiences in the context of a music school dedicated to teaching performers. At least Wood left music as a profession with some illusions still intact.

The division in Wood's bibliography takes nothing away from his impressive text but it reveals how distinct two fields remain that ought to be closer. This is surprising since, of all the disciplines in the humanities, literature in recent years has had the most impact on the writing about music. Lawrence Kramer is a pioneer in this tradition of adopting methods of literary analysis into music, and his work has inspired many contemporaries and students. Nonetheless, the history of literature (and book printing and reading) and the history of music (and musical culture) do not intersect enough as parallel disciplines, particularly in the scholarly habits of reading and in the sources of research.

Ironically, as Benjamin Korstvedt argues in his essay in this issue of *MQ*, newspaper criticism, particularly music criticism, was by the second half of the nineteenth century itself a literary genre. In Vienna, music criticism was read in its *feuilleton* form by a public vastly larger than those with access to concerts or even printed music. This historical asymmetry holds true for all urban centers in Europe and North America before the onset of radio and the mass distribution of recorded sound. More people had access to reading about music—and perhaps actually read about music—than had the opportunity or inclination to listen to anything more than amateur music at home. Music criticism was read in part as literature, as a nearly fictional but engaging witness to a highly prized and loaded public sport. Music journalism occupied a place akin to today's sports writing in newspapers. The populace, well beyond the circle of actual spectators and participants, identified with the activities of public musical life. Music had visible civic rivalries, as well as stars and teams each carrying symbolic meanings going beyond the rules and subtleties of the game. The events took place in landmark public arenas subsidized in part by the state and comparable to today's sports stadiums.



As in sports, what one reads quickly each day about the games and their conduct helped define that day's casual conversation, demonstrated one's sense of currency in a modern world and one's capacity to form opinions and flash a little bit of local knowledge and connoisseurship in polite society. Readers follow sports games they do not see and sports they do not play and never have, in part through journalism. Music criticism (and for that matter theater criticism as well) is tied today, as in the past, to a calendar of civic events, which, as in sports, creates a cultural discourse that runs parallel, temporally, to politics defined by the daily and weekly press and by the weather. Unlike art or architecture criticism or literary criticism, there is not the same sort of stable object to refer to, giving the initial cadre of journalist critics a less immediate and decisive role as authorities but rather more exclusivity since the objects of discussion were relatively inaccessible.

Therefore, as Korstvedt cautions, music criticism cannot be read too simply or reductively either with respect to the direct object of the critic—a performance or a work—or with respect to its presumed broader ideological meaning. So much of the local implied but not asserted in the discourse derives from the context, not the event, and vanishes from the sight of the historian—the character of the author, the personal interrelationships, rivalries, petty intrigues, ephemeral events, and ambitions. This renders the written accounts of musical events, although superficially comprehensible if not revelatory to the historian, often devoid and stripped of their primary meaning for the intended readership. These documents are less about music than they seem. A type of reading may be required akin to Leo Strauss's conjectures regarding the interpretation of writing under the politics of persecution and censorship. That which was designed to have an impact immediately within some circumscribed social and cultural dynamic, measurable in weeks and months, not generations, is buried in the prose beneath the surface that we quote for posterity. The trick is to find the hidden codes and keys to meanings that, in the end, are not about music at all.

For Korstvedt, the not-so-hidden dynamic in Vienna circa 1900 was cultural strife internal to the German-speaking middle-class readership. The issues of social and cultural concern did not emerge from or line up logically with the music we hear. Rather, critics characterized music and the social location of any given composer's work by utilizing recognizable rhetorical devices that exploited or calmed anxieties within their readership on issues beyond music. Critics did so in ways that do not correspond to any reductive or predictable distinction between "liberal" and "conservative," "traditional" and "revolutionary," or even

“Brahmsian” or “Brucknerian.” Aesthetic differences and arguments about form may not emanate from the presumed musical subject.

In writing on music, critics could use a highly prized subject uniquely suited to a wide-ranging cultural discourse itself seemingly arbitrarily linked to music, the overt subject. After all, in music criticism, the verifiability on any reader’s part of critical claims was limited, particularly when the writing was about a performance not heard by most readers or a new work of music not yet published. The spectators who shared the event in time with the critic were limited in number, leaving the interest of the overwhelming majority of readers of criticism to how music, performers, concerts, and opera productions could be integrated, through judgments, descriptions, and opinions, into conversations about politics, society, religion, literature, science, the economy, and journalism itself. The music critic was, in this regard, much like a reporter sending dispatches from an exotic and distant place abroad. The written account from afar helped define the issues and terms of understanding nearby on local matters as well as on the musical subject itself.

The many problems associated with the use of daily criticism as the primary basis of writing music history have been discussed in previous MQ editorials, and therefore so too the elusive and complex challenges associated with generating a plausible reception history based on criticism. The use of literature, as Wood has done, is a time-honored way to link music to larger historical issues in search of new insights and revisions. Other promising links can be built using art and architecture. Connecting the history of the visual to the history of music is hugely rewarding and can bypass the limits of criticism as historical evidence.

Unfortunately the undifferentiated and unmediated direct leap from music criticism to music history remains tempting. In a recent book, *Seeing Mahler: Music and the Language of Antisemitism in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Ashgate, 2010), K. M. Knittel misconstrues an argument I made in 2001 writing for MQ 85 (2). Knittel asserts that I assume “not only that the listening experience is objective and recoverable and that it can be captured in words, but also that it should somehow reflect our own modern evaluation and understanding of the work” (p. 3). Nothing I wrote nearly ten years ago meets this description or suggests the argument she ascribes to me. In fact, most of that MQ editorial titled “Analysis and Criticism” was about the hard-to-pin-down nature of our common subject—music—as an object of historical research and analysis. I did admit that it would have been interesting to have recordings of the particular seminal performances from the past that we read and write about, a prospect we increasingly will be able to realize in the future. But that was a historian’s dream: to be able to

compare one's own reaction to the critical reactions from the past against a sonic document of the event. And certainly trying to reconstruct as best as possible the impact of music on audiences in the past is a worthwhile critical discipline.

Knittel's need to invert my 2001 MQ text and its underlying argument derives from her own methodological preferences. Her book and its argument are overwhelmingly reliant on published music criticism in Vienna interpreted without sufficient contextual, biographical, and historical analysis and information. Knittel asserts the overwhelming predominance of anti-Semitism in the Viennese critical reception of Mahler and therefore in the rhetorical strategy by which we construe, criticize, and defend Mahler even today. Her argument, given its own self-evident weight, demands to be turned around. First, Mahler, despite a perfectly predictable anti-Semitic current in Viennese journalism, was for the most part wildly successful and lionized as a conductor (and as a composer, for that matter, although less prominently) in Vienna between 1897 and 1907. Second, precisely because of the ubiquity of anti-Semitism, the startling variations in anti-Semitism, and the diversity within Viennese Jewish life, the attempt to simplify the reception of Mahler and his music in the city under the rubric of anti-Semitism is doomed to be either misleading or inadequate.

Everything in Vienna circa 1900 in cultural criticism and politics might be reduced to anti-Semitism, just as everything in U.S. history and culture can be reduced to racism. The issue of color pervades all of American history. If anti-Semitism is an axiom in discussions of fin-de-siècle Vienna, then what needs to be done is to accept that as a premise and go beyond it. Is Mahler's reception compared by Knittel with the young Erich Wolfgang Korngold's career in Vienna, even though his father, the critic Julius, is discussed? Is Mahler's reception compared with Karl Goldmark, Anton Rubinstein, or Ignaz Brüll, all prominent Jewish composers in the musical life of the city after 1848? Or is Mendelssohn's place in Viennese musical culture at the fin de siècle looked at? Is Mahler the performer compared with the many other Jewish soloists and even conductors who performed regularly in Vienna? Is there any attempt to read Robert Hirschfeld's extensive written work beyond his daily music criticism closely so as to gain a more subtle appreciation of this rabbi's son from Moravia's ambitions and prejudices, most of which cannot be limited to music or be reduced to a species of Jewish self-hate (if that is at all a useful historical category) or to the unwitting assimilation of anti-Semitic rhetoric? And, coincidentally, there were many contrasting types of Jews in Vienna in 1900, making even the ideology of anti-Semitism a historically contingent



phenomenon. And no mention is made by Knittel of Heinrich Schenker, an observant member of the Jewish Kultusgemeinde who was an important, influential, and staunch critic of Mahler.

Instead of dealing with these key contextual issues, Knittel relies on extensive and generous use of quotations from a select group of critics. Her effort to deconstruct cartoon caricature and journalistic prose using sophisticated analytic language and her foregrounding of Richard Strauss as a persuasive control subject end up distorting the past, even for those who are rightly skeptical that the past is not and cannot be an “objective” object of inquiry. To suggest that even today we approach Mahler in some Bakhtin-like manner with the residues of what she characterizes as the contemporary anti-Semitic rhetoric of Viennese criticism of Mahler might be correct only if the object of inquiry is a cliché, a textbook-style generalization about Mahler and Vienna that may still reverberate somewhere despite the enormous shift in Mahler’s reception since 1945. The entire legacy of Viennese music criticism, with all its subtleties (of the kind referred to by Korstvedt in this issue of *MQ*), is reduced in meaning.

We need to operate with some criteria of adequacy to the past in our claims. Otherwise we obliterate the distinction between fact and fiction, and therefore between truth and lies, when characterizing the past and writing history. The opposition to Mahler (which was hardly pervasive) came from objections by listeners—many of whom were neither anti-Semites nor ignoramuses—to his performance decisions and to his music. In the end he enjoyed more support than criticism, his status as a Jew notwithstanding. Yet for reasons based in commitments to perceived traditions and normative aesthetics, many musicians and connoisseurs disliked and dismissed his music. When Mahler was alive, music really mattered to the educated elites and, to his credit, Mahler, like Bruckner, strove to do something new that he knew would inevitably spark controversy, envy, and ridicule as well as praise and admiration. Finally, the image of the Jew Mahler projected by some critics applied only to a particular subset of Jews in Vienna. Issues of class, language, and place of origin all came into play, differentiating stereotypes and hostilities, complicating the utility or sufficiency of a broad brush approach based in a construct of linguistic or visually stereotyped anti-Semitism.

Knittel’s monograph reminds one of the residual wisdom of Hans Keller, whose sharp-tongued wisdom bears remembering. I try to slip in Keller, himself a Viennese, whenever I can. In the volume *Criticism* (Faber, 1987), Keller writes about the “phoney” musical professions. There are five: violist, opera producer, conductor, music critic, and

musicologist. His acerbic but insightful account of the logic and motivations in these five activities is actually about how not to do them and about the difficulties we encounter when trying to avoid their inherent pitfalls. In the end, the subject of critics and historians ought to be music and if one keeps some sort of sounding presence in mind—unstable and ephemeral as that loosely defined object of study, music, may be—those of us who write about music may be less likely to go wrong, particularly if the subject transcends music and reaches into cultural history. At the same time, one of the purposes of history writing and writing musical analysis—even criticism—is to sustain fascination in and curiosity for music that can be recalled and made to sound in performance and even (albeit less satisfactorily) through recording.

It is therefore ironic that although more and more academic scholarship in music history is being produced, the range of the active repertoire from the past continues to shrink. At the 2010 AMS meeting in Indianapolis, there was a paper on Ernest Chausson's revisions to the duets in his opera *Le roi Arthus*. Yet there has yet to be a stage production of that work in North America, more than a century after its premiere. It remains a rarity, at best. How much of Alfredo Casella's music is being played, or music by Dallapiccola, Kagel, Eisler, Nancarrow, Goldmark, Chavez, Crawford, and Raff—all subjects of scholarly papers at the 2010 AMS gathering? As scholars and writers, we need to be in the vanguard of connecting what we do to what should be heard and could be listened to, rescuing from oblivion as more than objects of arcane knowledge and curiosity the overwhelming bulk of fine music written before our time. We need to make scholarship reach the wider audience that still listens to music by helping to expand the active repertoire.

To close on a positive example: one of the finest works of music history or musicology I have read recently is Tömi Mäkelä's monograph on Sibelius, *Poesie in der Luft* (Breitkopf und Härtel). It is apparently due to come out in English in the near future. That will be a welcome event. The sophistication of Mäkelä's readings of the Sibelius repertoire, his extensive archival research, the wide and unusual and well-informed forays into politics, literature, painting, and philosophy are persuasive and subtle. Sibelius is taken out of a reductive "Finnish" context and recast as part of a larger European and North American cultural and historical moment with persuasive detail and refinement. Reading Mäkelä provides one with a new perspective from which to approach the music, the man, and the career and reconsider the critical interpretive legacy regarding Sibelius in Finland, Europe, and North America.

One feature of Mäkelä's book highlights the rare complexity and subtlety of the author's scholarship and reasoning. The publisher,

thankfully, produced the book using footnotes, not endnotes, which are hard to use. The point of footnotes and endnotes is to permit the writer and scholar to amplify an argument without breaking its basic flow and line. Often tangents of real value are included in notes. They flesh out a claim and give it depth and help justify judgments and interpretations with often riveting detail. One of the great practitioners and exponents of footnote writing was Max Weber. Weber was not alone in producing seminal scholarship where the footnotes were crucial to the power of the larger argument and often more interesting and provocative to read than the main text with its overarching narrative. Mäkelä's book is in this time-honored old-fashioned tradition. His footnotes offer more than half the joy and reward of reading his work. May all scholarly books and journals be inspired to follow this example.



# George Gershwin and Edward Kilenyi, Sr.: A Reevaluation of Gershwin's Early Musical Education

Susan Neimoyer

In his 1931 biography of George Gershwin, music critic Isaac Goldberg portrays the composer as something of a miracle: a nearly self-taught musical naïf who, at the time he wrote the *Rhapsody in Blue*, “knew no more about music theory than could be found in a ten-cent manual.”<sup>1</sup> Although the music itself suggests this cannot possibly have been true, comparatively little has been written on the topic of Gershwin's early musical education, despite the centrality to Gershwin scholarship of the question, What did Gershwin know, and when did he know it? The assumption of Gershwin's relative musical ignorance affected much of the critical literature about his concert music from the mid-1930s to the late 1990s.<sup>2</sup> While Gershwin biographers during those years almost uniformly credited the influence of Charles Hambitzer (1881–1918)—with whom Gershwin studied piano during his teen years—as well as his later, more advanced studies in orchestration and counterpoint with Joseph Schillinger (1895–1943), few acknowledged Gershwin's private lessons in harmony and orchestration with the Hungarian émigré Edward Kilenyi, Sr. (1884–1968). With the exception of the biographies published by Edward Jablonski in 1987 and Howard Pollack in 2006, Gershwin's studies with Kilenyi are given only passing reference, if they are mentioned at all.

It is striking that so little is known of the part of Gershwin's musical education that may have contributed significantly to his early success as a composer, particularly when information documenting those years has been available to the public since the 1960s, when the Library of Congress (LC) acquired materials related to this period from Kilenyi and from the Gershwin family. Using the information found in these materials as a starting point, this article will provide a more detailed reconstruction of the content of Gershwin's lessons with Kilenyi. Much

can be inferred from these documents concerning what Gershwin had learned about writing music when he began work on the *Rhapsody in Blue* and later composed its “companion work,” the Concerto in F. As Kilenyi asserted in an unpublished memoir, “George could not have possibly erased from his memory what he learned in his lessons with me and in his perusals of [the] textbook [used in his lessons]. He could not likely forget what he learned, loved, admired, enjoyed happily and applied in his best Gershwinesque manner.”<sup>3</sup>

### **The Perception of Gershwin’s Musical Ignorance**

Gershwin himself appears to have contributed to and even promoted the image of the unschooled naïf portrayed by Goldberg. Not only was the Goldberg biography written with Gershwin’s full cooperation and approval, but other contemporary accounts suggest that Goldberg may have been quoting Gershwin accurately. For example, in an article published in the *Musical Quarterly* in 1947, Gershwin’s friend and colleague Vernon Duke wryly depicts Gershwin’s comportment as a unique combination of self-effacement and outright hubris when talking about his work—characteristics Duke describes as “pure Gershwin.”<sup>4</sup> These traits are evident in Duke’s memoir when he relates his first encounter with Gershwin, after having earlier, at a refugee center in Turkey, become familiar with some of Gershwin’s popular songs in sheet music form:

Gershwin impressed me as a superbly equipped and highly-skilled *composer*—not just a concocter of commercial jingles. His extraordinary left hand performed miracles in counter-rhythms, shrewd canonic devices, and unexpected harmonic shifts. The facility for abrupt yet felicitous modulations, the economy and logic of the voice-leading, and the over-all sureness of touch were masterly in their inevitability. “Where did you study?” I asked, floored by this astonishing performance. George laughed, a cigar stuck between his white teeth. “Oh, I didn’t study much—some piano and harmony with a man called Charlie Hambitzer, some lessons from Rubin Goldmark—but on the whole I guess I’m just a natural-born composer.”<sup>5</sup>

There may be a simple explanation for Gershwin’s minimizing of the extent of his studies to Duke, a product of the rigorous Russian conservatory system. Duke’s extensive musical education would always seem superior in comparison. Yet a definitive explanation of why Gershwin chose to be so tight-lipped about his musical background is unknown, given that other friends and associates attested to his great love for learning. For example, Tin Pan Alley lyricist E. Y. “Yip” Harburg, a

childhood friend of Ira Gershwin, described George's interest in knowledge in a 1978 interview with Gershwin biographer Deena Rosenberg: "Oh my God, did he have a drive. . . . It was like an explosion. It was so inevitable you couldn't hold it back."<sup>6</sup> Gershwin's close friend and fellow composer Kay Swift stated, "I don't think that he was out of focus at any time. I think he could bring a whole big sweep into whatever was going on. Sometimes it was listening to music, and he was wonderful at that—terrific. It was an exciting thing to see anything new with him that he loved."<sup>7</sup>

Duke's memoir concurs with these descriptions; in a discussion of the composer's later studies with Joseph Schillinger, Gershwin is likened to "a child with a new toy—he took an amazing delight in the simplest discoveries . . . [Gershwin had] finally . . . found a toy that was real fun and would also yield great dividends." Recalling the day Gershwin played the "crap game" fugue from *Porgy and Bess* for him, Duke writes that Gershwin beamed with satisfaction as he said, "Get this—Gershwin writing fugues! What will the boys say now?"<sup>8</sup> Duke then defines "the boys" as two separate groups of people:

The first group consisted of the "lowbrows" of the Broadway stage and song publishers' retinues. The second group—almost entirely hostile—was composed of musicians and writers of modern music who were patronizing at best and openly scornful as a rule. Both groups, with some dissenters, had one idea in common. They felt that George should stay on Broadway, and regarded his Carnegie Hall escapades with suspicion or somewhat prejudiced curiosity.<sup>9</sup>

Duke's description of Gershwin's modernist contemporaries is revealing, for it places this group's criticism of Gershwin's music into clearer relief. It would appear that Gershwin's portrayal of himself as a naïf, possibly devised as a marketing ploy, backfired, ultimately hindering the success of his more serious works such as *Porgy and Bess*. As the following excerpt from Virgil Thomson's vitriolic review of *Porgy* illustrates, what was at issue for Thomson and the others for whom he claimed to be speaking was not Gershwin's talent but his perceived ignorance and lack of compositional skill:

I used to think that perhaps it was all voluntary. That he was cultivating a certain amateurishness . . . or else that the air of timid and respectable charm which those pieces played up was simply a blind to cover a period of apprenticeship . . . [However,] it is no longer possible to take very seriously any alibi for his earlier works. . . . One can see through *Porgy* that Gershwin has not and never did have any power of sustained musical



development. His melodic invention is abundant and indefatigable, his melodic quality astonishingly fine, although inextricably tied up to an over-sophisticated background. That background is commonly known as Tin Pan Alley. By over-sophisticated I mean that the harmonic and orchestral ingenuity of Tin Pan Alley, its knowledge of the arts of presentation, is developed out of all proportion to what is justified by the expressive possibilities of its musical material. . . . I do not wish to indicate that it is in any way reprehensible of him not to be a serious composer. I only want to define something that we have all been wondering about for some years. It was always certain that he was a gifted composer. . . . I think, however, that it is clear by now that Gershwin hasn't learned his business. At least he hasn't learned the business of being a serious composer, which one has always gathered to be the business he wanted to learn.<sup>10</sup>

This perception is also reflected in Leonard Bernstein's oft-quoted 1955 article, "Why Don't You Go Upstairs and Write a Nice Gershwin Tune?"<sup>11</sup> Bernstein argues that despite Gershwin's obvious gift for melody and despite his hard work, he never quite achieved the ability to create "real" compositions of any "serious" weight. To Bernstein, the *Rhapsody in Blue* is not a "real composition in the sense that whatever happens in it must seem inevitable, or even pretty inevitable," but is instead a "string of paragraphs stuck together with flour and paste."<sup>12</sup> Charles Schwartz's now largely discredited Gershwin biography (1973) expands these negative assessments into a portrayal of Gershwin as a lazy dilettante, a careless hack, even a plagiarizer dependent on ghost-writers to put his musical ideas into more cohesive forms for which he then shamelessly took sole credit.<sup>13</sup>

Carol Oja demonstrated in 1994 that part of this anti-Gershwin sentiment was a result of "the exaggerated high[brow]–low[brow] division so basic to his historiographic profile . . . constructed in part within the modernist community."<sup>14</sup> In addition, Richard Crawford has shown that Gershwin's music was "suspect" among American modernists, who were uncomfortable with Gershwin's all-too-literal use of the raw materials of popular music and "jazz" in the amorphous sense in which the word was understood in the 1920s.<sup>15</sup> As Vivian Perlis observes, "'Negroes' played jazz in nightclubs, but most of them could not read music, therefore jazz was only art when incorporated into rhapsodies, symphonies and ballets by white composers."<sup>16</sup> Aaron Copland's critical writings from the 1920s further attest to this point of view, implying that if such material was used as the basis or inspiration for a piece of "serious" music, it should be significantly altered by the composer:

Possibly the chief influence of jazz will be shown in the development of polyrhythm. This startling new synthesis has provided the American composer with an instrument he should appreciate and utilize. It should stir his imagination; he should see it freed of its present connotations. It may be the substance not only of his fox trots and Charlestons but of his lullabies and nocturnes.<sup>17</sup>

While Gershwin clearly met the modernist expectation to expand so-called folk elements into larger works, he applied them—blues elements in particular—more literally in his concert music than in his popular music. This inadvertently ensured that his concert music's stylistic affinity to then-current popular music would lie outside what other American modernists found acceptable. Thomson's review of *Porgy and Bess* makes his discomfort clear in blatant, racially charged terms:

That material [from Tin Pan Alley] is straight from the melting-pot. At best it is a piquant but highly unsavory stirring-up-together of Israel, Africa and the Gaelic Isles . . . and his lack of understanding of all the major problems of form, of continuity and of serious or direct musical expression is not surprising in view of the impurity of his musical sources and his frank acceptance of the same.<sup>18</sup>

Writing in praise of Roy Harris, who called Gershwin's music "half-baked,"<sup>19</sup> Copland stated in 1947 that Harris's music was both more "American" and more praiseworthy than that of other American modernists because of the ways in which he altered the materials from which he drew.<sup>20</sup> Composers in Copland's circle were more comfortable drawing inspiration from an American popular culture that was both less contemporary and more "white." Copland's later choice to quote directly from the folk and sacred music of the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) tradition in his ballets seems not to have caused the same concerns among his colleagues that Gershwin's music excited.

Copland's personal experience had taught him that the skills necessary to effectively modify folk materials and other such elements could best be gained through serious study in Europe. There is no evidence that his comments were directed at Gershwin, but Copland observed in 1925 that music education in America was far inferior to that available in Europe, where students were expected, among other things, to "[read] in half a dozen clefs with equal ease," as well as master "the art of transposition, taking down musical dictation at a vertiginous speed, filling out harmony at the piano from a figured bass, writing a *fugue d'école*, reading extremely difficult music at sight, etc., etc."<sup>21</sup> It would be reasonable for somebody with Copland's background to assume that



Gershwin, who lacked such European training, had neither developed these skills nor known that they were necessary or desirable to obtain.

Given these criticisms, Gershwin's reticence or even selectivity in acknowledging his teachers, particularly Kilenyi, is a curiosity. David Ewen suggested one possible explanation, asserting in his article "The Stature of George Gershwin" that Gershwin felt inferior to those who had the advantage of a European education and was keenly aware of what he did not know:

The truth is that Gershwin tended to underestimate himself greatly. He had the reverence of the unschooled for schoolbook learning, and exaggerated its importance. Once, while confiding to Jerome Kern that he was writing an opera, he added, "I have a little bit of talent, and a great deal of nerve." He knew that his musical education had been spotty, and that there were some techniques he had never really mastered.<sup>22</sup>

Whether it was a feeling of inferiority or if Gershwin had other reasons for underplaying his musical background will probably never be known. However, as a result, inaccurate stories concerning Gershwin's education began to circulate after his death. Typically, these stories were generated by individuals who claimed to have taught him but whose only association with Gershwin in reality had been that he played them excerpts of his works in progress to solicit their reactions.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, the absurdity of the growing mythology surrounding Gershwin's studies both alarmed and frustrated Kilenyi; in reference to an interview he gave David Ewen, Kilenyi recounts the following:

David Ewen wrote me and asked for an interview about my experiences with George as my pupil, because Ewen was writing a book on George's life and music. . . . When, during the lengthy interview, I asked him why did he not credit me properly in some of his earlier writings about Gershwin, his explanation was that almost everybody else failed to credit me, so he, too, has accepted or had to accept the prevailing legends for actual facts.<sup>24</sup>

According to Kilenyi, this interview came about after Ewen read his short account of Gershwin's studies with him entitled "George Gershwin. . . As I Knew Him," published in 1950 in the widely read magazine *The Etude*.<sup>25</sup> The continuing propagation of erroneous stories concerning Gershwin's musical background further prompted Kilenyi to write in 1962–63 his lengthier, unpublished "Gershwiniana: Recollections and Reminiscences of Times Spent with My Student George Gershwin" as a corrective. In lieu of publication, Kilenyi

donated copies of the manuscript to several libraries, including the LC. His rationale for this is stated in a handwritten note on the title page: "The deposit of a copy in a library open to the public might be considered publication."<sup>26</sup> His reasoning is further clarified by a quote he included from a letter by the Renaissance sculptor and goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini to the art historian Benedetto Varchi:

[This] simple narrative . . . in its present rude condition is better than if it were filed and retouched by the hand of others in which case the exact accuracy with which I have set all things down might not be so apparent as it is. In truth, I have been careful to relate nothing whereof I had a doubtful memory, and have confined myself to the strictest truth.<sup>27</sup>

Kilenyi seems to have preferred the liberty to tell his story in an unvarnished manner, free from the intervention of editors or critics who might have imposed omissions or changes to his narrative. The *Etude* article and "Gershwiniana" are invaluable sources for this underdocumented period of Gershwin's musical past. They provide information and clues as to what was covered in Gershwin's lessons with Kilenyi and they suggest that Ira Gershwin's observation, made in a letter accompanying archival material acquired by the LC, is correct: that Gershwin's musical knowledge was greater than Gershwin himself acknowledged.<sup>28</sup>

### Who Was Edward Kilenyi?

A Hungarian-born violinist and composer, Edward Kilenyi, Sr. appears to have been a fairly well-known composition teacher in New York, particularly in the theater music community, at the time Gershwin studied with him.<sup>29</sup> However, whatever renown he enjoyed in New York faded when he moved to southern California in the early 1930s to pursue work as a film composer, music director, and conductor.

None of the films he worked on were especially remarkable, which may be the reason why Kilenyi has become an enigmatic figure for whom even the most basic biographical information is difficult to verify. According to the few sources available, he received his early musical education in Hungary. He then went on to study for a short time with Pietro Mascagni at the Scuola Nazionale Musicale in Rome and for five years at the Cologne Conservatory (1902–7).<sup>30</sup> Kilenyi emigrated to the United States in 1907 and settled in New York, where he studied composition with the composer/critic Daniel Gregory Mason.<sup>31</sup>

Kilenyi produced two scholarly publications during the 1910s—a two-installment review of Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* that appeared in

the *New Music and Church Music Review* in 1915 and an article published in the 1919 volume of the *Musical Quarterly* linking contemporary Hungarian music to the practices of Bach and earlier composers.<sup>32</sup> The *Musical Quarterly* article emphasizes the “neoclassic” aspects of Hungarian art music (1890s–1910s), while downplaying its more obvious connections to folk music—a stance that places Kilenyi in the modernist camp, albeit on the more conservative side.

Kilenyi found the majority of his early employment both in orchestral playing or conducting and in composing or arranging music for the theater. During the 1910s, he wrote incidental music for at least one stage production and sketched out music for an opera entitled *The Cry of the Wolf* (1916).<sup>33</sup> Another of Kilenyi’s publications, *Folk Songs from Mexico and South America* (1914), was a collaborative effort for which he arranged piano accompaniments for Latin American folk tunes presumably collected by the volume’s editor, Eleanor Hague.<sup>34</sup> Demand for his arrangements increased when he began compiling, composing, and conducting music for silent films in 1919. By the mid-1920s he was employed full time as a music arranger and director at a movie theater on Broadway.<sup>35</sup> This new occupation put such constraints on his time that he eventually had to turn away a number of private students referred to him. Other than the films he either scored or for which he compiled music, little is presently known of his compositions after the 1910s.<sup>36</sup>

The manuscript of *The Cry of the Wolf*, held by the LC, probably does not reveal the true nature of Kilenyi’s compositional abilities. It is a bare-bones sketch, including only text, melodic lines, and harmony in block chords at key structural points. However, the sketch is illuminating in one significant sense: it is relatively similar to some of Gershwin’s tune-book sketches, which were primarily intended for eventual use in theatrical productions. Had Kilenyi’s opera ever gone into production, the missing elements in the score would most likely have been filled in, lengthened, and otherwise revised, just as the lead sheets in Gershwin’s tune books were filled in with colorful harmony and well-crafted accompanimental figures when incorporated into one of his Broadway shows.

Gershwin was referred to Kilenyi for theory lessons by his piano teacher, Charles Hambitzer, sometime between 1915 and 1918. Gershwin was between seventeen and twenty years old at the time, Kilenyi in his mid-thirties.<sup>37</sup> Kilenyi and Hambitzer were colleagues; they both played in the string section of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel’s resident orchestra. In “Gershwiniana,” Kilenyi depicts Hambitzer as a highly skilled, versatile musician who played piano, viola, cello, and French horn. Although piano was his primary instrument, Hambitzer



apparently played the other instruments well enough to regale fellow orchestra members with excerpts from concertos. According to Kilenyi, Hambitzer had a broad piano repertoire that included contemporary works such as Schoenberg's *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, op. 19 (1911), which he performed in 1916 or 1917.<sup>38</sup> It is also evident that, in addition to regarding each other with professional respect, he and Hambitzer were fairly close friends. Kilenyi's account of Hambitzer's untimely death in 1918 is poignant, suggesting a camaraderie that went beyond strict professionalism.<sup>39</sup> Hambitzer undoubtedly considered Kilenyi's qualifications ideal for Gershwin's temperament and aspirations.

Kilenyi's teaching method appears to have been quite inclusive. His writing suggests that unlike native-born American musicians, he either saw no inherent "highbrow–lowbrow" divide between classical and popular music or that he chose to disregard it for practical reasons. In his *Etude* article, this pragmatism is voiced quite clearly in the advice he offered Gershwin:

During all these years he often spoke of his desire to quit writing popular music and retire somewhere far away so that he could devote himself to serious music. . . . I did not hesitate to express my practical views about this unselfish dream of his. "In a few years," I told him, "you would be forgotten as a Broadway writer. You would face the same difficulty all young Americans have to face when trying to have their works performed. You would come nearer to your goal if you were to continue your studies and become even a bigger success than you are today. You should attain such fame that conductors in due time would ask you for serious compositions to be performed by them."<sup>40</sup>

Kilenyi's familiarity with the popular music of the day is apparent in a passage in "Gershwiniana" in which he recalls hearing sketches of Gershwin's first hit song, *Swanee*:

Irving Caesar, the lyricist came to my studio with George. They sang and played [*Swanee*] for me and asked for my impression of it. They asked me because they knew of my experience and of my knowing a good pop tune, through having played or conducted about all hit songs [*sic*] for thirteen years or so by that time. I was very enthusiastic about their incomplete tune and I said so.<sup>41</sup>

Kilenyi's involvement with theatrical and film music undoubtedly led him to see such work as legitimate. Rather than dismissing Gershwin's pop music and theatrical aspirations as unsophisticated, Kilenyi saw them as the means to create future compositional opportunities. This

point of view is further demonstrated in the *Etude* article, where Kilenyi describes the freedom he allowed Gershwin in managing his own study schedule:

When we were about to begin the study of modulation, George came face to face with a serious problem. He was to write the music to a Broadway show and would have to travel with the show before the New York opening. What should he do? How could he continue his lessons or even find time to practice his exercises?

Of course he couldn't. But still another question worried George. When composing his show music how should he try to apply what he had learned with me?

"Try not to think of anything you learned," I advised. "Write anything which comes to you spontaneously."

When, about five months later, George returned to continue his lessons, he was happy . . . partly because as he enthusiastically stated, he had found that the material he learned in his lessons enabled him to write with less effort.<sup>42</sup>

A more conservative teacher might have told Gershwin that discontinuing his studies at this juncture, just when the subject matter was becoming especially pertinent to his work, was a mistake. Kilenyi, however, knowing that the job market for composers is never lucrative, was simply happy that Gershwin had this opportunity.

### **Gershwin's Lessons and the Archival Sources**

The available records of Gershwin's early musical studies, which include two notebooks of exercises dating from 1919 to 1923, were acquired by the LC during a time when there was little scholarly interest in Gershwin's life and works. The first of these notebooks (Notebook 1) bears dates written in Gershwin's hand ranging from August 1919 to September 1921. It was acquired, along with "Gershwiniana," from Kilenyi in 1963. The second notebook (Notebook 2), also with dates in Gershwin's hand, was acquired by the library from Gershwin's younger brother, Arthur, in 1970, and features exercises written between December 1922 and late January 1923.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, the LC Gershwin Collection possesses several single sheets of exercises similar to those in the notebooks dating from the same period. Notebook 1, which contains a variety of exercises in harmony and orchestration, provides a more comprehensive view of Gershwin's theoretical studies and covers a longer period of time than Notebook 2, which almost completely comprises exercises in simple and chromatic modulation.

A note on the date when Gershwin terminated his study with Kilenyi as implied by the data in Notebook 2: Conventional wisdom has long held that Gershwin ended his studies in 1921, at or around the final date given in Notebook 1, which is 15 September 1921. Consequently, Notebook 2 was assumed to be a partial record of Gershwin's later studies with Rubin Goldmark. However, I have found the handwriting in the annotations in Notebook 2 to be virtually identical to that of the annotations in Notebook 1, the score of *The Cry of the Wolf*, and the handwritten note on the title page of "Gershwiniana"—all three of which are known to be in Kilenyi's hand. The lower case letters *f*, *d*, *p*, *s*, and *t* are identical in all four sources, as are the capital letters *T* and *S*. The tendency to leave the "ly" off the end of adverbs is also consistent with Kilenyi's annotations in Notebook 1, as well as occasionally in "Gershwiniana." The presence of Kilenyi's handwriting in Notebook 2 indicates that Gershwin studied with Kilenyi as late as January 1923, nearly two years longer than has generally been supposed.

Passages in "Gershwiniana" appear to support Goldberg's account that Gershwin took only a few lessons with Rubin Goldmark before quitting because Goldmark did not consider him a "serious" student.<sup>44</sup> In "Gershwiniana," Kilenyi includes his own version of that story, adding a few details not found in other sources on Gershwin:

When [Gershwin] actually apologized to me for his experiences with Goldmark he reminded me—not that I had forgotten it—that it was I who wanted him to study with Ernest Bloch who was out of the country whenever George wanted to meet him. Then he told me how Goldmark had put him into a class attended also by beginners. George emphasized to me that Goldmark had not asked him at all about his former studies, nor had he asked for any samples of his music written previously. Yet he did not protest to Goldmark. After three lessons—no more, no less—he showed Goldmark some of his earlier compositions with the purpose of giving a hint that he was very much ready for very advanced studies in the larger forms. Goldmark, after looking them over, made the by now famous remark: "I am so glad to see my influence in your harmonies here." Yet and again George showed no indignation, no resentment at all. He simply, without any further excuse or explanation, just did not show up anymore.<sup>45</sup>

Howard Pollack, citing anecdotal evidence from Gershwin's closest associates, suggests that Gershwin's studies with Goldmark were of longer duration than recounted by either Goldberg or Kilenyi. Quoting a letter written by Ira Gershwin to a cousin on 23 January 1923 in which Ira states that George was "studying form and composition with Goldmark," Pollack places the beginning of those studies at or around the time represented by



the dates in Notebook 2.<sup>46</sup> Because Kilenyi's handwriting appears in Notebook 2, it is entirely possible that Gershwin studied concurrently with Goldmark and Kilenyi during this period. This would in fact strengthen Pollack's conclusion that "Gershwin showed considerable determination in pursuing the study of music theory and composition while juggling a hectic schedule of writing show music and recording piano rolls."<sup>47</sup>

Kilenyi's advice to Gershwin to study with Ernest Bloch may offer a viable explanation for Gershwin's curious (and sometimes ridiculed) habit of contacting renowned composers or teachers to ask for lessons, the most famous examples being Maurice Ravel, Nadia Boulanger, and even Igor Stravinsky. That Gershwin may have been acting upon the suggestion of his teacher is a vastly different idea from the conclusion drawn by later critics who saw this habit as evidence of Gershwin's laziness or dilettantish presumption.<sup>48</sup> Toward the end of "Gershwiniana," Kilenyi recounts that he not only recommended that Gershwin study with Bloch, but "almost insisted" upon it, adding that Gershwin only went to Goldmark after he could not arrange lessons with Bloch. Kilenyi provides a revealing explanation for his recommendation that Gershwin study with Bloch in particular:

Years later [Gershwin's] association with Henry Cowell proved that my idea of having George study with Bloch was correct. I would not have advised him to study with Cowell or with anyone else who would damagingly and without success treat him as if he had been an average student or little more than a beginner instead of as he was—the famed composer of the *Rhapsody in Blue*. The fact that he did not sympathize with Cowell's method of teaching proves that Cowell's ideas on how and what to teach him were ill chosen. . . . Neither would I have sympathized with his working with Schillinger. Because, as I say again: the only correct and fitting method should have been an individual one created and applied to Gershwin's special need. It should have been inspiring and without shackling him with pedantic disciplinary methods. Besides, when George met Schillinger, he was already at the very peak of his own musical Gershwin-esque individual style.<sup>49</sup>

Kilenyi's two memoirs appear to have been written with great concern for accuracy. When the editor of *The Etude* invited him to contribute an article about his association with Gershwin, he contacted Ira Gershwin and asked permission to borrow what could be found of George's old exercises. Ira complied and gave Notebook 1 to Kilenyi as a gift, rather than just a loan.<sup>50</sup> Kilenyi used Notebook 1 to jar his memory and as a means of ensuring the truthfulness of his narrative, as occasional references to it throughout both memoirs demonstrate.

Kilenyi's meticulousness in recording his experiences with Gershwin greatly enhances our understanding of Notebooks 1 and 2 and of other single-sheet exercise manuscripts from this era. They provide insight into Gershwin's life, along with Kilenyi's assessments of Gershwin's native abilities and what kind of student he was. Significantly, Kilenyi identifies the primary textbook used in Gershwin's lessons as *The Materials Used in Musical Composition* by Percy Goetschius, which sheds light on the content of the manuscripts and aids in deciphering the terminology and nomenclature used in the exercises and Kilenyi's annotations.

The choice of Goetschius's textbook—annotations and exercises in Notebook 1 indicate that Gershwin used the 1913 revised edition—reflects both Kilenyi's European education and his knowledge of the most up-to-date pedagogical methods available in English. Goetschius's book eventually became so widely used among jazz and pop musicians of the early-to-mid twentieth century that it was known among them as the "Bible of Harmony."<sup>51</sup> In selecting this text, Kilenyi chose not only one of the most rigorous and influential music theory textbooks for classical music available in English but also the one deemed most useful by musicians who worked in the popular music field.

Kilenyi mentions two other works used in Gershwin's curriculum: *Harmonic Analysis* by Benjamin Cutter and his own two-part review of Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* of 1915.<sup>52</sup> Cutter's text, which discusses harmonic issues related to form and style and provides guidance for the analysis and construction of specific compositional devices such as nineteenth-century cadenzas, seems almost wholly unrelated to the content of the notebooks. Kilenyi's two-part review of *Harmonielehre* is another matter. These articles are significant for their timing: the treatise's first edition was published in 1911 and in 1915 had not been translated into English. (Kilenyi reveals in his articles and later in "Gershwiniana" that he was working on a translation that was apparently never completed.) These reviews represent some of the earliest favorable, albeit reserved, responses to Schoenberg's theories published in the United States. Kilenyi claims to have used the articles to teach Gershwin Schoenberg's concept of modern harmony and voice leading, emphasizing that the Schoenbergian concepts are evident in every one of Gershwin's concert works.<sup>53</sup>

### **The Notebooks, Loose Exercises, and Kilenyi's Memoirs**

Because Gershwin's two exercise notebooks only provide snapshots of the subject matter covered during his studies with Kilenyi, one is

tempted at first to agree with earlier, more negative assessments that Gershwin's curriculum was limited to the most basic diatonic harmony.<sup>54</sup> However, Notebook 1 shows Gershwin to have been an above-average theory student who only occasionally missed hidden fifths and octaves and only initially had trouble grasping the intricacies of augmented sixth chords. Careful study of the notebooks also discloses a number of factors unacknowledged by earlier examiners. First, these notebooks and spare fragments are not a comprehensive record of Gershwin's lessons with Kilenyi. For example, the first harmony exercise in Notebook 1 (on p. 6) is on seventh chords, based on a previously written line of figured bass, with the page number in Goetschius's text identified in Kilenyi's handwriting: "Given bass, p. 77."<sup>55</sup> Before beginning his studies with Kilenyi, Gershwin had only received instruction in piano and Kilenyi makes it quite clear that "his . . . piano teacher, Charles Hambitzer, did *not* give Gershwin instruction in what is called 'theory.' Our lessons, consequently, started with the scales, intervals, simple chords, etc."<sup>56</sup> This statement implies that exercises prior to those in Notebook 1 were written elsewhere. Further, Goetschius's terminology and nomenclature are intricate and progressive in nature and it would have been an absolute necessity to first cover the book's opening section, "Definitions and Rules," if Gershwin was to understand concepts introduced later in the book.<sup>57</sup> The progression of topics in Part I of Goetschius's textbook is consistent with other pedagogical methods of the day, beginning with the basics of rhythm before turning to pitch, melody, scales, intervals, and simple chords.

Second, the progression of topics illustrated by the exercises in Notebook 1 is disjunct, making the logic a bit difficult to follow and again implying that Gershwin wrote out additional exercises elsewhere. In a filmed interview, Gershwin's friend Mabel Pleshette Schirmer, also a student of Charles Hambitzer, notes that it was Gershwin's tendency to write out theory exercises on "little scraps of paper," which, when he came to visit after his lessons, he would spread out on the floor in order to explain what he had learned. She added that while she could not always grasp what he was talking about, she understood that this was his way of reviewing the material and committing it to memory.<sup>58</sup> Several exercises, written on single sheets of manuscript paper, are available in the LC Gershwin Collection, a few of which include annotations in Kilenyi's handwriting.

As Table 1 demonstrates, both notebooks contain Gershwin's realizations of exercises in Goetschius's text. Although the representation is spotty, they still suggest a steady progression through the book, just as Kilenyi claims. Using his reference to page 77 as a starting point, I have



Table 1. Comparison of Written Exercises to Goetschius's *The Harmonic Materials Used in Musical Composition* (14th ed., 1913).

Date	Page in notebook	Page in textbook	Exercise number(s)	Type of exercise	Concept introduced in exercise
<i>Kilenyi Notebook 1 (1919–21)</i>					
	6	77	28 C, ex. B	Figured bass	7th chords
27 Aug. 1919	7	84	30 b, f	Figured bass	7th chords: irregular resolutions
29 Aug. 1919	9	89	32 g	Melodic harmonization	Using dominant 7th chords where indicated
	10	93	33 e	Figured bass	Dominant 9th chords
10 Sep. 1919	10	99	35 c	Figured bass	Dominant 9ths in minor keys
12 Sep. 1919	12	100	36 b	Melodic harmonization	Harmonization using dominant 9th chords
13 Sep. 1919	12	106	37 D, ex. c	Melodic harmonization	Harmonization using II <sup>7</sup> or IV <sup>7</sup> chords where indicated
15 Sep. 1919	16	112	39 a and b	Figured bass	Using III, III <sup>7</sup> , and III <sup>9</sup> chords in minor keys
	18			Original chorale	Augmented triads and sevenths
	19	130	43 a and b	Figured bass	Mixed chords (augmented 6ths) in major keys
	20	131		Reproduction of modulation/circle of 5ths chart on this page	Modulation
After 9 July 1920	21	130	43 f	Figured bass	Mixed chords (augmented 6ths) in minor keys
	23	148	48 a	Figured bass	Modulation in sequences
<i>Kilenyi Notebook 2 (1922–23)</i>					
Exercises are similar to those found on these pages, but are not exact matches					
26 Jan. 1923	15	153	49	Original phrases	Chromatic modulation
	17	141			Modulation to opposite mode (major to minor, or vice-versa)
	19	159–64			Chromatic chord progressions
	20	160			Diminished 7th chords
	21	164	52D	Original phrases	Secondary and diminished 7th chords

identified the exercises in Notebook 1 by their bass or soprano lines, depending on what was given as the basis of the original exercise. I have matched Gershwin's realizations in Notebook 2 with similar exercises in Goetschius's book that instruct the student to construct original phrases on specific modulatory plans.

Notebook 1 also verifies Kilenyi's claim to have included basic orchestration and instrumentation in Gershwin's lessons.<sup>59</sup> Specifically, one finds annotations and exercises related to instrumental ranges, transpositions for clarinets and cornets in A and B-flat, horn in F, clarinet in E-flat, and an introduction to alto and tenor clefs. Orchestration exercises include a short piece for flute and timpani, an exercise for flute and strings entitled "Valse Lento," and a lengthy cadenza for two B-flat clarinets. Steven E. Gilbert makes a perceptive observation about the effect that interspersing orchestration instruction with harmony might have had on Gershwin as a student:

The contents of the Kilenyi notebook give credence to the view that Gershwin knew more about orchestration than some critics believe. . . . [I]t contains notes about instrumental ranges, transpositions, timbres, and what to avoid. . . . Throughout, the reader gets a sense that Gershwin was eager to tie musical ideas to their instrumental settings, so that it would be difficult to imagine his writing an extended work without having an orchestration in mind.<sup>60</sup>

Although Gilbert was apparently unfamiliar with either of Kilenyi's memoirs, "Gershwiniana" confirms this idea. There Kilenyi reasons that because Gershwin was already working in venues that required him to write idiomatically for orchestral instruments, it was imperative that he hear the result of his orchestration exercises and get feedback from the players. The instrumentation of Gershwin's orchestration assignments was dependent upon which instrumentalists were available to read through exercises during lessons.<sup>61</sup>

Notebook 1 and an accompanying loose sheet of exercises in the LC Gershwin Collection thus present an intriguing insight into Gershwin's studies and abilities during the summer of 1921. By this time, Gershwin had already written the music for several Broadway shows, with varied success. Apparently seeing the need to improve his skills in orchestration, he took an elementary summer course at Columbia University, taught by Rossetter G. Cole (1866–1952). Pollack associates the "Figured Choral" on a loose sheet dated 21 July 1921 (an orchestrated version of the German hymn "Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele") with this course, while averring that it could have been written

for either Cole or Kilenyi.<sup>62</sup> This exercise—scored for clarinet, two bassoons, two horns, viola, cello, and bass—illustrates that Gershwin was proficient in standard instrumental transpositions by then and could write in alto clef, which is to be expected given that Notebook 1 shows that Kilenyi had introduced the transpositions for these instruments in late August 1919.<sup>63</sup> Although parts in the “Figured Choral” technically fall within the playable range of each instrument, the clarinet writing is problematic: it is uncharacteristically low, paired with the bassoons in an accompanimental role, rather than the melodic one implied by the overall makeup of the ensemble.

Intriguingly, the aforementioned cadenza for two clarinets in Notebook 1 falls within the same period. Dated 5 September 1921, only six weeks after the “Figured Choral,” the clarinet writing here is more idiomatic, demonstrating an increased understanding of the instrument’s capabilities and limitations.<sup>64</sup> Because the two exercises are too close chronologically to be wholly unrelated, it would seem that Kilenyi, not Cole, assigned the “Figured Choral,” and that the clarinet cadenza in Notebook 1 may be a follow-up assignment. The unusual instrumentation of the “Figured Choral” seems more suited to an advanced orchestration course than one focused on the basics. The absence of violin and the inclusion of horns and bassoons make the ensemble inherently heavy in the middle and lower voices, unless the bassoon or cello parts are paired with the clarinet and scored in their higher ranges. It is, therefore, consistent with Kilenyi’s statement that the instrumentation of Gershwin’s orchestration assignments depended upon musicians’ availability. The clarinet cadenza fits the pattern suggested in both the notebooks and Kilenyi’s memoirs: namely, that Kilenyi tailored Gershwin’s assignments to Goetschius’s text while giving him extra work in his weaker areas. It seems unlikely that Kilenyi would have assigned the clarinet cadenza without being prompted to do so.

According to Kilenyi, the timing and frequency of Gershwin’s lessons, particularly after 1919, depended on his work schedule and availability. For instance, Kilenyi’s memory of Gershwin’s months-long hiatus from his lessons was clearly prompted by the contents of Notebook 1. Kilenyi identifies the show for which Gershwin interrupted lessons for five months as *The George White Scandals of 1920*. However, there is a ten-month gap in the dates in Notebook 1. The final date in 1919, found on pages 15–16, is 15 September—three months before the opening of Morris Gest’s “Midnight Whirl,” for which Gershwin wrote the music.<sup>65</sup> A short free composition scored for flute and strings, titled “Valse Lento,” is clearly an orchestration assignment. However, the exercises on page 16 are realizations of exercises from



Table 2.    Goetschius's Hierarchical Table of Diatonic Chord Function, from Goetschius's *The Harmonic Materials Used in Musical Composition*, p. 113

	Tonic class	Dominant or first class	Second- dominant (subdominant), or second class	Third class	Fourth class
Concords	I VI and inversions	V (III) and inversions	IV II and inversions		
Discords		V <sup>7</sup> <sub>o</sub> V <sup>7</sup> V <sup>9</sup> <sub>o</sub> V <sup>9</sup> and inversions	II <sup>7</sup> (II) <sup>9</sup>  IV <sup>7</sup> and inversions	VI <sup>7</sup> (VI) <sup>9</sup>  I <sup>7</sup>	III <sup>7</sup> (III) <sup>9</sup>  III in minor

page 112 in Goetschius's text, which address the use of mediant triads, including the addition of sevenths and ninths. Three undated pages (pp. 17–19) follow, which include instruction on the use of what Goetschius called Class II, III, and IV discords (see Table 2), augmented triads, augmented sixth chords, and Neapolitan sixth chords.<sup>66</sup> The exercises on page 20, dated 9 July 1920, signal the beginning of Gershwin's study of modulation. Since Kilenyi states that Gershwin took only five months off from his lessons and ended them just as they were to begin the study of simple modulation, the three undated pages in Notebook 1, all of which relate to the introduction of more chromatic chords used in modulation, must have been written between September 1919 and January 1920. The undated pages may also suggest that Gershwin's hiatus was longer than Kilenyi remembered, or that intervening exercises were written elsewhere. This second option may be closer to the truth, as page 17 of Notebook 1 assigns two original phrases and two figured bass phrases from Goetschius's text, neither of which appears in this notebook.

Kilenyi clearly did not have access to Notebook 2 when he was writing his memoirs, yet it verifies his claim to have taught Gershwin the principles of chromatic modulation. The dates of exercises and types of annotations that appear there suggest that Gershwin returned to Kilenyi after another long work-related hiatus, confirming Osborne Osgood's comment that Gershwin studied with Kilenyi "on and off for about two years, more off than on."<sup>67</sup> The first page of Notebook 2 is a good example of this observation. Dated December 1922, it features

annotations that appear to be a quick review of the basic concepts of how pivot chords work in the process of both simple and chromatic modulation:

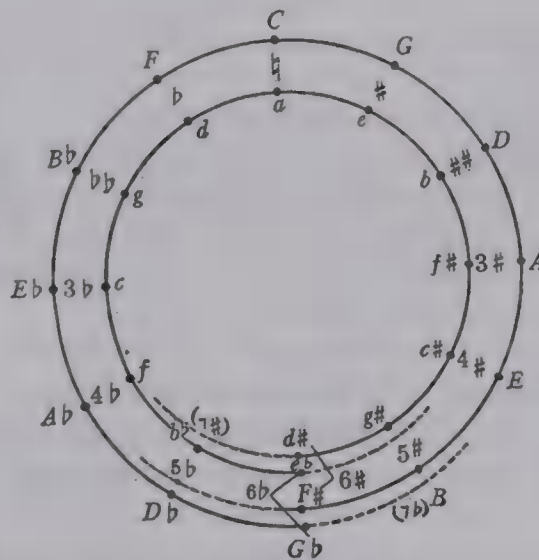
Every major triad is I, IV, V, V/V, VI of some scale.

Every minor triad is I, II, IV, VI of some scale.

C = CI, GIV, FV, fV, eVI

a = aI, GII, FIII, eIV, CVI.<sup>68</sup>

The bottom two lines are cryptic at first glance, but they illustrate a simple way to think quickly about key relationships—something that would have been essential for Gershwin's improvisations as well as for composition and arranging. The annotation is also a summary of the information presented in Goetschius's text on page 132. And on page 4 of Notebook 2 Kilenyi reproduces the circle of fifths illustration found on page 131 of Goetschius's text (see Ex. 1), suggesting that the first couple of lessons in December 1922 were indeed a review—a necessity before proceeding to the intricacies of chromatic modulation. A review would also have been essential given the way the topic is presented in Goetschius's text. Goetschius eases the student into chromatic modulation by way of altered chords before addressing more complex processes such as secondary dominants, tonicized pivot keys, sequential phrases, and other chromatic techniques. Each of these concepts is represented in Notebook 2.



Example 1. Circle of fifths chart. From Goetschius's *The Harmonic Materials Used in Musical Composition* (14th ed.), p. 131.

## Kilenyi as Teacher, Gershwin as Student

Kilenyi's approach to teaching theory appears to have been more descriptive than prescriptive, holding that music theory acts as an underlying core knowledge that informs a composer's work but dictates neither taste nor any particular compositional style: "George understood that he was not to learn 'rules' according to which he himself would have to write music, but would instead be shown what great composers had written, what devices, styles, traditions—later wrongly called rules—they used."<sup>69</sup>

This pedagogical philosophy is consistent with Schoenberg's views, as stated in the introduction to *Harmonielehre*:

If art theory could be . . . satisfied with the rewards afforded by honest searching, then one could not object to it. But it is more ambitious. It is not content to be merely the attempt to find laws; it professes to have found *the eternal laws*. It observes a number of phenomena, classifies them according to some common characteristics, and then derives laws from them. . . . But now begins the error. For it is falsely concluded that these laws, since apparently correct with regard to the phenomena previously observed, must then surely hold for all future phenomena as well. And, what is most disastrous of all, it is then the belief that a *yardstick* has been found by which to measure artistic worth, even that of future works.<sup>70</sup>

Kilenyi's training, experience, and attitude toward the American high-brow–lowbrow divide seems to have profoundly influenced his pedagogical method. Although his stated objective was to prepare Gershwin to study with a more advanced teacher, Kilenyi also intended to help his more sophisticated students to find their own voice:

A good teacher of musical composition when making his talented students acquainted with the classics warns them not to imitate the individual characteristics found in them. Though students could apply and employ certain principles found . . . from Bach to Schönberg, the applications must not be imitative. The applications must be done in the individual ways of the young composers.<sup>71</sup>

Kilenyi affirms in both memoirs that Gershwin's genius was evident from the first, and in "Gershwiniana" he even compares Gershwin's native abilities to those of a Schubert or a Raphael. He then states:

After explaining and illustrating to him harmonic examples and quotations from great masterworks he not only understood them but retained them musically and intellectually and then he could—as he



did—employ them later brilliantly in his own works in his own individual ways. He was the kind of student who did not have to work and labor mechanically, nor did he have to write pages and pages for his lessons to show that he assimilated the material of his lessons.<sup>72</sup>

Yet while Kilenyi's memoirs display the positive bias one might expect from a proud teacher, he also points out Gershwin's weaknesses and faults. He achieves surprising objectivity, particularly in the *Etude* article, where his tone is quite professional, appropriate for the teachers and music enthusiasts who comprised the magazine's readership. We learn that the breadth of Gershwin's inherent gift required Kilenyi to be strict about keeping him within the bounds of common practice once he began writing exercises in four-part harmony. The young man's interest in experimenting with jazz-related chromaticism surfaced very early; he often "spiced up" the comparatively bland harmonies with which he was working. It was apparently in this context that Gershwin protested the necessity of realizing figured-bass exercises:

At first he was wondering if doing exercises with figured bass was necessary. I explained to him that such exercises are as much needed for training to learn good voice leading (part-writing) as finger exercises and scales are necessary in training a pianist, and that neither figured bass exercises nor finger exercises on the piano were meant for public hearing.<sup>73</sup>

Kilenyi is also not afraid to reveal that Gershwin developed a penchant for deceptive resolutions to the flatted submediant and had to be persuaded that these were overused:

His enthusiasm for this progression [V–bVI] calmed when I quoted him a passage from Schumann's critical writings, in which Schumann criticized [then-] contemporary composers for abusing the musical progression formula of "X plus  $\frac{1}{2}$ ," that is, the dominant in minor going to the triad on the next higher half step. It also made him cautious in the future not to imitate exact examples taken from past masters.<sup>74</sup>

This penchant is illustrated in a harmonization Gershwin wrote of *Eine feste Burg* in October 1921, where the harmony is rather awkwardly worked out to arrive on VI at the first cadence.<sup>75</sup>

Several of Kilenyi's annotations in the notebooks are both revealing and amusing. For example, the exercises in Notebook 1 affirm Gershwin's tendency to "spice up" triadic harmonies by interpolating ninth and altered chords into the fabric of his exercises in four-part harmony. In "Gershwiniana" Kilenyi reports that Gershwin found an exercise

“devilishly hard” when he was restricted to the use of basic triads.<sup>76</sup> Gershwin apparently made this remark during a lesson on August 27, 1919 devoted to the study of the resolution of dominant seventh chords. Kilenyi’s reply, written next to the soprano line from Goetschius’s text (p. 84, exercise B), was “Devilish hard, you say?”<sup>77</sup>

Overall, the annotations in both notebooks are of two types: (1) informational and instructional notes such as those found in the opening pages of Notebook 2, where Kilenyi (or Gershwin quoting Kilenyi) wrote out bits of advice or charts summarizing principles presented over a number of pages in Goetschius’s text; and (2) Kilenyi’s correctional comments directly related to Gershwin’s exercises, including references to common errors of which Gershwin must be watchful. For instance, on the page of an undated exercise (written most likely in the first week of September 1919), Gershwin writes at Kilenyi’s dictation:

Incomplete Dom. 7th—Normal Resolution—into—I  
Deceptive Resolution—into—VI  
Passive Resolution—into IV—II  
Then: 2 6/4 chords are allowed if one is a discord.<sup>78</sup>

Page 17 in Notebook 1 offers a chart-like annotation characteristic of many found in the notebooks, in this case related to exercises in what Goetschius called “third class discords”—seventh and ninth chords on the submediant. The annotation summarizes the material covered in Goetschius’s text (pp. 101–13; for a reproduction of Goetschius’s chart summarizing all classes of “accords and discords,” see table 2).

II & III class discords

II7      IV7      VI7

II      IV      17

IV Class Discords

III7 – III9 – (V7)

IV – III – II – I

⏟  
Discords<sup>79</sup>

At the bottom of the page, Gershwin then writes: “I7 III7 VI7 treat with care & II7 IV7 very frequent.”<sup>80</sup> This example illustrates the necessity of taking Goetschius’s text as an adjunct for interpreting the annotations in the notebooks. As is evident in Table 2, Goetschius divides

functional chords into concordant and discordant categories. He then presents the “discords” in a hierarchy of four different “classes,” all of which are related to a chord’s harmonic function within any given key. The “tonic class” of chords includes only I, VI, and their inversions—allowing for authentic and deceptive cadences in both major and minor modes of any given key. Goetschius’s first class of “discords” includes sonorities that function in a dominant capacity: dominant seventh and ninth chords, as well as diminished triads and diminished seventh and ninth chords. The second class is limited to supertonic and subdominant seventh and ninth chords; the third to the submediant and the tonic seventh; and the fourth class solely to the mediant. Gershwin’s annotation thus suggests that Kilenyi had cautioned him to use care when applying such chords until they had covered chromatic harmony more completely.

Kilenyi’s corrections are instructive both for his teaching methods and Gershwin’s compositional weak points. These comments are few in number, seemingly verifying Kilenyi’s assertion that Gershwin absorbed most principles easily, often the first time around. This suggests that the comments found in the notebooks point out errors Gershwin made with relative frequency, since voice-leading or chord-spelling mistakes are typically either marked or circled in blue pencil. The first of these, from Gershwin’s lesson on 13 September 1919, shows a mistake common to most, if not all students in beginning theory: “Do not resolve a 7th into a hidden 8ve with any of the . . . [illegible] parts.”<sup>81</sup>

Another note by Kilenyi (p. 17, Notebook 1) illustrates the strict adherence to rules of the Common Practice period he expected from Gershwin: “In a perfect cad[ence] final tonic chord has to fall upon accented beat.”<sup>82</sup> In the exercise on this page, Gershwin has placed the final cadence on beat 4, rather than the expected beat 1. While one might be tempted to interpret this exercise and commentary as illustrative of ignorance or even carelessness on Gershwin’s part, it can also illustrate a way in which Gershwin inadvertently “spiced up” an otherwise bland exercise. This error—perhaps a too frequent one for Kilenyi—reveals the extent to which the elements of ragtime were already second nature to Gershwin. Placing a cadence on the fourth beat of a measure is idiomatic in ragtime, where typically the final chord is tied to the first beat of the following measure, thus syncopating the cadence. Kilenyi’s comment therefore becomes a reminder that they are concentrating on the conventions of the past to prepare Gershwin to take those conventions and use them freely in his own individual manner.

Kilenyi’s instructional annotations on modulation become more frequent in Notebook 2, suggesting that an intensely focused study of



modulation was the key element of these final days of Gershwin's studies with him. Kilenyi seems intent on crystallizing the instructions in Goetschius's textbook, most probably because they were both aware that Gershwin's time was quite limited. During this final month of study, Gershwin was preparing to travel to London to write the music for the show *The Rainbow*, which was scheduled to premiere there in early April 1923.<sup>83</sup> In addition to the previously discussed material in Notebook 2's opening pages, the first five pages are filled with simple modulation exercises involving primary chords, with II, VI, and III added to the harmonic complement by page 5. Kilenyi had Gershwin modulating between keys a tritone apart by 23 January 1923. For these exercises, Kilenyi writes: "Whenever we may connect two triads direct [*sic*], we may connect them through the Dominant 7th of the chord we are going to. Care must be taken to have the chromatic alteration in the same voice."<sup>84</sup> This annotation is significant because it explains why the majority of the exercises in this notebook seem to favor secondary dominants over other more chromatic techniques, even for modulating to more remote keys. Kilenyi's practical approach to teaching meant that his instruction at this time was focused on helping Gershwin to function within the world he was active in: that of jazz and popular music, where modulating via the use of secondary dominants was, and still is, one of the quickest and most common methods of moving from one key area to another.

On page 19 of Notebook 2 Kilenyi introduces what would become another common tool in Gershwin's use of chromatic modulation: the employment or addition of diminished seventh chords, using half-step oriented voice leading, as one would expect in chromatic harmony. This time, Kilenyi's annotations are punctuated by musical examples:

The diminished 7th chord is found on VII in minor. It resolves to the tonic (major same as minor).

a: VII<sub>7</sub> I

1. 2. 3. 1. 2. 3.

Any diminished 7th chords may be introduced freely at any time. Thus one may modulate from any key to any other thru the immediate introduction of the dom. 7th of the key we are going to.<sup>85</sup>

The second of these two examples demonstrates a particular type of parallel-motion voice leading in much of Gershwin's concert music, beginning with the *Rhapsody in Blue*. It was a lesson that Gershwin absorbed quickly and put to immediate use in his compositions.

Kilenyi states in both accounts that he balanced strict parameters outlined in Goetschius's textbook with plenty of analysis of scores by "Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Caesar Franck, Tchaikovsky, and others."<sup>86</sup> This study also included some of Gershwin's previously published songs and current show music, which offered Gershwin the opportunity to understand what he had done in past compositions and why it worked.<sup>87</sup> When Gershwin asked how a particular effect was achieved or how to construct a particular type of musical event, Kilenyi would usually refer him to a piece of music and Gershwin would be expected to analyze the work to find the answer. Particularly true toward the end of his formal studies, this would continue later when Gershwin would contact Kilenyi with an occasional question.<sup>88</sup>

Kilenyi's tone in "Gershwiniana" is both more subjective and more petulant than in the *Etude* article. At a more advanced age, he seems determined to "set the record straight once and for all" by correcting misconceptions in critical writings about Gershwin published during the intervening thirteen years. Thus Kilenyi's narrative centers upon the assumptions common to Gershwin criticism in the mid-twentieth century: that Gershwin was self-taught, arrogant, lazy, or dilettantish. Kilenyi's arguments are specifically directed at the biographies by Isaac Goldberg and Robert Payne, but may refer also obliquely to Oscar Levant's memoir-like chapter on Gershwin in *A Smattering of Ignorance* or Leonard Bernstein's "Why Don't You Go Upstairs and Write a Nice Gershwin Tune?"<sup>89</sup> Kilenyi takes particular umbrage at Goldberg's assertion that Gershwin knew no more about theory than "could be found in a ten-cent manual" and Payne's allegations of Gershwin's egomania.<sup>90</sup> Toward the end of "Gershwiniana," Kilenyi summarizes his main arguments, the most important being that Gershwin's concert music was a direct reflection of the rigor of his lessons with Kilenyi and of his study of Goetschius's textbook which was a source Gershwin valued, used extensively, and remembered:

Had George thought no more of Goetschius' 265 large pages long [sic] textbook than of a ten cent manual, he would not have used it with me till it was worn out by carrying it with him as much as he did. So much so that the hard covers of the book started to fall off. Neither would he have remarked when we analyzed the form of his Second Rhapsody: "I wonder how Goetschius would have analyzed this?"<sup>91</sup>

Of Gershwin's supposed egotism and dilettantish attitude toward learning, Kilenyi writes:

Never in my association or relationship privately or professionally with George was he to me anything but the naturally modest young man and the gentleman he really was. Never . . . was he anything but the eager, ambitious, respectful and serious musician I have known him to be. Caustic or sarcastic? Oh no! Never, I repeat. He always showed a fine and even temper. Calm and interested in everything a mature musician could tell him or show him.<sup>92</sup>

Against the claim that Gershwin was neither acquainted with nor able to develop music in larger forms, Kilenyi refers to the extensive analysis of classical-period sonatas and symphonies they did in Gershwin's lessons. He adds:

Of course he understood them [Mozart's and Beethoven's sonatas and symphonies], and even now I am certain that he could have written symphonic movements in the classical Sonata form had he wanted to. I also dare say that had he written an ambitious work employing such form he would have done a good job. I venture to say too, that in his musical consciousness he knew that—at that time—to produce an outstanding work of symphonic proportion was not his dish yet. Perhaps he sensed that his technical facilities at that time could not perhaps have done justice to himself and to his talent. After all, he knew that Brahms did not finish his First Symphony before he reached his fortieth year.<sup>93</sup>

Any serious student of composition would recognize his pedagogical approach, philosophy, and attitude to be consistent with that of a reputable composition teacher. Unlike the few who sought fame by claiming an association with Gershwin, Kilenyi does not appear to be interested in using his contact to promote himself. The fact that he never published "Gershwiniana" supports this idea.

### **Gershwin's Instruction in Chromatic Harmony**

Although Percy Goetschius was known to have cared little for "new music," the approach to harmony in the 1913 edition of *The Material Used in Musical Composition* is quite modern.<sup>94</sup> Goetschius writes in the preface that he revised the text "to introduce and systematize . . . the novel experiments and achievements of modern harmonic thought."<sup>95</sup> Accordingly, basic musical elements are defined in the broadest terms. For example, none of the "traditional" limitations, such as the proviso

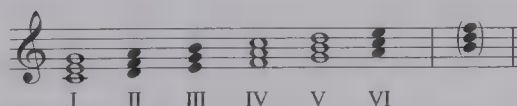


that a chord must be built in thirds etc., are mentioned. Rather, Goetschius states that melodies, chords, and scales may consist of any combination of tones.<sup>96</sup>

Goetschius's pedagogical approach provides further insight into perceived gaps in Gershwin's instruction, e.g., whether Gershwin studied chromatic harmony beyond augmented sixth chords.<sup>97</sup> As mentioned previously, the majority of the modulation exercises in Notebook 2 rely more on the use of secondary dominants and common tones than on the altered chords commonly found in late nineteenth-century harmony. However, when considering Goetschius's method of presenting chromatic harmony, a possible explanation for the relative paucity of exercises with more extreme surface-level chromaticism emerges. We have to start with his discussion of diatonic harmony at the beginning of the textbook. Example 2 is a reproduction of Goetschius's chart of "diatonic" triads. The VII chord is not listed as a functioning diatonic sonority; hence, it is separated from the other diatonic triads by both a bar line and parentheses.

Following the German approach to diatonicism, Goetschius categorizes the VII chord as an "incomplete dominant seventh chord," a logical distinction since V and VII serve nearly identical functions in common-practice theory. This logic continues throughout the text, which means diminished seventh chords are defined as "incomplete dominant ninth chords."<sup>98</sup> Goetschius's method was not unique: in *Harmonielehre*, Schoenberg defines diminished triads and seventh chords in exactly the same way. This logic is, in both treatises, the foundation through which more chromatic harmony is introduced. Kilenyi considered Schoenberg's adoption of this particular gateway to chromatic harmony "quite modern," further suggesting that Goetschius's definition reflects then-current trends.<sup>99</sup>

Chromatic sonorities other than augmented sixth chords are lumped into a single unit called "Altered and Mixed Chords." Although the section on altered chords focuses primarily on sonorities whose fifths, sevenths, or ninths have been raised or lowered via local-level voice leading, Goetschius also introduces secondary dominants here.<sup>100</sup> His discussion is brief and is resumed in the chapter on modulation, but



Example 2. Chart of chords considered "diatonic" by Goetschius. From Goetschius's *The Harmonic Materials Used in Musical Composition*, p. 15.

the text in the unit on altered chords clearly suggests their use in tonicization. Goetschius's choice to present chromatic harmony in the context of voice leading may present an additional explanation why highly chromatic chords are seen very little in Gershwin's theory exercises, even when modulating to remote key centers. Altered chords approached in the context of good voice leading are not particularly worrisome from a compositional point of view. That this was a common attitude toward "advanced chromatic harmony" is borne out by an observation made by Roger Sessions:

The use of dissonance in the music of the past hundred years has been, to a considerable extent, the result of the tendency of accessory tones to become "frozen," as it were, onto harmonies with which they are associated. Repeated usage, that is, has made certain formulas so familiar that composers have, by a kind of condensation, added them in a vertical (or simultaneous) sense to the chords of departure or resolution.<sup>101</sup>

The notion that chromatic harmony arises contextually out of the voice leading may also explain why more altered chords are found in Gershwin's concert music than in his harmony exercises. If Gershwin absorbed theoretical principles as immediately as Kilenyi describes, a directive such as "Use altered chords when appropriate to the voice leading" would likely have been sufficient.

This does not mean, however, that Gershwin did not experiment with more advanced chromatic harmony under Kilenyi's guidance. Although the harmonic content of the modulation exercises in Notebook 2 is comparatively tame, it appears that Gershwin reserved chromatic experimentation for the "free composition" assignments given him by Kilenyi. In his *Etude* article, Kilenyi writes that they studied scores "to recognize harmonies in their original and complete texts," and that "before finishing his formal study of harmony, we started the study of the homophonic form. It was for these lessons that he wrote some sketches which later became his short preludes for piano."<sup>102</sup>

As Alicia Zizzo's research from the mid-1990s revealed, the three published preludes were not the only pieces of this nature Gershwin wrote during the early 1920s.<sup>103</sup> The LC Gershwin Collection includes two piano preludes on single sheets of manuscript paper, dated 29 January 1923 and 1 February 1923, both of which feature slightly more chromatic harmony than found in Gershwin's modulation exercises on or around those dates in Notebook 2.<sup>104</sup> Both preludes were exercises assigned by Kilenyi; they are labeled "8-bar period" in a hand I have

identified as Kilenyi's. The opening measures are given in Example 3. The harmonic sequence sounds as if inspired by Wagner's Prelude to act 1 of *Tristan und Isolde*. The piece begins with a chord that, while not identical to the Tristan chord, seems to be a variation of it. Example 4 shows the Tristan chord in its original voicing, then in its transposition to the pitch level of the opening chord of Gershwin's prelude. The only real difference between the transposed Tristan chord and Gershwin's sonority is the distance between the tenor and alto pitches: a minor third rather than the major third in the Tristan chord. If the C is retained to keep the relationship between the soprano, tenor, and bass voices the same as in the Tristan chord, the transposition of the alto voice makes the upper interval of Gershwin's chord a tritone rather than a perfect fourth. However, the perfect fourth still appears. Gershwin inserts a B in the latter half of the first measure, either as a passing tone



Example 3. Excerpt from exercise in free composition dated 29 January 1923 and labeled "8-bar period" in Kilenyi's handwriting.

<p>Tristan chord: original pitch level</p>	<p>Tristan chord: transposed to pitch level of Gershwin's prelude</p>	<p>Gershwin's Tristan-like chords</p>

Example 4. Relationship between the Tristan chord and the opening harmony in Gershwin's prelude dated 29 January 1923. First measure: original pitch level; second measure: Tristan chord at the pitch level of Gershwin's prelude; third measure: Gershwin's realization from m. 2 of the prelude dated 29 January 1923.



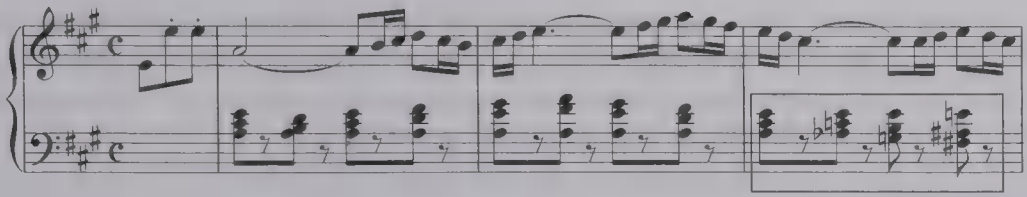
or as a resolution of the C, forming a B7 chord in third inversion. The melodic movement from C to B foreshadows the F-sharp–E movement in the following measure, as well as prefiguring the resolution of the B7 chord in m. 1 to C in m. 2.

The resolution in m. 2 of the prelude of 29 January is also evocative of m. 17 in the *Tristan* Prelude, as illustrated in Example 5 where the resolution is primarily accomplished through downward melodic motion in the soprano voice, beginning on the F-sharp. Although this figure in the soprano occurs at a different pitch level, its effect is strikingly similar; it is as if Gershwin drew inspiration for this exercise from the *Tristan* Prelude but condensed his favorite moments into two measures. The idea that Gershwin experimented with Wagnerian harmony is not all that far-fetched considering Kilenyi's proviso against the outright duplication of what other composers had done, coupled with the assurance that exercises such as these were for personal edification. The fact that Gershwin did not expand this little piece or include it with his three published preludes implies that he considered it no more than an exercise—a "safe" way to experiment with sonorities that intrigued him at the moment. Evidently, Kilenyi and Gershwin not only covered the *Tristan* chord in a lesson, but Gershwin also absorbed the principles behind its usage in Wagner's music.<sup>105</sup>

The second prelude is much less chromatic; any lush harmony that occurs is an "accident" of the voice leading. This is particularly true in the left hand in m. 3, shown in Example 6. The voice leading here is stepwise, which is more consistent with Goetschius's textbook. The

The image contains two musical staves. The top staff shows measures 1 and 2 of Gershwin's prelude (dated 29 January 1923). It is in C major, 2/4 time. Measure 1 features a soprano line with a five-measure rest (marked '5') and a melody starting on F-sharp, moving down to E. The bass line has a sustained B7 chord in third inversion (F-sharp, C, G, B). Measure 2 shows the resolution to a C major chord. The bottom staff shows measures 10–11 and 16–17 of Richard Wagner's Prelude to act 1 of *Tristan und Isolde*. It is in F-sharp major, 3/4 time. Measures 10–11 show a soprano line with a five-measure rest and a melody starting on F-sharp, moving down to E. The bass line has a sustained B7 chord in third inversion. Measures 16–17 show the resolution to a C major chord. Dynamics include *sf*, *p*, *piu f*, and *ff*.

Example 5. Mm. 1–2 of Gershwin's prelude (dated 29 January 1923) and mm. 10–11 and 16–17 of Richard Wagner, Prelude to act 1 of *Tristan und Isolde*.



Example 6. From prelude dated 1 February 1923 and labeled “8-bar period.”  
Gershwin Collection, Library of Congress, Box 60, Folder 6.

essence of Goetschius's discussion is captured in the following passages on chromatic chord progressions and on wandering harmonies:

To the chromatic domain pertains all connection between any two chords. . . . Here, no natural law of chord-succession can be laid down and defended, because the chord-relations cannot be defined from a common center; *any imaginable succession is possible*, and it is difficult even to systematize . . . the multitude of possibilities in this domain.<sup>106</sup>

The ruling condition for these “wandering harmonies”—as far as it is possible to systematize so elusive a process—seems to be: That any change which results from either a whole-step or half-step progression in any or all of the parts, is permissible (as long as it preserves a reasonable degree of consonance), by virtue of the relation of propinquity.<sup>107</sup>

Kilenyi combined both these concepts into what he called the “Law of Propinquity.” Instead of relying wholly on Goetschius's treatment, Kilenyi appears to have simplified it and tailored it to Gershwin's compositional needs. For this he could use his own articles on Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre* as a supplementary text, leading Gershwin from Goetschius's concept of chromaticism to the pre-twelve-tone theories of Arnold Schoenberg—an area heretofore undiscovered and unanticipated in Gershwin scholarship.

### Kilenyi on Schoenberg: His Reviews of *Harmonielehre*

Kilenyi's familiarity with Schoenberg's philosophies and compositions up to 1915 is evident in his annotations to Notebook 1 and his reviews of *Harmonielehre*, where he uses examples from Schoenberg's works to illustrate and bolster his arguments. The first of these two articles begins with a summation of previous criticisms, suggesting that Kilenyi's review will be negative. However, once the polemics have been dispensed with, the tone of the writing changes and becomes supportive: “The public . . . should welcome the appearance of a book wherein the master himself makes his own explanation and his own *apologia*. This book demands and rewards a serious and patient study.”<sup>108</sup> By the second page of the review, Kilenyi's enthusiasm for Schoenberg's ideas is revealed.<sup>109</sup>

In the second installment of his review, Kilenyi notes that Schoenberg's logic explains many harmonies in the modern music of the era. In terms of more modern chromatic thinking, Kilenyi observes that

Schönberg does not attack composers who strive for tonality, but he is strongly against their overestimation of its importance. He believes that the tonic chord should appear here and there as if it had been victorious. . . . For, after all, he concludes, if the tonality is *hanging* it must be fastened somewhere. Tonality is not obligatory, it is an artistic device for bringing our musical thoughts into an appearance of closer connection.<sup>110</sup>

Kilenyi is particularly enthusiastic about a concept he calls *Stufenreichtum*—a word that appears only in passing in Schoenberg's discussion of chromaticism in both the 1911 and 1922 editions of *Harmonielehre*. Difficult to translate, the simplest rendering may be "chromaticism," but it has also been translated as "the richest possible usage of scale degrees," or "scale-step enrichment."<sup>111</sup> Of this concept, Kilenyi writes:

As to modern harmonic effects Schönberg points out clearly that harmonic richness arises not from going into many keys, but from writing "*stufenreich*" (stepwise). That is to say, modern harmony consists chiefly of chords that arise from combinations of tones moving stepwise. The same principle is implicitly enunciated by our own Goetschius, who designates it the "*law of appropinquity*." "*Stufenreichtum*" will be the essential characteristic of the art of modern harmony.<sup>112</sup>

In "Gershwiniana," Kilenyi adds his own perspective on how *Stufenreichtum* should be applied:

Schönberg in his monumental *Harmonielehre* inspiringly wrote that mere arriving at some possible chords—way out of the standard textures through combinations of notes—would not be good just because they sound new through odd dissonances. It is up to the student or composer to make it sound acceptable and attractive through his "genius."<sup>113</sup>

The term appears quite early in Notebook 1—at the bottom of page 10, where Kilenyi's annotation reads: "The Law of Propinquity," with "*Stufenreichthum*" written directly below.<sup>114</sup> Scholars who have examined the notebooks without consulting Kilenyi's memoirs have not understood its connection to Schoenberg's theoretical writings. For example, the introductory pages of Steven E. Gilbert's *The Music of Gershwin* suggest that Gilbert understood the annotations but credited Kilenyi with the concept as well as the terminology.<sup>115</sup>



Schoenberg's break with diatonicism is shown in the latter half of *Harmonielehre* and his advocacy for the equalization of the twelve tones begins there. Schoenberg's arguments as relevant to Gershwin's compositions can be summarized in five points: (1) almost all chords can be treated as "vagrant" chords, since the voice leading can be manipulated so that any one chord can resolve to any other; (2) the effect of vagrant chords accumulates, giving the overall harmony a distinctive color more closely related to the chromatic scale than to any home key; thus "formlessness" does not ensue if tonality breaks down because the chromatic scale is a form; (3) in contrapuntal works, harmony always occurs as an "accident" of the voice leading and should have no structural significance; (4) there is no such thing as a nonharmonic tone because nonharmonic tones form vertical sonorities and are perceived as such; and (5) harmonic richness does not occur by passing through a great number of keys, but by making "the richest possible use of [scale] degrees" (or *Stufenreichtum*).<sup>116</sup>

Schoenberg's shift from diatonicism toward the equalization of the twelve tones thus is a natural outgrowth of the lush chromaticism used by many late nineteenth-century composers, particularly those influenced by Wagner and Liszt. It seems that Schoenberg's call for dropping the pretense of adherence to the diatonic system and allowing the voice leading itself to dictate the vertical structure of a composition was a concept that resonated with Kilenyi. In the first installment of his review, Kilenyi spends nearly half of the space elucidating Schoenberg's arguments against outmoded definitions of dissonance, emphasizing in particular, as does Schoenberg, the historical evolution of the perception of what is and is not dissonant:

One may summarize his attitude toward [dissonances] as follows: There is no essential difference between consonances and dissonances because *dissonances are nothing more than more widely lying consonances*. . . . The melodic origin of the freely-introduced and unresolved seventh is evident. Why then overlook the melodic origin of dissonant—passing chords. Now that we are used to them, we make little fuss about dissonances. In fact, says Schönberg, we have so far advanced that we make no distinction at all between consonant and dissonant chords.<sup>117</sup>

Referring to where the term *Stufenreichtum* appears in Notebook 1, Kilenyi explains in "Gershwiniana" that he taught Gershwin this principle, establishing a connection between Gershwin's work and Schoenberg's theories as Kilenyi understood them:

[Gershwin's] preserved manuscript exercise book of his lessons with me shows that he learned with me the Schönbergian chromatics referred to

by Schönberg as STUFENREICHTHUM. At that time I wrote and published a series of magazine articles about the still not fully translated *Harmonielehre* . . . of Schönberg. These articles George and I subjected to minute analysis which he appreciated indeed as much as was benefited by it. Into his manuscript exercise book, on page 10, dated September 10, 1919, with large penciled letters I wrote: STUFENREICHTHUM, a word, a term coined by Schönberg difficult to translate accurately. Harmony-wise it expresses smoothness, richness of stepwise progressions, part writings of voices to create fresh, new, lush or strange chromatic harmonies. I remember distinctly with how much care and interest we worked in order to be able to make clear the meaning and significance of this rather intricate term of Schönberg.<sup>118</sup>

The exercises on the page in Notebook 1 where the annotations *Stufenreichtum* and “The Law of Propinquity” appear indicate that Gershwin was studying ninth chords.

There is a logical reason for this. As previously stated, Schoenberg—just as Goetschius—introduced diminished triads and sevenths by way of ninth chords and defines them similarly: as seventh and ninth chords with missing roots. Schoenberg further shows that when the root of a ninth chord is removed, any other root can be added, thus enabling the new sonority to resolve in any direction.

On a simpler level, the term “propinquity” connotes the practice of keeping individual voices in part writing as close to stepwise as possible. Quoting Anton Bruckner, Schoenberg calls it “the law of the nearest way.”<sup>119</sup> Although this concept is basic to elementary harmony, it is evident from the ordering of topics in Kilenyi’s reviews that the Law of Propinquity and “the law of the nearest way” are not really the same principle. Although *Stufenreichtum* seems to be built on “the law of the nearest way,” it precludes the necessity of resolution to the nearest diatonic chord tone unless the composer decides to do so, thus opening the possibility of any combination of tones as “legitimate” sonorities that need no resolution.

Kilenyi considered *Stufenreichtum* to be the most significant Schoenbergian principle imparted to Gershwin in his lessons, and it also served as a focal point in his reviews. From the beginning of his discussion of diminished seventh chords in the first article through the conclusion of the second, every salient component of *Stufenreichtum* is discussed in some detail. This includes Schoenberg’s unique treatment of nonharmonic tones and chords formed out of intervallic relationships other than thirds. Kilenyi implies in his second article that if a true system of modern harmony can be extracted from *Harmonielehre*, it is *Stufenreichtum*. The remainder of this article is only a further explanation

of the principle and its implications for the direction of music in the twentieth century.

It is in the context of *Stufenreichtum* that Schoenberg's experiments in free atonality are discussed. According to Kilenyi, prescribing a single system of composition would be difficult at this time, given that each modernist composer seems to have an individual philosophy of harmony. But Kilenyi's perspective, firmly rooted in late nineteenth-century harmonic thought, also illustrates how fluid the musical trends of the early twentieth century were. While speculating that Schoenberg must be in the process of devising a system that describes his musical thought, Kilenyi discusses the resolution of dissonances despite acknowledging that, for Schoenberg, there is no difference between consonance and dissonance.

Two key elements in his discussion of dissonance seem to be among the salient points Kilenyi passed on to Gershwin: first, that "most all dissonances are of melodic origin and that it is not necessary that they be derived from harmonic combinations," and thus, "there are endless possible combinations for bringing together any number of sounds simultaneously."<sup>120</sup> While Kilenyi's reviews imply that he recognized Schoenberg as a great master, his observations indicate that the Schoenbergian concepts he taught Gershwin reflected a more conservative interpretation—closer to the Schoenberg of *Verklärte Nacht* and the first two string quartets than to the Schoenberg of the Three Piano Pieces, op. 11, the Five Pieces for Orchestra, and *Pierrot Lunaire*.

### *Stufenreichtum* in Gershwin's Music

Kilenyi asserts that *Stufenreichtum* appears in all of Gershwin's concert pieces, thus implying that it is a key factor in Gershwin's harmonic practice.<sup>121</sup> This is obliquely confirmed in Schwartz's general description of Gershwin's musical language:

It features unresolved seventh chords and quick, unprepared for parallel-motion shifts from the tonic to neighboring tonalities, usually a half step or a whole step away (such as these chord progressions: G–F–G–B $\flat$ –B $\sharp$ –C). Where his harmony is chromatic, it also shows the influences of the piano in the stepwise and parallel movement of the inner voices. Moreover, quick shifts in harmony are most always used where there is a sustained note in the melody. Despite frequent chordal changes, he customarily limited himself to one key signature in his popular tunes to keep them as simple as possible. However, in his orchestral pieces, with a broader canvas to work on, he often changed key signatures, not only to add an element of variety, but presumably also to show the world his musical "sophistication."<sup>122</sup>





Example 7. Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*, mm. 38–40. © 1924 (Renewed) WB Music Corp. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.



Example 8. Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*, transition to Theme 4, mm. 135–36. Notice the intervallic content in the circled area remains constant (major third followed by tritone) as the figure descends. © 1924 (Renewed) WB Music Corp. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

Whereas the use of unresolved seventh chords and parallel-motion shifts certainly points to the influence of both Debussy and the blues, the half- or whole-step shifts also indicate a local-level attention to voice leading that has harmonic implications and that suggests a link to the principles of *Stufenreichtum* as described by Kilenyi.

One of the simpler examples of this process can be found in Gershwin's reharmonization of the opening theme of *Rhapsody in Blue* when it is stated for the first time by the solo piano (see Ex. 7). In the second and third measures, most vertical sonorities are formed via step-wise motion in all voices except the soprano, which carries the theme. In the most notable exceptions—the chords formed in the third measure on the second half of beat 1, where the bass voice skips down a tenth, and on beat 2, where both alto voices jump more than a step—the voices leap with the soprano and otherwise follow the “law of the nearest way.” One would be hard pressed to assign a diatonic function to every chord in this passage because, as Schoenberg suggests, most occur as an “accident” of the voice leading.

A similar phenomenon appears later in the *Rhapsody*, most notably in two transitions: the first, shown in Example 8, occurs in mm. 135–36, just prior to the third of three themes stated in the

*Rhapsody*'s middle "up-tempo" section. In this example, the D in the tenor voice solidifies the dominant preparation for the upcoming statement of the new theme in G major. The melodic figuration in the soprano and alto voices above the D pedal function here very much like passing tones, or as a chromatic passage would in a work from the late nineteenth century. However, as Schoenberg argues, the ear hears at least some of the harmonies in this passage as vertical sonorities. When juxtaposed against the D pedal, the resultant harmony created by the moving soprano and alto voices is part of what serves to both obscure and color the obvious dominant preparation of the passage, while at the same time providing a certain lightheartedness that is so characteristic of the *Rhapsody*. The construction of this passage is also an example of the type of intervallic parallelism used by Gershwin that is reminiscent of the works of Debussy and Ravel. While the passage descends, the vertical intervallic makeup of each dyad remains consistent in a symmetrically alternating pattern: major third followed by a tritone.

A similar type of consistent intervallic placement that results in the vertical formation of what Kilenyi would call "interesting" or "lush harmonies" is demonstrated later in the *Rhapsody* in the piano transition to the work's best-known theme (see Ex. 9). Rather than circling around a pedal tone that anchors the surface chromaticism to an underlying prolonged harmony, Gershwin deliberately obscures the harmony implied by the cadential D in the measure preceding the transition and moves upward by repeating the chromatic figure three times before allowing it to gravitate to E major's dominant, evident at the end of m. 301. This is an almost classic example of late nineteenth-century chromatic movement. Beat 1 in each of the three measures in Example 9 demonstrates a textbook resolution of the implied augmented sixth chord. Yet again, because the harmony has been obscured, each passing chord seems to have both melodic and harmonic significance. In the context of the entire passage, the seventh chords at the end of each measure sound more dissonant than the vertical sonorities that precede them. In fact, Gershwin repeats the B7 chord in m. 302 to affirm that this was indeed the point at which he had intended to arrive.

The passage shown in Example 9 also reflects Kilenyi's point in the first of his two articles on *Harmonielehre*, namely that interesting harmonies often result from the voice leading created from passing tones through lines moving in contrary motion. Example 10 is from *Harmonielehre* and was provided by Kilenyi to encapsulate Schoenberg's views on the subject. While such dissonances pass quickly, the



Example 9. Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*, Piano transition to the “E major” theme, mm. 299–301. © 1924 (Renewed) WB Music Corp. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.



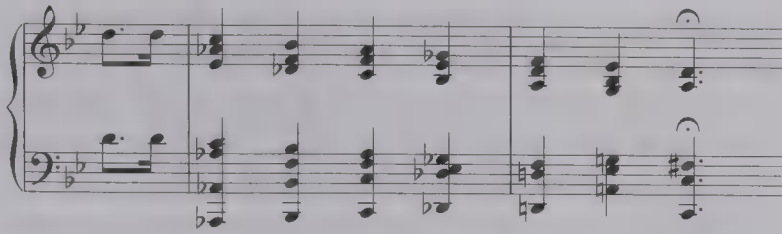
Example 10. Example of contrary motion from Edward Kilenyi, “Arnold Schönberg’s ‘Harmony.’”

perception of relative rapidity may vary from one individual to another. Summarizing Schoenberg’s reasoning, Kilenyi adds that

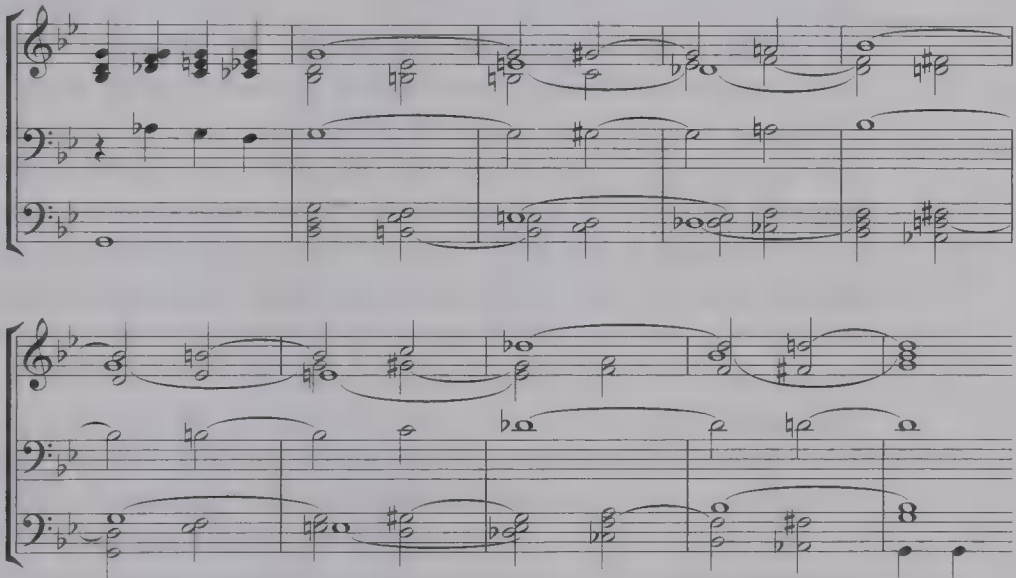
[it] must be admitted that these dissonances would be “more or less beautiful,” that is, more or less harsh. Because of this harshness theorists did not classify them as legitimate constituents of harmony. Had they done so such dissonances would have been used more generally, and the theorists—those sterile estheticians—would have had to consider them with much more thoroughness.<sup>123</sup>

Gershwin seemed to have thoroughly absorbed this concept and employed it in *Rhapsody in Blue*, as is evident in Examples 7 and 9. Both passages capitalize upon the inherent possibilities of contrary motion, although Gershwin intermittently uses parallel motion between the upper and lower lines to provide variety. The voice leading in Example 7 is controlled to some extent by the twists and turns of the melodic line, but even here, the voice leading is manipulated carefully enough to provide more colorful chromatic harmony. In Example 9, Gershwin uses sequences to achieve the modulation to E major.





Example 11. Reduction of choral parts in *Porgy and Bess*, act 1, scene 2, mm. 5–7, with orchestrally doubled bass notes added. Music and Lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, and DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All Rights Administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, George Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, and Ira Gershwin<sup>™</sup> are Trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*<sup>®</sup> is a Registered Trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.



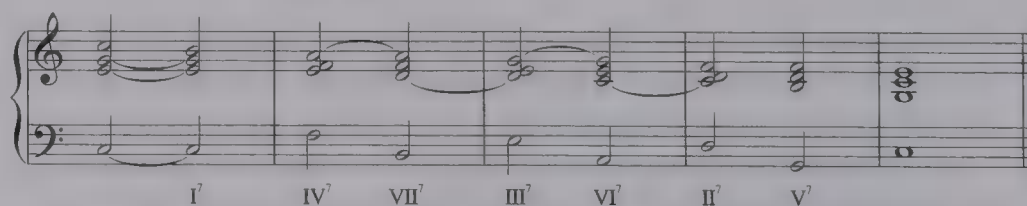
Example 12. Reduction of choral parts from *Porgy and Bess*, act 1, scene 2, mm. 32–40. Music and Lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, and DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All Rights Administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, George Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, and Ira Gershwin<sup>™</sup> are Trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*<sup>®</sup> is a Registered Trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

A connection can also be made between the pedal tone in Example 8 and Kilenyi's discussion of contrary motion. In Example 10, triads functioning in a pedal capacity carry the tones and, according to Schoenberg, are thus perceived by the ear as part of the vertical sonorities created by the voices moving in contrary motion. Indeed, the

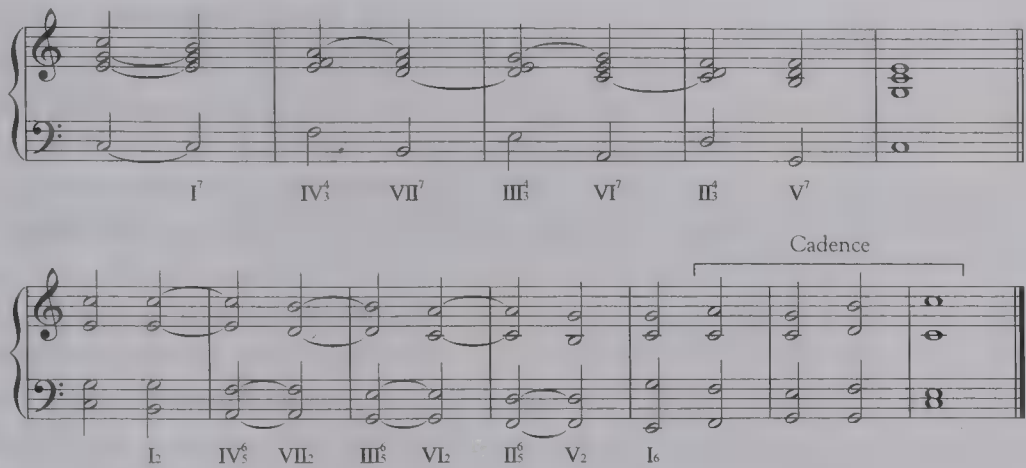
polychords in the lowest staff in Example 10 indicate how the ear might perceive the passing harmony as it occurs. Consequently, the D pedal in Example 8 would be perceived as part of the sonorities created in the moving soprano and alto lines, thus creating the interesting types of harmonies to which Kilenyi refers. These, along with more “consonant” passing chords, would include triads spelled C-sharp–D–F-sharp, B–D–D-sharp, B-flat–D–E, and A–C-sharp–D.

This technique served Gershwin well throughout his career, and he used it wherever appropriate to his musical expression. Examples 11 and 12, from act 1, scene 2 of *Porgy and Bess*, are illustrations of two instances where such harmonies result directly from the voice leading, often through contrary motion. These examples, reductions of the choral parts from the funeral scene, show an aesthetic reminiscent of a Negro spiritual but realized with very Gershwinian harmony. The more mature Gershwin does not limit himself here to a single linear direction. While one could certainly argue that the cohesiveness of this part of the opera owes much to Gershwin’s later studies in counterpoint with Joseph Schillinger, there is also much that originated in Kilenyi’s earlier instruction. Contrary and parallel motion are executed according to the overall objective centered in *Stufenreichtum*. Nearly every vertical sonority is created *stufenreich*, through stepwise motion, even when it means that a cadence point occurs on a seventh chord in 4/2 inversion, as Example 11 illustrates. In fact, Gershwin seems intent on creating the harmonic tension that such a cadence produces, no doubt as a musical depiction of the grief portrayed in this scene. Coupled with the *Larghetto* tempo that a funeral dirge demands, Gershwin uses that cadence, with its lack of resolution, to propel the harmonic motion and create expectation.

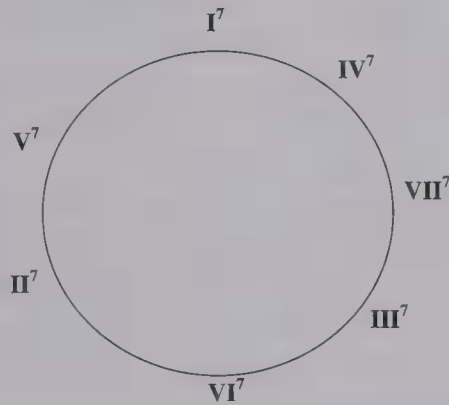
Example 12, from the middle of this particular part of the scene, illustrates a principle from Goetschius, found in one of the last of Gershwin’s lessons documented in Notebook 2. The instruction associated with the exercises and annotations here focuses on the use of suspensions to create chromatic progressions and corresponds to the material on pages 189–99 in Goetschius’s textbook. Here Kilenyi goes a few steps beyond the textbook materials. Examples 13 and 14, in



Example 13. Suspension illustration, in Kilenyi’s handwriting, Notebook 2, p. 22.



Example 14. Two-part comparative suspension illustration, in Kilenyi's hand, Notebook 2, p. 23.



Example 15. Circle of fifths as related to functional use of seventh chords from Notebook 2, p. 22, written in Kilenyi's hand.

Kilenyi's hand, appear on page 22 in the notebook, followed by an annotation on page 23: "Tie over root and 3d. Let 5th & 7th progress down one degree. Thus sequences will be obtained in which root position (1) interchanges with  $3^4$  [a  $4/3$  inversion] and  $5^6$  [a  $6/5$  inversion] with 2."<sup>124</sup> To facilitate Gershwin's thinking, Kilenyi adds a specialized circle-of-fourths/fifths illustration (Ex. 15), this time emphasizing seventh-chord relationships within a single diatonic key. Each of Kilenyi's examples follow this circle to the right, demonstrating harmonic motion in fourths by capitalizing on the secondary dominant function of each triad when a seventh is added.

While the voice leading here is reminiscent of the type of suspended harmonic motion commonly found in music for Broadway shows, it has direct implications for Gershwin's earlier concert music as well. As Larry Starr and I have both noted elsewhere, the opening



thirty-eight measures of the *Rhapsody in Blue* follow this pattern, which is used as a vehicle for rapid tonicization with key centers shifting in fourths on an average of every two to four measures, moving around a circle of fourths from B-flat major to A major. As with Kilenyi's examples, at each opportunity Gershwin exploits the "consonant seventh," inherent in the jazz-blues context Gershwin evokes and already present in each tonicized chord, allowing it at the same time to act in a dissonant function as the secondary dominant seventh of the next targeted key area. This motion around the circle of fourths not only serves Gershwin as a convenient method of quick modulation and tonicization, but it also functions as one of the primary harmonic underpinnings for the entire *Rhapsody*.<sup>125</sup>

In addition to using *Stufenreichtum* as a method of obscuring harmony in transitions and modulations, Gershwin apparently employed it in other ways as well. Significantly to his having been introduced to the principle while studying ninth chords, *Stufenreichtum* and the Law of Propinquity can be applied also in the analysis of a passage in Gershwin's Concerto in F, the first of his concert works to come after the success of *Rhapsody in Blue*. Perhaps not surprisingly, this occurs in the piano's opening solo theme, shown in Example 16 from mm. 53–72. The theme is a veritable study in ninth chords and ninth relationships, and, in the case of mm. 53–56, ninth chords with Schoenbergian characteristics.<sup>126</sup> According to Schoenberg, a ninth chord can resolve in any direction or can be assigned a different root that allows such resolution when its root is removed. But what chord is spelled D-flat–E–B-flat–C (see mm. 53–54)? Is it a ninth chord with a missing root or some other missing component? If the root is present, which of these four pitches is the root? Because the tenor voice circles around A-flat, D-flat is the implied root, but the local-level harmony does not make that entirely certain. The descending bass line from D-flat to A-flat in mm. 53–59 makes D-flat appear to be the most logical root. However, if the harmony in m. 53 is spelled C–E–B-flat–D-flat, the resultant harmony is a V7 $\flat$ 9 in F minor, with the flatted ninth in the bass. This suggests that Gershwin removed the fifth of the chord rather than the root. Yet because the ninth is in the bass, this chord could literally resolve anywhere, as Gershwin proves by resolving it downward a whole step in m. 55 to a similar sonority, thus prolonging the harmonic ambiguity of the passage.<sup>127</sup>

It is equally uncertain in this section whether the key center is A-flat major or F minor—or if there is a key center at all, since although the first cadence-like gesture occurs on A-flat (m. 59), the theme is introduced by a pedal tone on C in mm. 51–52, implying that F might

SOLO PIANO  
Poco meno mosso  $\text{♩} = 104$

51

55

60

63

66

69

RH glissando

LH

cresc. e accel.

*p*

Example 16. Gershwin, Concerto in F, opening piano theme, mm. 53–72. © 1927 (Renewed) WB Music Corp. All Rights Reserved. Used by Permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

be the key center. However, there are no real cadences on F anywhere in this passage. The closest Gershwin comes to a cadence on F is more of a tonicization on the second beat of m. 62, where an F triad in first inversion occurs in the left hand. This is set up by the impression, via the  $G7\#9b5$  chord in m. 61, of a II–V–I progression which ends on the F chord. But the major triad on beat 2 of m. 62 gives way to a minor triad on beat 3, colored by the B-natural in the soprano, which, following Schoenberg's axiom that nonharmonic tones do not exist, makes that vertical sonority an F-minor chord with a flatted or "blue" fifth. Thus F remains the reigning pitch in that measure, which strengthens the feeling of some sort of cadence, but the quality of the harmony is ambiguous. The II–V–I progression is repeated at the same pitch level in mm. 63–64, followed by the same gesture in imitation, raised a whole step, in mm. 65–66. When Gershwin feigns to repeat the II–V–I progression beginning on B in m. 67, the sequence breaks down and the resulting vertical sonorities that occur in the inner voices over the prolonged B-natural in the bass, while colorful, are clearly created out of melodic issues carried in the soprano and first tenor lines and move stepwise, as does nearly every vertical sonority in this example. But the B-natural in the bass is the raised third of a II chord in F, which suggests a II9 with a missing root (thereby implying another II–V–I progression). The B-natural is also a flatted fifth scale degree in F, which was emphasized earlier in m. 62 in the soprano.

The final cadence in m. 71 is as ambiguous as the entire passage has been, and again, it is on an implied ninth chord: a  $D\flat9$  with a missing seventh, again if D-flat is actually the root of the chord. This sonority also summarizes the pitches around which the questions of key center have circled: the D-flat of mm. 53–54; A-flat as key center, exemplified in the presence of both the A-flat and the E-flat in the bass; and finally, the F in the soprano. The interval between the bass and soprano pitches also seems to summarize the ninth relationships that have controlled the harmony in this passage. The ninth chords, as Schoenberg said they should, obscure the key so completely in this passage that the tonality nearly breaks down. The only reason this section sounds at all functional lies in the ways the ninth chords or ninth relationships are "resolved."

As this investigation of Gershwin's lessons with Edward Kilenyi, Sr. shows, much of what was covered in them has gone unexamined and at times has been misrepresented. Among other things, these lessons were more detailed and of a longer duration than was acknowledged before. I have attempted to show that the archival sources suggest



that Gershwin was a much better and more dedicated student than he often portrayed himself to be, or is portrayed by others. More importantly, these sources demonstrate that during his late teens and early twenties, he did engage in a systematic program of musical study that was drawn from some of the most up-to-date methods of his day. It is also obvious in various elements in his concert music that he absorbed and used many of the principles Kilenyi presented in his theory lessons. Although Kilenyi was only given passing credit for his contributions until the publication of Jablonski's and Pollack's biographies, the archival evidence suggests that Gershwin could not have written effective concert music without having learned the lessons Kilenyi taught him.

However, the greater surprise in this material is not *that* Kilenyi taught Gershwin, but rather *what* he taught him. Because Kilenyi's memoirs list the textbooks used in Gershwin's lessons and discuss some of the principles they covered, a more specific idea of the content of Gershwin's lessons can be formulated. A comparison of the manuscripts with Goetschius's textbook shows that Kilenyi's claims to have covered the text in its entirety are true, thus laying to rest the question of whether Gershwin studied advanced chromatic harmony. Kilenyi's use of Goetschius's textbook in his lessons in general—he taught other Broadway-bound composers—seems to have been groundbreaking, helping to establish it as the standard textbook used throughout the first half of the twentieth century by musicians who worked in the jazz and popular music fields.

Kilenyi's supplemental use of principles drawn from Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre*, which seems to have been a unique but significant addition to Gershwin's curriculum, tailored specifically to his interests and aspirations, is perhaps the most astonishing information provided in "Gershwiniana." These principles stood Gershwin in good stead throughout his career. It needs to be reiterated, however, that Kilenyi's interpretation of Schoenberg's ideas was rather conservative and did not advocate Schoenberg's eventual break with tonality. Instead, Kilenyi reasoned in his reviews of *Harmonielehre* that Schoenberg's music followed a more "dissonant" path because that was the direction in which his particular muse pointed him. Given the plenitude of experimentation in early twentieth-century art music, Kilenyi clearly never saw Schoenberg's principles of voice leading as prescriptive of any particular compositional style, but instead recognized that they could be applied equally to any number of postromantic approaches, whether tonal or posttonal. The stylistic flux in art music during Gershwin's student days and early career proved to be ideal for someone

whose compositional interests lay in both popular and “serious” veins and whose aspirations were to create a compositional voice that fused classical and popular music into one unique style. Because Kilenyi’s personality and teaching methods were fairly liberal and his professional experience lay in both worlds, he was indeed the most suitable teacher for a student like Gershwin.

The snapshot views of Gershwin’s studies provided by his exercise notebooks and Kilenyi’s memoirs open the door for a reevaluation of his early works. The *Rhapsody in Blue*, in addition to the iconic status it has achieved, can perhaps be viewed as one of the most successful “graduation pieces” ever written by a young composer. As such it is both an end and a beginning, pointing backward to Gershwin’s studies with Kilenyi and forward to his later concert and theater music, thus inviting further research in this developmental phase of Gershwin’s career and the critical examination of his musical output.

## Notes

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1. Isaac Goldberg, *George Gershwin: A Study in American Music* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1931), 63.
2. See Charles Hamm, “Towards a New Reading of Gershwin,” in *The Gershwin Style: New Looks at the Music*, ed. Wayne Schneider (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3–20; and Larry Starr, “Musings on ‘Nice Gershwin Tunes,’ Form, and Harmony in the Concert Music of Gershwin,” also in *The Gershwin Style: New Looks at the Music*, 95–110.
3. Edward Kilenyi, Sr., “Gershwiniana: Recollections and Reminiscences of Times Spent with My Student George Gershwin,” unpublished typescript, call no. ML410.G288K54, Kilenyi Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1963, 87.
4. Vernon Duke, “Gershwin, Schillinger, and Dukelsky: Some Reminiscences,” *Musical Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (January 1947): 109. Vernon Duke was a pseudonym taken by Vladimir Dukelsky, the Russian émigré composer. His “serious” music was written under the name of Dukelsky, while his popular music was known under his pseudonym.
5. Duke, “Gershwin, Schillinger, and Dukelsky,” 106.
6. Deena Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm: The Collaboration of George and Ira Gershwin* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 12.

7. *Gershwin Remembered*, produced and written by Peter Adam, directed by Clark Peters (London: BBC-TV Program Development Co., 1987), videocassette.
8. Duke, "Gershwin, Schillinger, and Dukelsky," 109.
9. Duke, "Gershwin, Schillinger, and Dukelsky," 109.
10. Virgil Thomson, "George Gershwin," *Modern Music* 13, no. 1 (November–December 1935): 15–16.
11. Leonard Bernstein, "Why Don't You Go Upstairs and Write a Nice Gershwin Tune?," *Atlantic Monthly* 195, April 1955, 39–42, reprinted in *The Joy of Music* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), 52–62.
12. Bernstein, "Nice Gershwin Tune," 57–58. It should be noted that Bernstein's description of "organicism" or "composition" in this article only applies to a very narrow spectrum of European works: mostly those of Beethoven, Wagner, and their followers, who were inspired by Beethoven's more motivic approach to composition. Bernstein's opinion of what constitutes a "real composition" is not definitive, particularly when considering the types of art music created in the mid-1950s. His model would very likely have been rejected by some of his contemporaries as "too Romantic" or "not experimental enough."
13. Charles Schwartz, *Gershwin: His Life and Works* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1973), 164–66.
14. Carol Oja, "Gershwin and American Modernists of the 1920s," *Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 646–68.
15. Richard Crawford, "Gershwin's Reputation: A Note on *Porgy and Bess*," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 257–64.
16. Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: 1900 Through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984), 95.
17. Aaron Copland, "Jazz Structure and Influence," *Modern Music* 4, no. 2 (January–February 1927): 14. It seems rather ironic that Copland viewed rhythm the only element of jazz worth considering. His failure to include a discussion of the blues as a core jazz element shows that Copland either did not understand or appreciate its fundamental presence in jazz. However, to be fair, it seems that Gershwin was one of the few white composers influenced by jazz who did grasp this concept.
18. Thomson, "George Gershwin," 16. The other issue implied in Thomson's criticism is that Gershwin used the musical language of perceived ethnic or cultural minorities (Israel, Africa, and the Gaelic Isles) to represent the white majority. Although this was not true of *Porgy and Bess*, the blues elements present in concert works such as the *Rhapsody in Blue* and *An American in Paris* had been identified as signifiers of American nationalist expression throughout the 1920s. By the mid-1930s, composers in Copland's circle were clearly more comfortable drawing inspiration from an American popular culture that was both less contemporary and more "white." Perhaps Copland's later choice to quote directly from the folk and sacred music of the WASP tradition in his ballets failed to cause the same concerns among his colleagues that Gershwin's music excited because American psalmody was perceived to be the music of the ethnic and cultural majority, whether or not Copland was a WASP himself.

19. Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 242.
20. Aaron Copland, quoted in Nicolas Slonimsky, "Roy Harris," *Musical Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (January 1947): 22.
21. Aaron Copland, "What Europe Means to the Aspiring Composer," *Musical America* 41, no. 11 (1925): 15.
22. David Ewen, "The Stature of George Gershwin," *American Mercury* (June 1950): 716–24, in Ira Gershwin Scrapbook No. 8, 1946–51, Gershwin Collection, Box 79, Book 8, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
23. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 11.
24. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 17–18.
25. Edward Kilenyi, "George Gershwin . . . As I Knew Him," *The Etude* 68, no. 10 (October 1950): 11–12, 64.
26. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," title page.
27. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," i. Cellini was writing to Varchi in 1559 regarding his request that Varchi revise parts of Cellini's autobiography. This letter was often included in editions of Cellini's *Vita*, and this may well be where Kilenyi read it.
28. Ira Gershwin, introductory notes, 20 April 1962, in George Gershwin, "First Scrapbook [1909?]-[1920]," Box 100, Book 32, Gershwin Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
29. Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm*, 25. Gershwin's friend and colleague William Daly, who also wrote music for Broadway, studied with Kilenyi as well.
30. See Allan B. Ho. "Kilenyi, Edward," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47059> (accessed 26 June 2009); Obituary of Edward Kilenyi, *Variety*, 21 August 1968, 63. Allan B. Ho, who wrote the brief entry in the current edition of *New Grove*, seems to have obtained much of his information from Slonimsky's article in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* or from the obituary in *Variety*. Ho's bibliography also lists "Gershwiniana" as a source, but there Kilenyi only mentions his educational background in passing.
31. *Baker's Biographical Dictionary* lists Kilenyi as having received both master's and doctoral degrees from Columbia University, where Mason taught. In "Gershwiniana," Kilenyi also called Columbia his alma mater. However, Columbia has no record of Kilenyi's having been registered there as a student. Whether Kilenyi considered Columbia his alma mater because of Mason's affiliation with the university, or whether he was granted degrees for private study is at present unknown.
32. Edward Kilenyi, Sr., "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" *New Music Review and Church Music Review* 14, nos. 6 and 7 (1915): 324–28, 360–63; Edward Kilenyi, Sr., "The Theory of Hungarian Music," *Musical Quarterly* 5 (1919): 20–39.
33. Edward Kilenyi, *The Cry of the Wolf*, 1916, holograph manuscript score, Kilenyi Archive, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
34. Eleanor Hague, ed., *Folk Songs from Mexico and South America* (New York: H. W. Gray Company, 1914).



35. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 36. Kilenyi does not identify the theater he worked for. It could easily have been a theater that showed silent films during the day and presented stage productions in the evenings.
36. See Clifford McCarty, *Film Composers in America: A Filmography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 165. Of the twenty-nine film scores credited to Kilenyi, six were collaborations with other composers, and several more appear to have been films where classical music was included as part of the score.
37. Howard Pollack, *George Gershwin: His Life and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 31; Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 7. Pollack places the date parameter at 1915–17. According to Kilenyi, it was 1918 or 1919. However, 1917 or early 1918 is the most likely, given that Hambitzer died in 1918, unless Gershwin began studying with Kilenyi only after Hambitzer's death.
38. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 21.
39. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 25.
40. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 12.
41. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 23.
42. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 12.
43. George Gershwin, "Harmony Exercises, 1919–1921," holograph manuscript, Gershwin Collection, Box 59, Folder 8, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; George Gershwin, "Harmony Exercises, 1922–1923," holograph manuscript, Gershwin Collection, Box 59 Folder 8, Gershwin Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. These notebooks will hereafter be cited as Notebook 1 and Notebook 2.
44. Goldberg, *George Gershwin: A Study in American Music*, 63–64.
45. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 37–38.
46. Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 34. Ironically, this is the same date as for an entry in Notebook 2, which explains the assumption that Notebook 2 was a partial record of Gershwin's studies with Goldmark.
47. Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 35.
48. Schwartz, *Gershwin*, 53–56; William G. Hylund, *George Gershwin: A New Biography* (London and Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 46.
49. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 81–82.
50. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 17; Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 12.
51. Percy Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition: A System of Harmony*, 24th ed. [= tenth printing of the rev. 14th ed.] (New York: G. Schirmer, 1913), iii. Goetschius, sometimes called "the father of American [music] theory," is considered one of the greatest American authorities on music theory of the early twentieth century. While studying at the Stuttgart Conservatory in Germany, he was a pupil of the prominent German theorist Immanuel Faisst, whom he succeeded there as professor of music theory. Faisst's theories were derived from Gottfried von Weber's interpretation of Rameau's theories. According to the preface, Goetschius's harmony text was based on Faisst's lecture notes. Nearly every book on harmony written in twentieth-century America can be traced to the influence of Goetschius. Although he served as a

professor of music theory at the New England Conservatory during the 1890s, he was invited to join the faculty of the newly opened Institute of Musical Art in New York in the early 1900s and was thus living in the city at the time of Gershwin's studies with Kilenyi. For more information on Goetschius, see David M. Thompson, *A History of Harmonic Theory in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1980).

52. Benjamin Cutter, *Harmonic Analysis* (Boston, MA: Oliver Ditson Co., 1902). Like Goetschius, Cutter was educated in Germany. The two men were colleagues at the New England Conservatory of Music during the 1890s.

53. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 10.

54. Schwartz, *Gershwin*, 55.

55. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 6.

56. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 7.

57. See Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 1–21. The first chapter's (entitled "Definitions and Rules") subheadings are: Rhythm, Modes of Accentuation, Melody, The Key, The Scale, Rules of Melody, Harmony—Intervals, Consonance and Dissonance, Chords, The Voices in Parts, Duplication of Chord-Intervals, The Positions of a Chord, Rules of Part-Writing, The General Exception (repetition of chords and voice leading), and Qualification of Tones, Chords and Chord-Intervals. The second chapter deals with diatonic triads and progressions.

58. *Gershwin Remembered*, videocassette.

59. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 12.

60. Steven E. Gilbert, *The Music of Gershwin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 3.

61. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 7–8.

62. George Gershwin, "Figured Choral" (21 July 1921), holograph manuscript score, Gershwin Collection, Box 59, Folder 4, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 33.

63. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 6 and 10. On page 6, transpositions for clarinets in E-flat, B-flat, and A are given, along with that for horns in F. Page 10 introduces Gershwin to tenor and alto clefs.

64. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 11.

65. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 16; Edward Jablonski, *Gershwin*, with a new critical discography (New York: Doubleday, 1988; repr. with new discography, New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 364. Morris Gest's "Midnight Whirl" opened 27 December 1919.

66. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 15–19.

67. Henry Osborne Osgood, *So This Is Jazz* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Co., 1926), 174.

68. Gershwin, Notebook 2, 1.

69. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 11.

70. Arnold Schoenberg, *Harmonielehre*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1922), trans. by Roy E. Carter as *Theory of Harmony* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 8.
71. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 3.
72. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 53–54.
73. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 11.
74. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 11.
75. George Gershwin, harmonization of *Eine feste Burg*, 6 October 1921, holograph manuscript score, Box 59, Folder 1, Gershwin Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
76. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 9.
77. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 9.
78. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 10.
79. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 17.
80. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 17.
81. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 12.
82. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 17.
83. Robert Wyatt and John Andrew Johnson, eds., *The George Gershwin Reader* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 42–43, 314. According to Wright and Johnson, Gershwin sailed for London on 1 February 1923 and, according to a letter written to Ira, arrived there on 17 February.
84. Gershwin, Notebook 2, 15.
85. Gershwin, Notebook 2, 19. Curiously, Kilenyi adds a seventh to the resolved tonic, but doesn't include it in the harmonic analysis of the A-minor chord in the first part of the illustration.
86. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 8.
87. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 12; Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 53.
88. Kilenyi "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 64; Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 35.
89. Oscar Levant, "My Life, or the Story of George Gershwin," in *A Smattering of Ignorance* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1940), 147–212; see also David Ewen, *A Journey to Greatness: The Life and Music of George Gershwin* (New York: Holt, 1956); and Bernstein, "Nice Gershwin Tune," 52–62.
90. Goldberg, *A Study in American Music*, 63; Robert Payne, *Gershwin* (New York: Pyramid, 1960).
91. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 84, and Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 64. Kilenyi records in the *Etude* article that Gershwin invited him over for dinner one evening in late 1931 or early 1932 to show him the score of the *Second Rhapsody*. Gershwin was apparently uncomfortable with the ending and asked Kilenyi's advice. Characteristically, Kilenyi responded by referring Gershwin to several scores for analysis.

92. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 31.
93. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 33.
94. Thompson, *History of Harmonic Theory*, 39–40. According to Thompson, Goetschius apparently did not care for late Romantic works other than Brahms and he considered Debussy's music only passable.
95. Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, iii.
96. Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 3, 5, 13.
97. Schwartz, *Gershwin*, 55.
98. Thompson, *History of Harmonic Theory*, 12; Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 93.
99. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 326.
100. Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 116–17, 133.
101. Roger Sessions, *Harmonic Practice* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1951): 224.
102. Kilenyi, "Gershwin As I Knew Him," 12.
103. Alicia Zizzo, "Gershwin's 'Sleepless Night': The 'Lost Prelude' Returns" and "Piano Lesson with Alicia Zizzo: The Gershwin Preludes," *Piano and Keyboard* 167 (March/April 1994): 24–28, 29–31.
104. George Gershwin, "Two Composition Exercises," 29 January and 1 February 1923, holograph manuscript, Gershwin Collection, Box 60, Folder 6, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. The dates on these manuscripts suggest that Gershwin was so intent on his studies that he kept up his lessons with Kilenyi almost literally until the time he sailed for London. The date on the second exercise suggests that he either wrote the exercise on board the ship or squeezed in one final lesson just hours before his departure.
105. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 83. Kilenyi writes that he and Gershwin attended a Wagner opera together while Gershwin was studying with him: "In a Wagner opera which we attended together he recognized a chromatic deceptive cadence and enthusiastically told me about it in the intermission between the acts. He was enthusiastic because he realized that he could do it consciously as he did for his lessons."
106. Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 150.
107. Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 234.
108. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 324.
109. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 325.
110. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 327.
111. Schoenberg, *Harmonielehre*, 370; and Gilbert, *The Music of Gershwin*, 223–24. "The richest possible use of scale degrees" is the way *Stufenreichtum* is rendered in Roy Carter's translation of *Harmonielehre*, while Steven E. Gilbert uses "scale-step enrichment."
112. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 360. Kilenyi seems to have shortened "appropinquity" to "propinquity" when coining the term for himself. This is the only



place in Kilenyi's writings examined thus far where the word is rendered "appropinquity." It is, however, the term Goetschius uses, further suggesting that "Law of Propinquity" was Kilenyi's term, not Goetschius's. See Goetschius, *The Materials Used in Musical Composition*, 234. The Law of Propinquity and *Stufenreichtum* are similar principles, as Kilenyi acknowledges in his articles on *Harmonielehre*. Goetschius defines propinquity in his discussion of wandering harmonies, but he only provides six general guidelines about their "proper" use, citing examples from works by Chopin, Wagner, Franck, Ravel, Richard Strauss, Loesser, Glazunov, Humperdinck, and Kreisler. Goetschius's six principles are "1. Some *chord-form* . . . should be distinctly recognizable on each accent, or important beat. The more nearly these chord-forms conform to the *natural* succession of chords, the better . . . 2. Wide skips should be almost entirely avoided; *every* part (excepting perhaps the bass) should move conjunctly, either in whole-step or half-step progressions. 3. A direct melodic line . . . should be followed in bass or in soprano. The tones may represent any time-values (rhythm), and be harmonic or not. 4. The more urgent active tones should be scrupulously resolved, excepting in chromatic progressions. 5. A fairly frequent movement (resolution) of V into I, and other normal progressions, should be distinctly felt. 6. Every tone should be analyzable according to the logically developed system of tone-relations and obligations. A passage which wholly evades rational analysis cannot endure."

113. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 10, 52.

114. Gershwin, Notebook 1, 10.

115. Gilbert, *The Music of Gershwin*, 4, 223–24.

116. Schoenberg, *Harmonielehre*, 238–39; 276–78; 298–99; 343–44; 444–45.

117. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 327.

118. Kilenyi, "Gershwiniana," 10, 52.

119. Schoenberg, *Harmonielehre*, 44.

120. Schoenberg, *Harmonielehre*, 328.

121. If *Stufenreichtum* was natural enough to Gershwin's style to be an underlying principle in his concert music, it can also be found in his popular music. However, since Kilenyi's writings specifically point to his more "serious" works, the discussion here will be limited to those compositions.

122. Schwartz, *Gershwin*, 326.

123. Kilenyi, "Arnold Schönberg's 'Harmony,'" 327.

124. Gershwin, Notebook 2, 23.

125. Starr, "Nice Gershwin Tunes," 99–100, and Susan Neimoyer, "Rhapsody in Blue: A Culmination of George Gershwin's Early Musical Education" (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 2003), 208–23.

126. See Steven E. Gilbert, "Gershwin's Art of Counterpoint," *Musical Quarterly* 70 (1984): 423–56. In his brief discussion of this passage, the Schoenbergian characteristics in this passage are affirmed by Gilbert, who deems its relative dissonance "at least partially . . . emancipat[ed]."

127. In spelling the chord this way, Gershwin followed Kilenyi's advice not to imitate what others had done before. If he considered the C the real root of the chord, he has instead removed the fifth. However, even the removal of the fifth, particularly when voiced with the ninth in the bass, destabilizes the vertical sonority so profoundly that the chord can still resolve in any direction.

# Gershwin in the Heartland: Critical and Public Reception of the 1934 Leo Reisman Tour

Wayne Schneider

In 1934, ten years after the famous premiere of *Rhapsody in Blue*, the music of George Gershwin (1898–1937) could still stir up controversy. His compositions' trademark recipe of classical and popular and his controversial absorption of African American blues and jazz traditions had delighted listeners but had also fostered ambivalence and even contentious partisanship. Was Gershwin highbrow or lowbrow? Was his music a brilliant synthesis or jazz fakery? Apparently Gershwin himself, especially in the 1930s, reflected on his emerging fame and historical place in American music, mirrored by his new compositions of increased intellectual and emotional depth. In early 1934, nearly two years before the premiere of *Porgy and Bess*, George Gershwin and the Leo Reisman Orchestra embarked on a month-long concert tour of the eastern half of the United States.<sup>1</sup> This tour enabled Gershwin to assess his stance in the greater American musical landscape and take the pulse of his reception by critics and audiences across the country. By 1934, the issue of Gershwin as Great American Composer, the contested boundaries of popular and classical music, and the definition of jazz had been hashed out over the last decade by the press of the urban East, but, as Gershwin discovered, these topics still burned in the nation's heartland.

But the tour was more than mere advertising for Gershwin and his music. The concert program, Gershwin interviews, photo-ops, and publicity stunts reveal a composer forming what one might today call the “Gershwin brand”: the legacy of a composer of not only commercially successful songs and shows but of enduring classical masterworks of American music. Using material from archives, libraries, historical societies, and private collections from the twenty-eight cities on the itinerary, in this essay I examine the genesis and mechanics of the tour; the reaction of critics and the public to the show, to Gershwin as pianist,

and to his songs and concert works; and the debate over jazz and its influence on Gershwin's music. Finally, Gershwin himself weighs in on topics ranging from jazz to Prohibition, from inspiration to orchestration. The Reisman tour for Gershwin was more than a commercial experiment—it became a milestone on the composer's road to self-discovery.

## The Tour

The Leo Reisman tour was the brainchild of Gershwin's friend Harry Askins (1867–1934). Askins and Gershwin had met seventeen years earlier when Askins, impressed with nineteen-year-old Gershwin's playing as rehearsal pianist for Jerome Kern and Victor Herbert's *Miss 1917*, subsequently introduced the young aspiring composer to publishing magnate Max Dreyfus—a major step in Gershwin's early rise to fame.<sup>2</sup> Askins was no stranger to the business of touring. He had managed the Sousa Band's worldwide concert tours for fifteen years, sometimes organizing two concerts daily in two different venues.<sup>3</sup> Now, in 1934, Askins concocted the idea of a concert tour to celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924) featuring the Leo Reisman Orchestra, James Melton (1904–61)—a popular young tenor making his mark on radio broadcasts—and Gershwin.<sup>4</sup>

The catch was that the tour proposed twenty-eight concerts in twenty-eight cities in twenty-eight days, in winter, beginning in Boston, extending as far west as Omaha, and ending in Brooklyn—altogether a total of 12,000 miles separating the one-night stands. (See Table 1 for the tour's itinerary.) The logistics were daunting. The Reisman Orchestra (which Jerome Kern called “the string quartet of dance orchestras”) comprised about thirty-five players, including two pianists playing Steinway concert grands and two percussionists playing a slew of percussion.<sup>5, 6</sup> (See Table 2 for the orchestra's personnel.) And of course there was Gershwin, playing a third Steinway. Add in the more portable musical instruments—including a priceless Stradivarius played by concertmaster John Corigliano—music, wardrobe, stage crew, luggage, and the miscellany of travel, and the idea of the tour seems preposterous.

One reviewer noted that the concept of a “definite one-night stand itinerary” was “a thing of the past,” labeling Gershwin a “revivalist” of old practices.<sup>7</sup> Playing several nights at one venue cut traveling expenses, but in small population centers a several-night stand potentially reduced the size of the house on any given evening. So the bet was made for single nights with full houses.



Table 1. Leo Reisman Tour Itinerary: January–February 1934\*

January	14	Symphony Hall	Boston, Mass.
	15	City Hall Auditorium	Portland, Maine
	16	Memorial Auditorium	Worcester, Mass.
	17	City Auditorium	Springfield, Mass.
	18	Lincoln Auditorium, Central High School	Syracuse, N.Y.
	19	Massey Hall	Toronto, Ontario
	20	Music Hall, Public Auditorium	Cleveland, Ohio
	21	Orchestra Hall	Detroit, Mich.
	22	Shrine Theater	Fort Wayne, Ind.
	23	The Auditorium	Milwaukee, Wisc.
	24	West High School Auditorium	Madison, Wisc.
	25	The Auditorium	St. Paul, Minn.
	26	The Coliseum	Sioux Falls, S.Dak.
	27	Technical High School	Omaha, Nebr.
	28	Convention Hall	Kansas City, Miss.
	29	Shrine Auditorium	Des Moines, Iowa
	30	Masonic Auditorium	Davenport, Iowa
	31	The Odeon	St. Louis, Miss.
February	1	English Opera House	Indianapolis, Ind.
	2	Memorial Auditorium	Louisville, Ky.
	3	Taft Auditorium	Cincinnati, Ohio
	4	Auditorium Theater	Chicago, Ill.
	5	Memorial Hall	Dayton, Ohio
	6	Syria Mosque	Pittsburgh, Pa.
	7	Academy of Music	Philadelphia, Pa.
	8	Constitution Hall	Washington, D.C.
	9	Mosque Auditorium	Richmond, Va.
	10	Academy of Music	Brooklyn, N.Y.

\*Scrapbook 5-GC contains a copy of the itinerary "GEORGE GERSHWIN TOUR 1934," complete with train schedule and admonishment: "Subject to Train Change without notice/ Members are required to watch Bulletin Board on Stage."

Gershwin was no stranger to travel—he had endured show tryouts, fulfilled countless concert dates, and made five trips to Europe, the last in 1928. He had also toured with the Paul Whiteman Orchestra in 1924, a musical organization similar in size and style to the Reisman Orchestra and an ensemble that played in similar venues. Indeed, the earlier tour showcased *Rhapsody in Blue*, and many of the stops were identical to those of the 1934 tour: Rochester, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Des Moines, Davenport, Milwaukee, Chicago, and Cleveland.<sup>8</sup>

Table 2. The Leo Reisman Orchestra (1934 Tour)

From photographs from the Gershwin Collection and from the holograph score of the "I Got Rhythm" Variations, the orchestra comprised the following (personnel noted where known):

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1 flute/piccolo	George Bamford
1 oboe/English Horn	Mitch Miller
1 bassoon	
4 reeds: 2 alto saxes (doubling clarinets), 1 tenor sax, 1 baritone sax	Ben Kanter
3 trumpets	John Jacobson (orchestra manager), Michael Renzulli (principal)
3 French horns	Oswald Porpora, Frank Bonerbo, Angelo Ricci
2 trombones	Henry Woelber
1 tuba	
8 violins	John Corigliano (concertmaster) Harry Gluckman
3 violas	
2 cellos	Harry Fuchs
1 double bass	
2 pianos	Wendell Keeney, Edward Horne
2 percussion	
Charles Previn, conductor	
Herbert Farrar, travel manager	

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Challenges notwithstanding, Askins managed to sign on the Reisman entourage, Gershwin, and Melton. The tour was booked, special train cars were hired for transportation, and, as Gershwin biographer Edward Jablonski reports, Gershwin and Askins entered into a partnership for the venture with Askins serving as a manager.<sup>9</sup>

A single program was planned, featuring compositions mostly by Gershwin, to be performed night after night (see Table 3). The concert began with Concerto in F (1925), with Gershwin at the piano, followed by an orchestral medley of famous Gershwin songs arranged by Bill Daly (1887–1936), a longtime friend of Gershwin and co-composer and arranger of music for several Gershwin shows.<sup>10</sup> James Melton then sang a group

Table 3. Program for the Leo Reisman Tour Concerts, 1934

Concerto in F	George Gershwin
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra and George Gershwin, piano</i>	
Medley (three or four of the following)	George Gershwin
Swanee; Sam and Delilah; Oh, Lady Be Good!;	
Do It Again; Mine; Strike Up the Band	
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra</i>	
Songs	
Hills of Home	Oscar J. Fox
Home on the Range	David Guion [attr.]
Carry Me Back to the Lone Prairie	Carson J. Robinson
Encore: Last Roundup	Billy Hill
Encore: Yours Is My Heart Alone	Franz Lehár
<i>James Melton, tenor, and Edward Horne, piano</i>	
Rhapsody in Blue	George Gershwin
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra and George Gershwin, piano</i>	
Intermission	
An American in Paris	George Gershwin
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra</i>	
Songs	
Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child	arr. Frank Black
G'wine to Hebb'n	[arr.] Jacques Wolfe
Shortnin' Bread	[arr.] Jacques Wolfe
Encore: Mah Lindy Lou	Lily Strickland
<i>James Melton, tenor, and Edward Horne, piano</i>	
"I Got Rhythm" Variations	George Gershwin
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra and George Gershwin, piano</i>	
Wintergreen for President	George Gershwin
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra</i>	
Medley	George Gershwin
Fascinating Rhythm	
The Man I Love	
Liza	
I Got Rhythm	
<i>Leo Reisman Orchestra and George Gershwin, piano</i>	
Encores (some of the following)	George Gershwin
Of Thee I Sing	
'S Wonderful Maybe	
Oh, Kay!	
<i>James Melton, tenor, and George Gershwin, piano</i>	

of songs, and the first half of the concert ended with *Rhapsody in Blue*—Gershwin again at the piano. After intermission, the orchestra played *An American in Paris* (1928), Melton sang another group of songs, and Gershwin and the orchestra performed a new work written expressly for the tour: the “I Got Rhythm” Variations (1934). The concert concluded with the orchestra playing another Gershwin medley, arranged for piano and orchestra by Daly. As the tour progressed, the program changed slightly. At some concerts, the orchestra performed Gershwin’s “Wintergreen for President” march from *Of Thee I Sing* (1931) before the last medley. Occasionally Gershwin and Melton together performed additional Gershwin songs—“Of Thee I Sing,” “Maybe,” and others—as encores or in lieu of the last medley. (Melton, too, often sang an encore or two after each group of songs.) At some concerts, Gershwin took requests, with mixed results. In an interview after the tour, Gershwin recalled his

secret ambition to become an actor. Harry Askins planned a tour and asked me to keep the performance dignified so, to fulfill an old craving, I turned Palace. In the last month I’ve been asking audiences what they wanted me to play and when Chopsticks stopped the show, James Melton remarked: “It’s the best thing he does.” They took him seriously and stopped applauding. No more Chopsticks.<sup>11</sup>

Gershwin, bouncing back from two commercial failures in 1933—the musical comedy *Pardon My English* and the political operetta *Let ’Em Eat Cake* (a sequel to *Of Thee I Sing*)—rushed into the preparations for the tour with characteristic verve. They were set to open in Boston on 14 January 1934. In December 1933, Gershwin was in Florida, staying at the Palm Beach home of friend and financier Emil Mosbacher, working on early ideas for *Porgy and Bess* and composing the two-piano draft score of the “I Got Rhythm” Variations for the tour. On both his way down to Florida and back to New York City, Gershwin stopped in Charleston, South Carolina, to see DuBose Heyward, author of the novel *Porgy* and librettist of the opera-in-progress.<sup>12</sup> By 4 January, Gershwin had returned to New York, and in an interview he gave that day told reporters regarding the new Variations that “he had completed more than fifty pages of the orchestration and, ‘before the night’s over I’ve got to wash up twenty-five more.’”<sup>13</sup> Indeed, two days later the work was complete: the date at the end of the score reads 6 January 1934, and the work is dedicated “To my brother Ira.”<sup>14</sup>

The “I Got Rhythm” Variations is one of Gershwin’s least-known and most striking works. The theme and variations for piano and



orchestra are based on the 1930 tune from the musical comedy *Girl Crazy*. On a 1934 radio broadcast, Gershwin described the work:

After the introduction by the orchestra the piano plays the theme rather simply. The first variation is a very complicated rhythmic pattern [marked in the score “bitingly” and “with metronomic precision”] played by the piano while the orchestra takes the theme. The next variation is in waltz time. The third is a Chinese variation in which I imitate Chinese flutes played out of tune, as they always are. . . . Next the piano plays the rhythmic variation in which the left hand plays the melody upside down and the right plays it straight, on the theory that you shouldn’t let one hand know what the other is doing. Then comes the finale.<sup>15</sup>

The style is typical for 1930s Gershwin: ingenious, brainy counterpoint; modernist, occasionally quartal, occasionally bitonal harmony (the Chinese flutes); and thoughtful orchestration. The original scoring for the Reisman ensemble has never been published; the only printed edition is William C. Schoenfeld’s watery reorchestration.<sup>16</sup>

As soon as Gershwin completed the composition, a week of rehearsals followed in preparation for the tour. As luck would have it, leader Leo Reisman broke his leg in an automobile accident just days before the tour was to begin.<sup>17</sup> Charles Previn (1888–1973), conductor of Gershwin’s shows *La-La-Lucille!* (1919) and *Of Thee I Sing*, signed on to replace the ailing Reisman.<sup>18</sup>

In spite of such mishaps and tight deadlines, the tour opened as scheduled, and though traveling in the dead of winter, managed miraculously to make all the dates. Snow in Richmond killed the house, but otherwise the weather cooperated.<sup>19</sup> Making a profit was another matter, and not surprisingly the tour lost money. In a letter to DuBose Heyward, Gershwin wrote of the “arduous but exciting trip,” noting that the “tour was a fine artistic success for me and would have been splendid financially if my foolish manager hadn’t booked me into seven towns that were too small to support such an expensive organization as I carried.”<sup>20</sup> According to biographers Robert Kimball and Alfred Simon, Gershwin waived any fee for the tour, insisting that the orchestra musicians and staff be paid, and received only his train fare and expenses. Ultimately he had to “kick in over \$5,000 of his own to help cover the deficit.”<sup>21</sup> The financial troubles were not connected to poor attendance, however; according to reviews, the tour drew large crowds and sold out most nights. But Askins’s formula of one-night performances to full houses could not cover traveling expenses (\$6,000 weekly) and payroll (\$14,000 weekly) for the large entourage.<sup>22</sup> Askins covered his bets

somewhat: most dates were underwritten in part by local music clubs, business booster organizations, and women's arts sororities, and he had been "assured upwards of \$75,000" before setting out.<sup>23</sup> But, having been underwritten, ticket prices were consequently never above \$3. Moreover, in 1934, one of the darkest years of the Depression, traveling artists inevitably faced financial risks. A reviewer in Milwaukee, for example, marveled that so many people attended an event that was clearly a prohibitive luxury for many of them: "Life has been pretty serious for most of us of late, and to be taken out of oneself by the wit and glinting satire of the Gershwin brand of music was an opportunity to grasp at eagerly and enjoy to the full."<sup>24</sup> By the end of the tour, Askins began to bill the evening as a three-for-the-price-of-one show—Gershwin, Melton, and the Reisman Orchestra—to bolster ticket sales.<sup>25</sup>

Because of the tight schedule, the entourage followed a strict routine, reported in newspaper accounts. The train arrived in the morning. The star performers disembarked and went to a hotel and rested for a few hours (most of the orchestra slept on the train). Stagehands set up in the morning; the ensemble rehearsed in the afternoon. Gershwin, Melton, and Previn gave interviews and made personal appearances, time and schedule permitting, in the late afternoon. For example, Gershwin judged a songwriting contest in Cleveland, gave piano lessons in Fort Wayne, and signed autographs and answered fan mail forwarded to each stop.<sup>26</sup>

The concert began at 8:15 in the evening, or in the afternoons on Sundays. During intermission, Gershwin and Melton again signed autographs and gave brief interviews.<sup>27</sup> Further interviews and a reception inevitably followed the concert, train schedule permitting. (Gershwin famously loved to play the piano at parties, so one suspects the train may have pulled out late occasionally.)<sup>28</sup> Incidentally, orchestra members were not invited to these social affairs and, according to Mitch Miller, then a twenty-three-year-old oboist with Reisman, Gershwin did not fraternize with members of the orchestra.<sup>29</sup> Other accounts suggest Gershwin was self-absorbed and even aloof on the tour. In Omaha, for example, in an interview given with Melton and tenor Morton Downey (who coincidentally was performing at Omaha's Brandeis Theater), Gershwin seemed distant and shy. As the tenors joked and demonstrated how each could whistle two melodies at once the newspaperman observed Gershwin quietly accompanying them. Only once did he speak, to reminisce about the Whiteman Orchestra tour in Omaha in 1925 for which Downey played trumpet and sang with the band.<sup>30</sup> Paul Mueller, Gershwin's valet, noted that "Gershwin was preoccupied and perhaps more serious than was his custom, which made him the target

of [band members'] jibes." After the Toronto concert, "as they were leaving Canada and re-entering the United States, just as the Customs officials entered their car, someone (it was the third violinist, the company joker) shouted out, 'Hey, George, you better hide those diamonds, those guys are getting on.' The result was that, as George fretted, the Customs men held them up for more than an hour searching for the 'diamonds.'" <sup>31</sup>

Most of the performances came off without a hitch. In Madison, Gershwin's Steinway suffered a broken key, <sup>32</sup> and in Davenport on 30 January the concert "was interrupted at 10:20 p.m. to hear the birthday greeting of President Roosevelt through radio amplification." <sup>33</sup> But all in all Gershwin seemed genuinely enthusiastic about the tour, with few reservations. "These tours are a little nerve wracking, but I really enjoy them because I like to meet people," and "I feel just like Sousa, touring the country with the 'Rhapsody.' But I never get tired having people tell me they like it." Even after the tour was finished, Gershwin considered it "a very worthwhile thing for me to have done and I have many pleasant memories of cities I had not visited before." <sup>34</sup>

### **The Critics and the Public**

Reviews for the concerts show that America, by and large, liked Gershwin in return. Over a hundred reviews of the concerts reveal much not only about critical reception of Gershwin's music and Gershwin himself but also about the sophistication of American critics and audiences. The tone of criticism is remarkably similar in population centers large and small, close to East Coast urban centers, or far out in the nation's heartland.

For example, drawing on experience in observing classical music performance, or perhaps projecting a facade of cultural superiority, critics clearly were not starstruck in the presence of Gershwin. Many reviewers remarked that Gershwin was a fine but not exceptional pianist. "A facile but not virtuoso pianist," wrote one, "although naturally lacking the force and polish of one who habitually plays public concerts." "A good player, but he needs a little more power to be completely effective in a large hall." Even Gershwin's interpretations of his own music came under fire: "He would also do better to let someone else perform his music, for as a pianist he is a good composer." <sup>35</sup> Some critics commented on his nervous energy and stage presence, occasionally revealing ugly bias. "Gershwin is a big-nosed, full-lipped man with long, slim, catlike fingers." He is an "unknown quantity" and "hidden. He doesn't believe in throwing confidence to the winds, or broadcasting

his innermost desires. He gives an impression of utter sophistication, of having been places and having done things. . . . Pacing the room with leashed energy . . . [Gershwin] is always poised and considerate, kind and quiet-mannered. . . . His voice has a warmth of feeling and his yellow-brown eyes are direct in their gaze."<sup>36</sup> As a performer, Gershwin "walks on and off the stage with four-foot strides and coat tails flying," but "Mr. Gershwin wears his laurels modestly and appears shy before the homage of his audience. A contrast between the composer and Mr. Melton was unavoidable. Whereas Mr. Gershwin is reserved, the tenor is youthfully effervescent."<sup>37</sup>

Indeed, the affable, gregarious James Melton, by most accounts, often nearly stole the show. He introduced his songs to the audience and joked with them in a casual, conversational manner—a sharp contrast to Gershwin's formal, somewhat stiff stage persona. "So captivating that a rising vote at the moment might have made him the personal star of the evening," one critic wrote. He is "obviously more popular with the audience than Gershwin himself," and "much of the program was literally stolen from under the Gershwin domination." Another critic compared him to beloved tenor John McCormack.<sup>38</sup> Audiences begged for encores; after several, Melton pleaded pressing train schedules or laryngitis, and even teased the audience in his Georgia drawl: "Ain't you-all ever goin' home?"<sup>39</sup> A few critics carped on a distinction between radio singers and concert-hall singers—the former small-voiced and dependent on amplification—but most reviewers were completely charmed.<sup>40</sup>

The baton-less flailing of flamboyant conductor Previn also captivated audiences. Reviewers discovered an easy target: "eloquent wriggling," "a whole show in himself," and "such feats of conducting haven't been seen here since Creatore used to bewilder us."<sup>41</sup> "Previn's conducting was bobbing and incandescent. He stroked the air politely; he demolished it with a bang of his fist; he waved his shaggy head and grimaced with scowls of infinite ferocity." He "conducted without a baton, but did not need one. The stocky artist presented an interesting spectacle as he threw himself into his work, at times directing with virtually every part of his body." "He might have directed with his shock of fluttering hair, but he did not."<sup>42</sup>

The Reisman Orchestra, an unusually large dance orchestra yet not a chamber concert orchestra, confounded some critics who criticized its size, balance of winds against strings, and volume. "As a dance band, the Reisman group would have been satisfying enough but as a concert orchestra it had by far too few strings and too many wind players," wrote one critic. The "strings might have been a bit heavier. . . . Reisman, a fiddler, should afford himself some more fiddlers." Another reviewer



suggested that the instrumentation was “inadequate”: “The players strove valiantly for volume, but it was a volume lacking in balanced sonority.”<sup>43</sup> Gershwin had scored the “I Got Rhythm” Variations specifically for the Reisman ensemble, but Gershwin’s other concert works had to be rescored to fit the smaller group. Some critics objected: “[The Concerto in F] needs a full orchestra for its proper performance.” Others preferred the Reisman arrangements over the orchestral versions: “The larger Gershwin works have been heard here usually with the Philadelphia Orchestra . . . [but] they are far better suited to the type of presentation they received last night where the jazz instrumentation was available and in the hands of men experienced in the jazz style.”<sup>44</sup> Reviewers, too, compared the Reisman performances with local past performances of Gershwin’s music. Several grumpy Boston reviewers noted that the Boston Pops and pianist Jesus Maria Sanroma had played *Rhapsody in Blue* often and always much better than the Reisman Orchestra and the composer.<sup>45</sup>

Idiosyncrasies of the performers and performances aside, reviewers and audiences were very familiar with Gershwin’s concert works and popular songs. Miles of journalistic prose weighed in pro or con on the merits of *Rhapsody in Blue*, the Concerto in F, and *An American in Paris*. Most critics were enthralled, even giddy: “Gorgeous music, all compact of such diverse things as joy and grandeur and flaring rockets and dire cries from the cosmic void and ashcans rolling downhill.”<sup>46</sup> But some reviewers suggested that Gershwin should confine himself to small forms and lighter fare, that his concert works overreached, lacked organic growth, and were stitched together for the sake of length in “tiresome and aimless pose and gesture.” “They always seem to us like conventional overtures to musical shows elaborated with weird conglomerations of sound for special effects.”<sup>47</sup> And to some critics, the music—with the exception of the new “I Got Rhythm” Variations—was too familiar and even stale. “So widely have they been liberally broadcast over the radio, that none of them are now novel.” “An entire evening of his music leads close to the point of surfeit.”<sup>48</sup>

*Rhapsody in Blue* was hands-down the favorite of audiences and critics: “a masterpiece . . . worn well for 10 years . . . still fresh . . . witty, spontaneous, warm-blooded and colorful.” Even though perhaps “played too often”—“the football of every jazz pianist (and many a concert pianist)”—reviewers and audiences fell under its spell as a masterpiece, “one of our national airs.”<sup>49</sup> *An American in Paris* fared similarly well, although occasionally criticized for a rambling, episodic form: “makes concessions to conventional formulas,” “full of instrumental tricks” and “cleverness.” One reviewer called it a “rhythmic headache”; another

claimed it was “too long to be really enjoyed thoroughly.” But most critics voiced sentiments similar to a Boston critic: a “racy score, exuberant, bubbling over with the sparkling water of American life.”<sup>50</sup>

The Concerto in F, on the other hand, was roundly and nearly universally bashed. “Pretty dull stuff. . . . George has discarded the Broadway checks and gotten uncomfortably into tails and a boiled shirt.” “[The Concerto] is knit together loosely in places and you lose interest in it. It doesn’t quite click.” “The Concerto in F is a dud . . . the composer obviously hadn’t much skill in orchestration when he wrote it and was completely innocent of the uses of counterpoint.” “The movements seemed too similar in subject-matter and character, the themes unimportant, the development often prolix.”<sup>51</sup>

But whatever the critical reception, attendance numbers were spectacular. Reviewers invariably mentioned attendance statistics and records, and also discussed the character of the audience. Intoning like cultural hall monitors, critics noted with surprise—and occasionally clear disdain—that crowds comprised young people and denizens who, under “normal,” classical music circumstances, wouldn’t be caught dead in a concert hall. “The hall was generously dotted with those who were displaying their first interest in the art of the symphony.” “And everybody was there—members of the social set, staid professors from the hill, Morning Musicals members and officers [the local sponsors of the concert], and a large proportion of young folk.” “‘Society’ was represented, possibly for a mild bit of ‘slumming’; musicians were there from professional interest; and music-lovers from artistic interest; the radio public had a large delegation present, and probably the dancing younger generation also, while many nondescript laymen seemed to have dropped in out of mere curiosity.” “Symphony ‘regulars’ and grand opera patrons mingled with radio fans and jazz addicts.”<sup>52</sup> Some audience members even suffered heroic deprivations, as a critic overheard: “I’ve been tight for two days but I stopped this morning hard to be sure to hear this, and it was worth it.”<sup>53</sup> Reviewers commented again and again on the large number of young people at the concerts: “far more young persons than usually attend.” “The audience was one of youth listening to the music of youth.” “Take it or leave it; this is the rising generation’s conception of the world we live in.”<sup>54</sup>

Descriptions of culturally mixed audiences and generation gaps led reviewers naturally into the attendant debate of the worth of “serious” classical music, “light” classics, and popular music:

We can only feel sorry for those solemn music lovers who do not know the value of clever music of a light character. In turn, we feel equally sorry for those who confine their listening entirely to music of this type, little realizing that the very directness that they find in the best examples of popular music is a vital part of, for instance, the symphonies of Haydn.

If people who think “classical” music beyond their powers of comprehension would listen to symphonic programs open-mindedly, they’d be surprised at the fullness of the joy that awaits them. And if those who, including this reviewer, talk about the “cultural” value of music would leave out all reference to “culture” and make clear the fact that any decent music which achieves its goal is good music, and that good music is essential to a full life, there might be everywhere a greater response.

Though all music that sways the world is serious in that it possesses the power to solace the souls of men, the Gershwin kind probably does more good to the greatest number of people than Mendelssohn’s *Spring Song* ever did, celebrated and beautiful as it is.

Only the narrow-brow, not the genuine high-brow, could take exception to this extraordinary performance. . . . Is it good music or drivel? Our grandchildren will do the deciding.<sup>55</sup>

But then reviewers asked,

If concerts like this one are what the public wants to hear, why not have more of them?

After all, who is it that shall decree that there can be no fun in good music, when in substance it may be much better than much of that which is entirely serious and solemn?

One might be justified in wondering whether the annual heart burnings of the many symphony societies might not be alleviated if occasional programs were to contain the light, gay and intriguing inventions found in these Gershwin things.

Besides that, it was great fun.<sup>56</sup>

At least in the heartland, the widespread appeal of Gershwin’s music—especially among young people—stirred up the minefield of the “pops concert,” a cultural skirmish for which sides were already being chosen in 1934.

## **The Jazz Debate**

But the debate over jazz—symphonic jazz, jazz and classical music—was the most common theme among critics. The debate was engaged in

with gusto everywhere on the tour, reminiscent of the controversy in the wake of the *Rhapsody in Blue* premiere at Aeolian Hall in New York City in 1924.<sup>57</sup> In the Roaring Twenties, the definition of jazz was wide open and evolving. F. Scott Fitzgerald's Jazz Age included African American performers, but also white ragtime performers (Irving Berlin, Zez Confrey) and white performers of syncopated dance music (Whiteman, Ted Lewis, Vincent Lopez, Reisman). By 1934 one might have expected the jazz debate among critics on the tour to be somewhat refined, especially in geographic areas where African American jazz was heard and firmly established, but virtually everywhere the old 1920s battles seemed to rage on.

Critics' headlines tipped their hands: "Humor, Gayety [sic], of New Jazz Shown in Gershwin's Concert of Rhythms," "Gershwin's Blues and Rhythms Thrill 1,800," "Gershwin Fills Day with Jazz," "Gershwin Triumphs; Noted Exponent of Reformed Jazz Wins Ovation," and "Gershwin Presents Best in Jazz and in Modernism."<sup>58</sup> Reviews and even advertisements often described the Reisman Orchestra as a jazz band. In Fort Wayne, Gershwin was called a "jazz master"; in Toronto, a "high-jazz composer"; in Cleveland, a "hero of jazz"; and in Philadelphia, the "king of jazz" and "King George the First of the Realm of Jazz."<sup>59</sup>

Critics parsed Gershwin's music—concert works and songs—to discover if they were the real jazz article:

Jazz, with its not so very distant heritage of primitive savages beating drums, has become the real music of today. An occasional composer has attempted to lift jazz toward the realm of good music and Gershwin has probably done more of this than any other individual.

That Gershwin set out early in life to command respect for popular or "jazz" music, as it is sometimes but erroneously called, was unqualifiedly admitted by the composer himself.

Indeed, the most musical element in his style seems . . . the reticence which jazz never possesses, but which good music, even the most expressive, always does. It shows Mr. Gershwin to be working with materials, at a distance, and for a purpose . . . not so much how to disguise jazz in the symphonic form but, rather, how to find for jazz a form that will make it essentially musical, instead of just nervously candid.

[*Rhapsody in Blue* is] proof that jazz is not an idiom limited only to song with chorus or to popular dance airs.

Whether or not it is good music, this "jazz," may be debatable, but personal opinion prefers to champion the "folk songs" of 120,000,000 people.

For years, "jazz" has been the "enfant terrible" of music, but after



being adopted and trained by such a musician as George Gershwin, he has developed into a pretty healthy fellow, a fairly good investment, "a betting proposition," with a decided musical accent. . . . The elements of spirituality and aesthetism [*sic*] are entirely lacking in jazz, but it has wit, precision, intense energy and the power to chase dull care away.<sup>60</sup>

A reviewer or two occasionally acknowledged the confusion of jazz terminology: "syncopated music—jazz if the reader prefers"; "the best of jazz, the best of modernism, which goes in circles, where?"<sup>61</sup>

Gershwin, in interview after interview, seemingly could not stop talking about jazz, shuffling and struggling with its meaning:

I hate the word—jazz! I can't stand the way certain American music is labeled with that—er—jazz idiom. I'm in search of a new word—something like *rhythmism* or *symphonism* or—well, even an *ism* is better than the word jazz. What's the use of calling music something that represents the period we're living in but certainly doesn't typify the new music. In America, so-called jazz is a distinct product of the people. But a broader sweeping symphony has been introduced. And now, what we call jazz is actually in some of the best new operas. Obviously, our terms are wrong. I'm writing music for a new opera based on "Porgy," and I certainly wouldn't call it jazz. We're expressing something more profound. One of my concertos is 30 minutes long, and I've attempted to touch emotions in the best traditions of music. Why—I'd give anything for a new word instead of jazz!

Jazz is popular with most young people because they have pep and it is an emotional outlet, but the most important thing about jazz is that it is strictly American. Other phases of music are the German, or Russian extraction . . . but jazz is and always will be American because it originated here.

I want to preserve American music, the jazz themes that are ours alone, into a more lasting and enduring form—that of symphonic arrangement. I want to jot down Americana in music, to develop a nationalistic style. That's what the great composers did with their native folk music.

Jazz will go into something else, just as it evolved from rag-time music. But I hope to goodness it gets another name.<sup>62</sup>

Charles Haven interviewed Gershwin in Boston before the tour began. Harry Askins apparently sent along copies to leading newspapers at stops on the tour, for critics often quoted portions in reviews here and there. In the Haven interview, jazz again was the central issue:

The music we call jazz . . . I feel expresses as completely as possible the spirit of America. We sense the gayety [sic] of the people, the vivacity, the vulgarity even, and the sentimentality. Then there is the idea of occasional lassitude and also that of weariness with the throb of a colorful existence.

I can discover in the musical mode that we are changing with the times. The spiritual has its accentuation as we progress and as we combat valiantly and yet with some humility the elements that are disturbing our poise.

A new industrial and financial world brings us a new outlook and all art is affected. Jazz has not gone but there is more of the plaintive in our rhythms and the exuberance of spirit is giving way to a rich and mellow mood.

Here we know jazz.

The European is not successful in his imitation because he lives in a different atmosphere. So when better jazz is written it will be written by Americans. Meanwhile we are not standing still nor are we retrograding. You will find distinct advances in all our musical appreciation and our composers are keeping pace with the best. I do not say this with any thought that I am trying to shout my own praise, but because I find in all truth the sort of betterment in composition in America.<sup>63</sup>

Of course, Gershwin had been caught in the crosshairs of the jazz debate since *Rhapsody in Blue*'s premiere. That single event had made him a darling of the press, an often uncomfortable "authority" on the subject of jazz, and he had been mulling over its meaning and its relationship to his music and dodging critics' questions ever since. In the rambling remarks on jazz from interviews on the tour, and in interviews and essays over the previous decade, Gershwin campaigned for a larger definition of jazz, something like a racially neutral folk music, uniquely rhythmic, distinctly American.<sup>64</sup> But in 1934 Gershwin still seemed trapped in the old musical stylistic dialectic (what biographer Edward Jablonski calls "musical semantics").<sup>65</sup> Surely, Gershwin knew that the *Rhapsody* and its kin were not jazz, not in the sense of African American improvisatory traditions. But Gershwin apparently wished to expand the term, to make the term fit his music, to give his music and himself an identity.

### **The Interviews**

Just as surely, most people came to these 1934 concerts not to engage in a dialectic on levels of culture or the merits of mixing jazz with classical music, or even the definition of jazz, but to be entertained by Gershwin and his music. Gershwin was a bona fide celebrity, a famous man, performing live music in far-flung venues. Newspaper reporters hounded him for interviews, a passing remark, a snappy one-liner, and Gershwin

obliged, not only espousing themes and causes familiar in his writings and interviews before and after the tour, but also occasionally revealing—unintentionally, perhaps—tiny facets of personality.

On classical composers:

Bach, Wagner, Stravinsky—I can say that they are among my idolized composers. . . . They have taught me much, with their genius and their musicianship. I hear them always with keenest interest and often they reveal new ideas that give me still greater appreciation of their quality.<sup>66</sup>

On music making after Prohibition:

Now that we can take our wines and liquors like gentlemen, our music will be tempered with the mellowness of pre-Prohibition days. . . . Our greatest musicians . . . came from Germany, France, Italy, and Russia, countries which are also famous for their drinking.<sup>67</sup>

On painting:

Sometimes I wish composing were a hobby with me, rather than a business. . . . Sometimes I find myself painting more than I compose and if I did not watch out it would possibly take more of my time.

Collecting pictures may change the whole course of my life.<sup>68</sup>

Asked which comes first—the music or the lyrics—Gershwin replies:

I always say “yes” and change the subject as soon as I can.

I compose many of my songs without any thought of the lyrics to be supplied. Then there are times when my brother, Ira, will write a lyric first. He conforms to a definite rhythm and the setting of a melody then arises rather naturally in conformity with the sentiment expressed.<sup>69</sup>

On teas and women’s clubs; when a critic observes Gershwin’s nervousness at a reception given at a women’s club following a concert, Gershwin remarks that he is

not particularly fond of tea. You see, I never go to women’s clubs.<sup>70</sup>

On inspiration:

Then there is that matter of inspiration. I would like to believe it but I’m not sure. I think that generally it is application that brings results—that and enthusiasm. The music that I write presents itself to me in a

sort of design and I sit at the piano playing the melody until it seems a finished product.

Genius is inborn in a great composer . . . but no amount of practicing and endeavor will ever produce a great composer without this inborn genius. Good taste in music composing on the other hand can be attained . . . but the student cannot write an inspirational work just on technical skill.

You see I incline to the serious in music but wish to be understood in music expression. I do not follow a pattern—I could not. Nor do I wait for inspiration. That, or something I thought was inspiration, has come to me on rare occasions. But I find that when a musical thought comes to me it is well for me to write it down. Many a musical phrase has been lost to me when I neglected to follow that rule.

And as for dreaming music—that is not dependable. However, on one occasion when a melody ran through my mind I got out of bed and set down the notes. The song, I'm pleased to say, was a hit.<sup>71</sup>

#### On training:

The great secret, I believe, in any achievement is keeping everlastingly at the task. Make it a pleasure. And study.

My early musical training was not exceptional, but after I had become a professional piano player in a song publishing house I tried to improve myself and I learned something of harmony.

You learn by observing what others do and, if possible, avoiding their faults. And you must have technique in music.

So I am never satisfied with any achievement. I want to do better and so I continue to study.

Don't get the idea that I am a grind or anything of that sort. It is merely that I want to keep in touch and that I am keenly interested in music for itself and for its charm and loveliness.<sup>72</sup>

#### On composition:

I write music today in just the same manner as Bach did hundreds of years ago. . . . I wish you could see the hundreds of pages of manuscript I throw away before catching the most melodious.

Usually I compose directly as I am seated at the piano. It isn't a good practice but I started that way and do not seem to be able to change.

People ask me whether I have any set routine for composing. I have not. I spend a part of every day devising something new, if possible, and usually my songs are composed without any setting of words in advance. Usually I work at night and the fall and winter seem to be the best time of the year



for me. Spring and summer are so invitational. They give me that out-door urge and I certainly like to play golf or tennis, or just to be in the open.<sup>73</sup>

On orchestration:

My music comes almost entirely from my emotional centers. And it is seldom that I have a melody in my mind before I sit down at the piano. The only time I have any set hours for my work is when I am orchestrating. Did you ever think of orchestration as being the closest thing to painting in music? I have, often. For instance, each instrument is a certain color . . . and I can paint my music as surely as an artist daubs color on a canvas.<sup>74</sup>

On advice to aspiring composers:

My best advice to young composers . . . is to study the history of music—for history repeats itself in music as in everything else. And don't become too technical . . . because good music combines the two—emotion and technique.<sup>75</sup>

On life:

Every creative artist must be able to live what he creates and the greatest artists of all are those who had the widest knowledge of life in all its aspects.

There has been nothing set in my life. Things have just happened.<sup>76</sup>

## Building a Legacy

Although Gershwin and his music were clearly familiar and popular in 1934, Harry Askins had invested for the tour in a formidable publicity machine, as he had with Sousa, to promote, build, and safeguard Gershwin's already significant reputation and fame—if not always guarantee financial success. To ensure an informed press and advertise the concerts, Askins sent press kits to each stop on the tour. Critics borrowed freely from this material, and consequently most of the reviews show a similar core of background information. Evidently, the kit contained publicity photos and advertisement copy, copies of the program with program notes and Gershwin's interview with Haven (mentioned above), a flattering biographical sketch of the composer, news of Gershwin's opera-in-progress based on the Heyward novel *Porgy*, and some ear-catching quotations on American music from the composer.<sup>77</sup> Often quoted in the reviews were Gershwin's famous remarks "I am a

man without traditions" and "True music . . . must repeat the thought and aspirations of the people and the time. My people are Americans. My time is today."<sup>78</sup> Askins also sent telegrams reporting attendance figures, and numbers of encores and curtain calls from fulfilled dates on the tour to create additional buzz and encourage local competition for audience size.<sup>79</sup>

Reviewers sensed an "event" of some sort, even a legacy in the making, but nonetheless their reactions were mixed about Gershwin's role in American music: some critics held up Gershwin as the Great American Composer, while others urged him not to overextend:

Every great comedian has the urge to play "Hamlet," probably underestimating the value of comedy. Mr. Gershwin has his own sphere; in it he is unique, indispensable. Johannes Brahms was a great admirer of the music of Johann Strauss, but he never urged him to become a conventional writer in larger forms.

But I am not so certain that what Gershwin has done already in what are known as the lighter forms of music do not entitle him to consideration as the great hope of the future along untrodden paths. . . . It is unnecessary for a great composer to write string quartets or even symphonies.

In years to come [Gershwin] will be known as the founder of a new school of music in America.

Many believe his addition of the jazz element to classical musical form has given the folk touch considered necessary to the creation of a typical American music

[Gershwin] could take his place among the front rank soloists of the country if he so chose, but somehow he prefers to remain with the tunes of Gershwin exclusively and just write musical comedy hits, one right after another.

In American music, Deems Taylor and Ernest Bloch are not the chief modernistic big noises.

[Gershwin is the] American Rachmaninoff.<sup>80</sup>

Moreover, critics and audiences seemed to like the old Gershwin better than the new Gershwin—perhaps simply because they knew the older repertoire better from radio broadcasts, live performances, sheet music, phonograph records, piano rolls, and other media. The brand-new "I Got Rhythm" Variations were either not mentioned at all in reviews or characterized in a mere phrase or two: "a rhythmic marvel, but not very interesting as music"; "stodgy"; "[shows] some variations that did not

occur to Mozart or Beethoven"; and a "more mature and surer style and more brilliant invention than the concerto."<sup>81</sup>

Gershwin in 1934 sought clarification to his identity as a composer: What kind of composer did he represent in American music? Was he a pop composer? a "serious" composer? Was he an American Offenbach or Johann Strauss or Rachmaninoff? Was he a jazz composer? Could popular melodies sustain concert-hall compositions?

To these questions, one adds the puzzle that prompts this essay: Why would Gershwin agree to the tour in the first place? Why would he put himself through such a grueling ordeal? Surely Gershwin must have suspected that a tour of America's heartland in winter 1934 was not only a financial risk but a risk to his career. In that year, Gershwin certainly enjoyed fame—Gershwin was a household name—albeit a fame eclipsed by recent setbacks and tempered by a different approach to composition. Although *Of Thee I Sing* had been hugely successful in 1931–32, it was the last unqualified success Gershwin would enjoy in the 1930s until his film songs for Hollywood in 1936 and 1937, the year of his death. Along with *Pardon My English* and *Let 'Em Eat Cake*, songs for the film *Delicious* (Fox, 1931) and its progeny the *Second Rhapsody* (1932), even the *Cuban Overture* (1932) and *George Gershwin's Song Book* (1932) were not commercial successes. (And, as mentioned, the tour's "I Got Rhythm" Variations received lukewarm reception, and post-tour, Gershwin's "labor of love" *Porgy and Bess* was a box-office failure.) Moreover, perhaps consequently, Gershwin's creative production slowed in the 1930s. True, the Depression had darkened more than half the theaters in New York, and opportunities for composing shows were scarce. But Gershwin's approach to composition had become more thoughtful, more introspective, slower. The works from the 1930s were complex, bristling with contrapuntal ingenuity, and laced with modernist dissonance. Many, including the "I Got Rhythm" Variations, the *Song Book*, even *Let 'Em Eat Cake*, were reworkings, reconsiderations of earlier compositions.<sup>82</sup>

In this new, reflective phase of Gershwin's life, the Reisman tour provided Gershwin an opportunity to present, even create, his own persona as an American composer, to take his act on the road, so to speak, test the waters, see what Americans thought of him and his music firsthand, discover, for example, if his new style had distanced himself and his music from his audience. Moreover, the concert's program suggests that the Gershwin presented to audiences was the "serious classical" Gershwin, more so than the "popular light" Gershwin. Here, too, perhaps Gershwin desired to remind audiences of his achievements in the concert hall, starting with the perennial *Rhapsody in Blue*. While the tour allowed him to showcase his development as a composer

of “substantial” American music, it also afforded Gershwin the opportunity to build his own legacy. Moreover, this process of self-creation continued seamlessly when the tour ended. Nine days after the tour’s final date in Brooklyn, Gershwin began broadcasting on CBS radio on 19 February 1934. His new program, *Music by Gershwin*, featured his own music and the music of promising young American composers, broadcast over the airwaves to an audience even larger and more geographically spread out than that of the tour. Gershwin’s remarks in an interview on 4 March 1934, in the middle of his radio stint and the composition of *Porgy and Bess*, show the composer aware of the power of mass media to engage and extend audiences beyond the concert hall.

The concert tour, if it taught me nothing else, proved conclusively that radio has raised the tastes of the average man and woman and has educated them to a real appreciation and enjoyment of the best that music has to offer. Before the advent of radio only the real music lovers were familiar with the higher forms of the musical muse; but radio has brought it home to those who never before heard of Toscanini, Beethoven, Stokowski or Bach. It has not only raised the standards of taste, but has made the average listener music-conscious. Its effect has been tremendous, and is constantly opening up undreamed-of vistas.<sup>83</sup>

Eventually, of course, Gershwin moved on, abandoning radio for the stage and cinema. Arguably, Gershwin found his voice as songwriter and composer in *Porgy and Bess* and the last songs. Following his death in 1937, the building of the legacy of his achievement fell to others.

The 1934 Leo Reisman tour reveals a small step in Gershwin’s journey of self-discovery, of a maturing approach to composition, of finding his place in American music. Seeking new audiences and perhaps fresh assurance in Maine to South Dakota, Gershwin signed on to Harry Askins’s wild month-long romp through the nation’s heartland with James Melton and the Leo Reisman Orchestra, trotting out evergreens and trying out some new material, too. The full houses and enthusiastic audiences and mostly positive reviews must have cheered him—although the so-so reception of the “I Got Rhythm” Variations surely disappointed.<sup>84</sup>

Gershwin perhaps caught a glimpse in Sioux Falls and Dayton and Davenport of his own legacy: a 1930s crossover composer, successfully straddling the two worlds of popular and classical music; a composer whose music is linked to the energy of jazz and blues; a musical master whose swaggering, brash, colloquial style forever changed a musical landscape unmistakably American.



## Notes

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Special thanks to these people and organizations, in order of the stops on the Reisman tour: Boston—Paula Olsen, Champlain College Library, Burlington, VT; Portland—Stephanie Philbrick, Maine Historical Society, and Portland Room, Portland Public Library; Worcester—Worcester Historical Museum, and Norman Lovely and Nancy Gaudette, Worcester Room, Worcester Public Library; Springfield, CT—Cynthia Murphy, Local History Library, Connecticut Valley Historical Museum; Syracuse—Judy Haven, Onondaga Historical Association; Toronto—Kathryn Watson, Toronto Public Library; Cleveland—Library Reference Division, Western Reserve Historical Society; Detroit—Detroit Public Library; Fort Wayne—Sandra Milholland, Mizpah Temple, Nancy Vendrely, *Journal Gazette*, and Christopher R. Wiljer, Allen County Public Library; Milwaukee—Judith A. Simonsen, Milwaukee County Historical Society; Madison—Michael Edmonds, State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library; St. Paul—Steve Nielsen, Minnesota Historical Society; Sioux Falls—Tina Irvine, Siouxland Libraries; Omaha—History/Social Sciences Department, Omaha Public Library, and Historical Society of Douglas County; Kansas City—John A. Horner, Kansas City Public Library; Des Moines—Mr. Burke, Public Library; Davenport—Mary Herr, Davenport Public Library, and Rich Johnson, Moline, Ill.; St. Louis—Jason D. Stratman, Missouri Historical Society, and St. Louis Public Library; Indianapolis—David Lewis, Indiana State Library; Louisville—Pen Bogert, Filson Club; Cincinnati—Anne B. Shepherd, Cincinnati Museum Center; Chicago—Julie Thomas, Chicago Historical Society; Dayton—Mary Oliver, Montgomery County Historical Society; Pittsburgh—Kathryn P. Logan, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; Philadelphia—Daniel N. Rolph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and The Free Library of Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.—Washingtoniana Division, District of Columbia Public Library; Richmond—Gregory Stoner, Virginia Historical Society; Brooklyn—Joy Holland, Brooklyn Public Library, and Ray Allen, Brooklyn College.

1. The tour is chronicled in most Gershwin biographies. See Edward Jablonski and Lawrence D. Stewart, *The Gershwin Years* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 204–10; Edward Jablonski, *Gershwin: A Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 258–60; Joan Peyser, *The Memory of All That: The Life of George Gershwin* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 214–17; and Howard Pollack, *George Gershwin: His Life and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 560–66.

2. See Wayne Morton, “George Gershwin: An Interview,” (Milwaukee) *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, 19 January 1934, 6, for Gershwin’s account of their meeting. For a brief biographical sketch of Askins, see Don Rayno, *Paul Whiteman: Pioneer in American Music*, vol. 1 (Lanham, MD, and Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 274.

3. “The Reisman Orchestra,” unknown author and source, “Boston 1934” handwritten; Scrapbook 5, 1932–34, George and Ira Gershwin Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress (henceforth Scrapbook 5-GC). The Gershwins kept scrapbooks of reviews, programs, and miscellany, now housed in the Gershwin Collection.

4. For contemporary biographical sketches and interviews of Melton, see "Melton Puts Art of Living into His Concert Work," *Davenport Daily Times*, 27 January 1934, 8; and "Gershwin Here Tuesday Night; Appears at Auditorium with James Melton and Orchestra," *Milwaukee Journal*, 21 January 1934, 5.
5. Peyser, *The Memory of All That*, 216.
6. The tour orchestra was a pickup group traveling under Reisman's name. The string players were "mostly all New York born Jewish and Italian boys" (from "The Reisman Orchestra"), who were "students at the Juilliard Graduate School in New York, and serious in mind" (Virginia D. Sturm, "Gershwin Presents Best in Jazz and in Modernism," *Dayton Daily News*, 6 February 1934, 6). Four violinists were pupils of Paul Kochanski; concertmaster Corigliano is father of the composer (b. 1938); violinist Harry Gluckman was later concertmaster of the Brooklyn Philharmonic; cellist Harry Fuchs was later principal of the Cleveland Symphony. Oboist Mitch Miller was later an arranger and host of a popular variety show on television. In all, thirty players hailed from New York City, five from Boston.
7. John O'Donnell, "Davenport One of 28 Cities on Gershwin Tour; Weekly Expense Sheet of Musical Group Due Here Jan. 30 Is \$20,000," *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, 21 January 1934, 20–21.
8. Rayno, *Paul Whiteman*, 91–93, 392. During several stops on the 1934 tour, Gershwin recalls appearances from the past: Omaha 1925 with Whiteman, in "And You Were the Boy with the Horn?: George Gershwin Reminds Morton Downey of Time They Were in Whiteman's Orchestra; Melton Eggs Them On," *Omaha World-Herald*, 28 January 1934; and Springfield, "over 12 years ago . . . with a show featuring Fred and Adelle Astaire, world famous dancers," in Vincent A. Breglio, "Music Is Art Only from the Soul, Avers Gershwin, Scoffing at Machine Age; Composer of 'Rhapsody in Blue' Creates Melodies in Same Manner as Bach; Usually Works at Night," *Springfield Union*, 18 January 1934, 6.
9. Jablonski, *Gershwin*, 258.
10. Daly collaborated with Gershwin on *Our Nell* (1922); he was a frequent conductor of Gershwin's concert works, and occasionally advised Gershwin in details of orchestration. Gershwin dedicated the Preludes for Piano (1926) to Daly.
11. Louis Sobol, "The Voice of Broadway; Down Memory Lane (with George Gershwin)," "NY Evening Journal 10 Feb 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC.
12. See Jablonski, *Gershwin*, 258–59, and other biographies for a full account.
13. Quoted in Jablonski, *Gershwin*, 259.
14. The holograph outline sketch, two-piano score, and orchestration score are in the Gershwin Collection, Library of Congress. The outline sketch is transcribed in Jablonski, *Gershwin*, 259.
15. Quoted in Jablonski, *Gershwin*, 259–60. An excellent analysis of the work can be found in Steven E. Gilbert, *The Music of Gershwin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 173–81.
16. New York: New World Music, 1953. For remarks on the revision, see Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 565–66. The two-piano score was arranged by Gregory Stone and published in 1935.

17. Some sources, such as "The Reisman Orchestra" (Scrapbook 5-GC), report he broke his hip.
18. Previn enjoyed a distinguished career in musical theater and music for films. For a contemporary interview, see "Public Attending Theaters Seems Gay since Repeal, Avers Gershwin's Maestro; Previn Predicts Better Appreciated Musical Comedies—Says Prohibition Made All Audiences Somber, More Critical," *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, 19 January 1934, 11. Gershwin praised Previn in an interview at the end of the tour: "Charles Previn, the first Broadway orchestra leader to break a bat over my music. Mighty nice of him to get a leave of absence from the Parliament to make the tour with me, a tour that concludes tonight. Charlie led the band for 'La, La, Lucille'" (Sobel, "The Voice of Broadway").
19. Clarence Boykin, "The Theatre," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 10 February 1934.
20. Quoted in Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 207.
21. Robert Kimball and Alfred Simon, *The Gershwins* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), 164.
22. See John O'Donnell, "Davenport One of 28 Cities on Gershwin Tour"; and Charles P. Haven, "Even Gershwin Was Bawled Out by a Comedian; How Famous Composer, Whose Music Was Played in Symphony Hall, Graduated from 'Tin Pan Alley' and Became a Pulitzer Prize Winner—Soon to Play Composition, 'Rhapsody in Blue,' in Boston," *Boston Post*, 7 January 1934, 7.
23. O'Donnell, "Davenport One of 28 Cities on Gershwin Tour."
24. G. Pannill Mead, "Gershwin, as Pianist, Wins Praise, Melton Scores Hit," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 24 January 1934, 7.
25. For example, an ad in the *Des Moines Tribune*, 29 January 1934, reads: "Three Stars for the Price of One"; an ad in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 4 February 1934, reads: "'Three-in-One' Show Causes Rush for Seats; Gershwin, Melton, and Reisman Orchestra Here Friday."
26. Roelif Loveland, "Gershwin Winner Plays for Meals; Composer Is 'Stunned' as Song Is Adjudged Best for Concert Program," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 21 January 1934, 19; The Rounder, "Around the Town," *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, 23 January 1934.
27. Frank Schroeder, "Gershwin's Blues and Rhythms Thrill 1,800," *Madison Capital Times*, 25 January 1934, 4.
28. For example, an ad in the *Omaha World-Herald*, 27 January 1934, announces that Gershwin will provide "special entertainment" at the Hotel Paxton Paradise dining room starting at 10:30 p.m.
29. Peyser, *The Memory of All That*, 216–17.
30. *Omaha World-Herald*, "'And You Were the Boy with the Horn?'"
31. Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 209. Mueller was also assigned to keep Gershwin fit and to keep both Gershwin and Melton out of trouble—especially with women. See Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 208–9.
32. Frank Schroeder, in "Gershwin's Blues and Rhythms Thrill 1,800," reports that during intermission Gershwin was "chatting about the broken piano key that he had to

contend with during the program. The reviewer checked this fact and found the key to be 'F' in the fourth octave."

33. Rex J. Ballard, "George Gershwin and Exquisite Tenor of James Melton Thrill Audience at Temple Auditorium," *Davenport Daily Times*, 31 January 1934, 8. Admission to the concert entitled a ticket-holder to attend one of five balls given in honor of Roosevelt's birthday immediately following the concert.

34. "Gershwin, Here Tonight, to Try Opera—Maybe Lullaby!; Famous Composer Is a 'Regular Fellow,' Reporter Finds," *Madison Capital Times*, 24 January 1934, 5; Edwin H. Schloss [?], "Gershwin Not Fond of Tea, But Those Silly Questions!; Composer Explains He Usually Answers 'Yes' and Changes the Subject When Quizzed About Work—Enjoys Cosmopolitan Club Visit," unknown source, "Philadelphia 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC; letter to DuBose Heyward, quoted in Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 207.

35. Augustus Bridle, "Music Circus Draws Massey Hall Crowd; Toronto Helps More than Big Top Opening in Boston; It's in Household; James Melton's Songs Still Capture Old and New Crowd," *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 January 1934; Edwin H. Schloss, "Gershwin Devotees Give 'King of Jazz' a Royal Reception; His Tenth Anniversary Concert of 'Rhapsody' Is Success," unknown source, "Philadelphia 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC; T. B. S., "Gershwin, Jazz Band in Concert at Odeon," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 1 February 1934, 3B; Herbert Elwell, "Overflows Hall to Hear Gershwin; Crowd 'Gets Rhythm' from Master; Melton Wins Applause," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 21 January 1934, 19.

36. Walter A. Simmons, "Gershwin Concert Thrills Audience Here; Composer Likes to Play Own Music; Appears with Melton and Orchestra in Offering of Own Compositions; Tenor Proves Popular; Famous 'Concerto in F' and 'Rhapsody in Blue' on Varied Program," *Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader*, 27 January 1934; "Gershwin on American Music," unknown author and source, "St. Louis 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC. Only these two reviews, incidentally, out of over one hundred, may be read as subtly anti-Semitic.

37. Walter A. Simmons, "Gershwin Concert Thrills Audience Here"; E. Gwyn Thomas, "Mixed Reactions Follow in Wake of Gershwin Concert; Melton Wins Fancy of Audience as Remainder of Program Is Uneventful," *Worcester Evening Post*, 17 January 1934, 11.

38. Homer Bassford, "Gershwin Concert at Odeon Unique and Entertaining; Composer Appears as Piano Soloist with Orchestra Playing His Music," unknown source [St. Louis newspaper], Scrapbook 5-GC; Walter A. Simmons, "Gershwin Concert Thrills Audience Here"; Clarence Boykin, "The Theatre"; Walter D. Hickman, "Gershwin Concert at English's Is Tremendous Success; Capacity Audience 'Tears Down the House' with Applause," *Indianapolis Times*, 2 February 1934, 17.

39. Corbin Patrick, "Capacity Audience Hears Gershwin; Pianist-Composer, Tenor and Band Give Good Evening's Entertainment," *Indianapolis Star*, 2 February 1934, 11; Katharine Hartman Axley, "Humor, Gayety [sic], of New Jazz Shown in Gershwin's Concert of Rhythms; Melton, Orchestra, Share Honors in Superb Program," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 25 January 1934, 18.



40. "In the concert hall, Mr. Melton's tones are too small, his enunciation indistinct; his skill in tonal color and inflection slight," wrote N. M. J., "Gershwin Playing His Own Music," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 15 January 1934, 4. See also Clifford Bloom, "Gershwin Wins Shrine Audience; Bloom Lauds His 3 Compositions," *Des Moines Register*, 30 January 1934.
41. Herbert Elwell, "Overflows Hall to Hear Gershwin"; A. T. Picker, "Gershwin Music Is Entertaining, But Heavy Barrage Exhausts Critic," *Wisconsin News*, 24 January 1934, 9; Mead, "Gershwin, as Pianist, Wins Praise."
42. Simmons, "Gershwin Concert Thrills Audience Here"; Ballard, "George Gershwin and Exquisite Tenor of James Melton"; Don Allen, "Crowd Tastes Gershwin Music, Likes It; Acclaims Singing of Melton, Conducting of Previn," *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, 31 January 1934, 16.
43. Bloom, "Gershwin Wins Shrine Audience"; W. F. H., "Gershwin Celebrates Birth of His 'Rhapsody,'" *Worcester Evening Gazette*, 17 January 1934, 14; N. M. J., "Gershwin Playing His Own Music."
44. Ray C. B. Brown, "Blue Rhapsody by Gershwin Wins Audience; Soloist Scores Triumph Despite Inadequacies of Orchestra," unknown source, "Washington DC 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC; "Gershwin Concert; Composer-Pianist with Reisman Orchestra and James Melton," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, 8 February 1934, 15.
45. W. T. C., Jr., "Gershwin Jazz Pleases Boston: Concert of All Modern Rhythm Given at Symphony Hall," *Boston Traveler*, 15 January 1934, 15; "Incidents and Prospects," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 11 January 1934, 11; C. W. D., "Symphony Hall: Gershwin Concert," *Boston Globe*, 15 January 1934, 17.
46. Simmons, "Gershwin Concert Thrills Audience Here."
47. Elwell, "Overflows Hall to Hear Gershwin"; Patrick, "Capacity Audience Hears Gershwin."
48. Martin W. Bush, "All-Gershwin Show Pleases Omaha Throng; Orchestra of 35, James Melton, Tenor, Win Applause in Presentation at Tech High," unknown source, "Omaha, Neb. 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC; R. S. D., "Gershwin Has Fine Company; James Melton, Excellent Tenor, and Good Orchestra Support Him," *Milwaukee Journal*, 24 January 1934, 6.
49. George S. McManus, "Gershwin Concert," *Boston Herald*, 15 January 1934, 14; Moses Smith, "Gershwin Concert Fills Hall," *Boston Evening American*, 15 January 1934, 11; Sturm, "Gershwin Presents Best in Jazz and in Modernism."
50. McManus, "Gershwin Concert"; "The Week-End in Music: Gershwin Concert," *Detroit News*, 22 January 1934; Hickman, "Gershwin Concert at English's Is Tremendous Success"; Sturm, "Gershwin Presents Best in Jazz and in Modernism"; Smith, "Gershwin Concert Fills Hall."
51. Schloss, "Gershwin Devotees Give 'King of Jazz' a Royal Reception"; W. F. H., "Gershwin Celebrates Birth of His 'Rhapsody'"; T. B. S., "Gershwin, Jazz Band in Concert at Odeon"; Smith, "Gershwin Concert Fills Hall."
52. Harriet Pettibone Clinton, "Gershwin Shows Talent That Brought Fame," *Milwaukee Leader*, 24 January 1934, 8; William Henry Tuckley, "Syracuse Shows Its Liking for George Gershwin Jazz; Concert at Lincoln Hall Proves Popularity of Newest

of Musical Forms," *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, 19 January 1934, 11, 14; Lawrence Mason, "Music and the Drama: Gershwin Triumphs; Noted Exponent of Reformed Jazz Wins Ovation in Massey Hall," "Toronto Globe—Jan. 20" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC; Schloss, "Gershwin Devotees Give 'King of Jazz' a Royal Reception."

53. Pearl McCarthy, "Gershwin Provides Exhilarating Night; Exotic Orchestrations, Insistent Rhythms Set Audience on Ear; Tenor Also Heard," "Jan. 20 Toronto Mail" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC.

54. Axley, "Humor, Gayety, of New Jazz Shown in Gershwin's Concert of Rhythms"; Bassford, "Gershwin Concert at Odeon Unique and Entertaining"; Mason, "Music and Drama: Gershwin Triumphs."

55. McManus, "Gershwin Concert"; Mead, "Gershwin, as Pianist, Wins Praise"; Mason, "Music and Drama: Gershwin Triumphs"; Bush, "All-Gershwin Show Pleases Omaha Throng."

56. Herman Wise, "Music: George Gershwin," unknown source [Detroit newspaper], Scrapbook 5-GC; Bloom, "Gershwin Wins Shrine Audience"; Bassford, "Gershwin Concert at Odeon Unique and Entertaining"; McCarthy, "Gershwin Provides Exhilarating Night."

57. Readers willing to wade into the controversy encounter a huge literature. In addition to the Gershwin biographies listed above, David Schiff's *Gershwin: Rhapsody in Blue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) discusses the composition and its 1924 reception. Both Paul Whiteman and Mary McBride's *Jazz* (New York: J. H. Sears, 1926) and Henry Osgood's *So This Is Jazz* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1926) are important early monographs on jazz. Gershwin's remarks on the subject are discussed below.

58. Headlines for articles by Axley; Schroeder; Smith; Mason; and Sturm.

59. "Gershwin, Jazz Master, Coming; 'Rhapsody in Blue' Composer Comments," *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, 14 January 1934; Bridle, "Music Circus Draws Massey Hall Crowd"; Denoe Leedy, "Hero of Jazz to Be Heard Tonight; George Gershwin Appears at Public Music Hall with Reisman Orchestra," *Cleveland Press*, 20 January 1934, 5; Schloss, "Gershwin Devotees Give 'King of Jazz' a Royal Reception."

60. W. T. C., Jr., "Gershwin Jazz Pleases Boston"; Vincent Breglio, "Gershwin Wins Plaudits of 2500 at Auditorium; Demonstrates Why 'Rhapsody in Blue' Is Hailed; James Melton and Orchestra Likewise Score," *Springfield Union*, 18 January 1934, 6; untitled article, beginning "Ten Years Have Elapsed," unknown author and source, "Chicago 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC; Dorothy Boyd Mattison, "Gershwin and Melton Share Musical Honors; Audience of 2000 Enjoys All-American Program," *Worcester Daily Telegram*, 17 January 1934, 3; Clarence Boykin, "The Theatre"; F. E. C., "George Gershwin," *Louisville Courier-Journal*, 3 February 1934.

61. Thomas, "Mixed Reactions Follow in Wake of Gershwin Concert"; Sturm, "Gershwin Presents Best in Jazz and in Modernism."

62. "'Jazz' Term for Modern Music Disturbs Gershwin on Eve of His Concert Here; Noted Composer Angered by National Idiom for Sympathy [sic]; Seeks New Title for Rhythm and Cites New Opera Tunes," *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, 18 January 1934, 6; Vincent Breglio, "Music Is Art Only from the Soul"; "Gershwin on American Music," Scrapbook 5-GC; "'Gangland Blues' Next Tune Hit; Gershwin Dreams of Robbers; America's Ace Composer, Here for Concert, Hopes to Replace 'Jazz,'" unknown author

and source, "Cleveland 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC. See also *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette*, "Gershwin, Jazz Master, Coming."

63. Haven, "Even Gershwin Was Bawled Out by a Comedian."

64. For a list of Gershwin's writings, see Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 817. Pollack's discussion of those writings (147–48, 169–74, 738n45, 817) is excellent.

65. Edward Jablonski, *Gershwin Remembered* (Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1992), 168–69.

66. Morton, "George Gershwin: An Interview."

67. "Gershwin Sees Repeal Ushering in New Music; Music to Be Tempered with Mellowness of Old Days," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 24 January 1934, 1, 6.

68. Breglio, "Music Is Art Only from the Soul"; "Gershwin on American Music," Scrapbook 5-GC.

69. Schloss [?], "Gershwin Not Fond of Tea"; Haven, "Even Gershwin Was Bawled Out by a Comedian."

70. Schloss [?], "Gershwin Not Fond of Tea."

71. Morton, "George Gershwin: An Interview"; Breglio, "Music Is Art Only from the Soul"; Haven, "Even Gershwin Was Bawled Out by a Comedian."

72. Haven, "Even Gershwin Was Bawled Out by a Comedian."

73. Breglio, "Music Is Art Only from the Soul"; Haven, "Even Gershwin Was Bawled Out by a Comedian"; Morton, "George Gershwin: An Interview."

74. "Gershwin on American Music," Scrapbook 5-GC.

75. "Gershwin on American Music," Scrapbook 5-GC.

76. Jim Hunter, "Tuning In with Jim Hunter; Canadian Orchestras Becoming Distinctive—Success Is Sure to Come, Says George Gershwin," *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 20 January 1934, 34; "Gershwin on American Music," Scrapbook 5-GC.

77. See, for example, "Gershwin Tour Is Personal Triumph; Musical Organization to Appear at Coliseum Friday—Seat Sale Tuesday," *Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader*, 22 January 1934; "Large Audience to Hear Gershwin; American Composer with Reisman Orchestra and Melton Here Friday," *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 23 January 1934; and "Report Gershwin, Associates Getting Ovation on Tour," *Madison Capital Times*, 22 January 1934, 5. Many reviews mention the acclaimed opening Boston concert and its twenty curtain calls.

78. Quoted in Isaac Goldberg, *George Gershwin: A Study in American Music*, supplemented by Edith Garson, with foreword and discography by Alan Dashiell (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1931, rev. ed., 1958), xv–xvi; and Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 7.

79. For example, Augustus Bridle, in "Music Circus Draws Massey Hall Crowd," notes with pride that the Toronto concert drew five hundred more spectators than the Boston opening.

80. George McManus, "Gershwin Concert"; A[rchie] B[ell], "Music; Gershwin Reflections," *Cleveland News*, 22 January 1934; *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, "Public Attending Theaters Seems Gay since Repeal," quoting Charles Previn; Mattison,

"Gershwin and Melton Share Musical Honors"; Sturm, "Gershwin Presents Best in Jazz and Modernism"; Bridle, "Music Circus Draws Massey Hall Crowd"; advertisement in *The Art Society* program, Pittsburgh, 5 January 1934, 7.

81. Picker, "Gershwin Music Is Entertaining"; Schloss, "Gershwin Devotees Give 'King of Jazz' a Royal Reception"; Brown, "Blue Rhapsody by Gershwin Wins Audience"; Odell Hauser, "Gershwin Plays His Own Music; Composer Heard at Piano with Orchestra in Varied Program at Academy," unknown source, "Philadelphia 1934" handwritten, Scrapbook 5-GC.

82. For fuller discussion of Gershwin's style in the mid-1930s, see Wayne Schneider, "George Gershwin's Political Operettas 'Of Thee I Sing' (1931) and 'Let 'Em Eat Cake' (1933), and Their Role in Gershwin's Musical and Emotional Maturing" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1985).

83. "Composer of a Thousand Songs Finds Radio Is Fast Pace-Maker," *New York Times*, 4 March 1934, sec. 9, 11.

84. The reviews in Scrapbook 5-GC reflect in their small sampling the general tone of the larger critical reception: mostly good reviews, some mixed reviews, some pans.



# Porgy and Bess on the Concert Stage: Gershwin's 1936 Suite (Catfish Row) and the 1942 Gershwin–Bennett Symphonic Picture

George J. Ferencz

The popularity of *Porgy and Bess* holds steady at the opera's seventy-fifth anniversary. George Gershwin's score has maintained a strong concert-hall presence since 1935, circulating most widely—in purely orchestral dress—in his own *Suite from Porgy and Bess* (1936, later *Catfish Row*) and the 1942 *Symphonic Picture*, scored by Robert Russell Bennett at conductor Fritz Reiner's behest. Other "contenders" include the *Porgy and Bess* "Orchestra Selection" medley by Hans Spialek (1936), Bennett's similarly compact, all-purpose "Selection" (1961), and Morton Gould's *Porgy and Bess Suite* of 1955. But they have developed little staying power in concert or on recordings and are mentioned infrequently in scholars' and critics' *Suite* and *Picture* discussions.<sup>1</sup>

Though the *Suite* practically dropped from sight for two decades after Gershwin's death in 1937, the *Picture* quickly rose to prominence in concert, on recordings, and over the airwaves, being regularly welcomed onto "all-Gershwin" programs by America's leading orchestras. At present, a half-century after the *Suite*'s rediscovery, the *Picture* remains the more performed and recorded of the two, which coexist as established repertory and are frequently compared superficially. Critical evaluation has been nonetheless impaired because (i) full scores of Gershwin's *Suite* and opera remain unpublished, (ii) the *Suite* and *Picture* share a history of recordings and performances characterized by undisclosed cuts and revisions, and (iii) the *Picture*'s backstory—especially Fritz Reiner's role as its catalyst and architect—is largely untold.

Reiner's 1942 decision to initiate the *Symphonic Picture* venture was timely, with Gershwin's opera enjoying a successful revival and the heightened wartime interest in native concert works. Events might,

however, have unfolded differently. If Bennett had balked at Reiner's request for revisions after first examining the new score, we might know a somewhat different *Picture* today. Had Reiner undertaken the project after Columbia brought the LP record to market, he would not have been bound to a precise twenty-four-minute length, to fit three 78-rpm discs. And, if Reiner had postponed his initial conversations with Bennett and Max Dreyfus even a month or two, Leopold Stokowski might instead have been permitted to prepare a *Porgy* potpourri of his own. Would the *Picture* as we know it have emerged—and what would be the status of Gershwin's own *Suite* these seven decades later?

### ***Suite*: Genesis, Early Performances, Re-emergence**

Gershwin prepared his five-movement *Suite* some months after *Porgy and Bess*'s October 1935 premiere.<sup>2</sup> Even as the opera's "song hits" were making their way across radio airwaves, the concerts on which Gershwin presented his *Suite* during 1936–37 provided further exposure for his *Porgy* score, especially the orchestral material cut from the original production in Boston and New York. These concerts would also promote upcoming presentations of the opera, on tour, in Philadelphia and Washington, DC; the West Coast performances of the *Suite* might pique Hollywood's curiosity. The following is a list of concert presentations of the *Suite* during Gershwin's lifetime, spanning exactly a year. Except as noted, he conducted the new *Suite* and played his *Rhapsody in Blue* and Concerto in F, though only Chicago's was an all-Gershwin program:

Philadelphia, 21 Jan. 1936, Alexander Smallens conducts  
(*Porgy and Bess* tour in Philadelphia, 27 Jan.–8 Feb.)  
Washington, 9 Feb., no *Rhapsody*  
(*Porgy* tour in Pittsburgh, 10–15 Feb.)  
(*Porgy* tour in Chicago, 17 Feb.–7 Mar.)  
St. Louis 1 Mar., no *Rhapsody*  
(*Porgy* tour in Detroit, 9–14 Mar.)  
(*Porgy* tour in Washington, DC, 16–21 Mar.)  
Boston, 7 May<sup>3</sup>  
Chicago, 25 July, William Daly conducts all but the *Suite*  
Seattle, 15 Dec.  
San Francisco 15–16 Jan. 1937  
Berkeley, 17 Jan.  
Detroit, 20 Jan.

There is no mention of the *Suite* as a concert work distinct from the opera itself in Merle Armitage's much-cited 1938 collection of essays, nor in David Ewen's 1956 Gershwin biography, though details appear in its 1970 revision.<sup>4</sup> In 1958, Edward Jablonski and Lawrence Stewart remarked only that the work was "never-recorded."<sup>5</sup> Soon thereafter, a grab-bag *New York Times* column announced:

FOUND: The manuscript of "Catfish Row," an orchestral suite fashioned by George Gershwin from his opera "Porgy and Bess," has turned up in the library of Ira Gershwin, the composer's brother and librettist. Composed in 1936, the suite had its first performance in that year by Alexander Smallens and the Philadelphia Orchestra. During 1936–1937 it was conducted by the composer himself in Washington, St. Louis, Boston, Chicago, Seattle, [San Francisco,] Berkeley and Detroit. Now released for performance it will be recorded by Maurice Abravanel and the Utah Symphony.<sup>6</sup>

Jablonski's lengthy review of the resultant Abravanel LP, describing the *Suite*'s initial performances and re-emergence, appeared later in 1959 (Ira Gershwin had renamed the work *Catfish Row* to avoid confusion with the well-established *Symphonic Picture*). He deemed the score "forgotten after [Gershwin's] death," the generally accepted explanation for the *Suite*'s absence from the public eye between 1937 and 1958.<sup>7</sup> Only gradually did the revived work find its way onto concert programs, with its first New York hearing delayed until 1963 (Kostelanetz/New York Philharmonic, 30 May). And we have the following from Jablonski, a decade later:

Catfish Row, strangely, has yet to be presented in New York, despite the fact that Andre Kostelanetz purported to do this [in 1963] at Lincoln Center. The result, and the recording that followed, was such a butchering that it could not have been called Catfish Row, but just another medley of "top hits" from Porgy and Bess. . . . Catfish Row . . . was represented only in excerpt form, which is difficult to fathom.<sup>8</sup>

Even if the *Suite* was not heard in New York during Gershwin's lifetime, it is reasonable to wonder how it was neglected for two decades, given the ongoing interest in the composer's works following his death. A 1936 performance at the city's Lewisohn Stadium had been announced (though never held),<sup>9</sup> and Gershwin's own appearances with the *Suite* in Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, DC, St. Louis, and elsewhere received notice locally, in New York, and in the national music journals.<sup>10</sup>

Actually, evidence of a performance between 1937 and 1958 has emerged. The San Francisco Symphony included a *Suite from Porgy and Bess* on its 14 April 1942 “pops” concert featuring harmonica soloist Larry Adler. The printed program included neither notes nor individual movements for any of the works—which would provide absolute confirmation about the *Porgy* music—but what else could it be? The only such arrangement then available was Spialek’s “Orchestra Selection,” not held by the SFSO library.<sup>11</sup> Far more importantly, the concert was led by Pierre Monteux, who had shared the podium during Gershwin’s January 1937 appearances, which strongly suggests a bona fide presentation of Gershwin’s score.<sup>12</sup>

Another *Suite from Porgy and Bess* presentation, by Dmitri Mitropoulos and his Minneapolis Symphony, was scheduled for the very next day. It was first announced in late March 1942, with the promotional handbill and concert-program advertisements even giving the five *Suite* movements in full. The actual 15 April concert program, however, has what proves to be the Spialek medley, based upon the listed song titles and the annotator’s description of it as “published.”<sup>13</sup> As there was only a single *Suite* score and set of parts in 1936–37, the situation was likely the same in 1942, meaning that it could not have been programmed in San Francisco and Minneapolis on consecutive days.<sup>14</sup>

The above indicates that the *Suite* was not entirely forgotten, and was apparently available for performance. Why, then, was it (practically) unplayed after Gershwin’s death? Symphony conductors may have viewed the *Suite* as Gershwin’s personal promotional vehicle for his opera, rather than a new work in its own right. Then again, after consideration they might simply have not chosen it for their concerts, broadcasts, and recordings.<sup>15</sup> The emergence of the *Symphonic Picture* in the early 1940s, and its prompt acceptance among conductors and concertgoers, is surely a contributing factor.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Symphonic Picture: Genesis***

Though not considered a member of the “Gershwin circle,” Hungarian-born conductor Fritz Reiner (1888–1963) promoted Gershwin’s concert works and other contemporary repertory while leading the Cincinnati Symphony in the 1920s. Gershwin’s and Reiner’s biographers cite the pair’s mutual expressions of admiration, with William Daly and Reiner often described as Gershwin’s especially favored conductors of his music. Gershwin made guest appearances in Cincinnati with the *Rhapsody in Blue* and Concerto in F in the late 1920s, and Reiner gave *An American in Paris* its second-ever performance early in 1929.<sup>17</sup> The conductor also



led two movements from the Concerto at the Venice International Festival of Contemporary Music in September 1932; soloist Harry Kaufman would again play the work at New York's Gershwin memorial concert in August 1937 with Alexander Smallens (conductor of *Porgy and Bess*'s 1935 original production, 1941–42 revival, and many hundreds of performances thereafter).<sup>18</sup>

Fritz Reiner maintained a strong East Coast presence while holding his Pittsburgh Symphony (1938–48) and Chicago Symphony (1953–63) posts, his permanent residence being in Connecticut. He first conducted at Lewisohn Stadium in summer 1924 and was also on the roster for the 1925, 1931, 1937, 1939, 1943, 1948, and 1949 seasons. Highly regarded as a conductor of opera, Reiner was engaged to share the Philadelphia Orchestra's ambitious 1934–35 season of fully staged productions with Leopold Stokowski's assistant conductor—Alexander Smallens.<sup>19</sup> Reiner and Smallens declared their intent to use American singers whenever possible, and Robert Russell Bennett's first opera *Maria Malibran* was one native work considered for presentation.<sup>20</sup>

In New York, Reiner saw *Porgy and Bess* on 11 October 1935, having attended the opening-night party the day before (a Philharmonic commitment kept him away from the premiere).<sup>21</sup> Invariably credited with “commissioning” Bennett to prepare the *Picture*, Reiner might more accurately be said to have set the venture in motion in 1942, via Bennett's supervisor Max Dreyfus, president of Chappell & Company. Bennett was employed on a drawing-account basis at Chappell, through which a new musical play's producers would hire him, at American Federation of Musicians wage scales, to prepare orchestrations. The *Picture* was undoubtedly such a “work for hire” Chappell assignment, and neither Reiner's papers nor the Pittsburgh Symphony archives document any underwriting of the venture typically associated with a commission.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, Bennett was not given a free hand in the *Picture*'s construction, as he explained in his program note for the Pittsburgh premiere:

Mr. Reiner selected the portions of the opera that he wanted to play and also set the sequence of the excerpts. He expressed his ideas as to instrumentation, wishing to make generous use of saxophones and banjo, and to dispense with Gershwin's pet instrument, the piano. I proceeded not only to follow Reiner's ideas faithfully, but also to remain completely loyal to George's harmonic and orchestral intentions. In other words, although carrying out Dr. Reiner's approach, I have been careful to do what I knew—after many years of association with Gershwin—he, Gershwin, would like as a symphonic version of his music.<sup>23</sup>

Yet Bennett's program note hardly conveys the precision with which Reiner configured the work; his surviving *Picture* outline (see Appendix A) reveals that the excerpts and their ordering were specified almost to the measure, along with several transpositions.

Varied suggestions have been made concerning Reiner's motivation to "commission" the *Picture*: the *Suite* was "unavailable"; Reiner was "unaware of the existence of Gershwin's own suite"; "Reiner . . . probably doubted the viability of Gershwin's original orchestration."<sup>24</sup> Yet the *Suite* was apparently available to Monteux, and would Mitropoulos have publicized a *Suite* performance if he knew the work to have been withdrawn? Reiner, for his part, can hardly have been unaware of the *Suite*, given the press coverage of its Philadelphia premiere and performances elsewhere. And, having attended the opera in 1935, his appraisal of Gershwin's scoring was a reasonably informed one, even if Reiner had then heard it played by reduced orchestral forces.

Perhaps the successful revival of *Porgy and Bess* by Cheryl Crawford in the early 1940s prompted Reiner to seek out a suitable large-scale concert medley of excerpts.<sup>25</sup> As Bennett later recalled:

One day one of my most admired conductors, Fritz Reiner, asked me to make a huge medley of music of George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* for him to record with the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra. I, by this time, had arranged so many "selections" from countless shows that the word medley was not very inspiring. As for *Porgy and Bess*, Bill Daly and I had watched it grow on Gershwin's piano and desk for some time and it was to me a little short of what I wanted a great symphony like the Pittsburgh to play. As a mature musical snob I asked myself a searching question: if it had been a medley of melodies from Puccini, Verdi or Offenbach instead of Gershwin would I still have felt the same way about it? The answer, after honest thought, was definitely yes. However, Fritz Reiner was not good at taking no for an answer, and about a week later Max Dreyfus called me in and asked me to do it. This put an entirely new light on the whole affair. As a music arranger with orders from the boss it was not up to me to say who should or shouldn't play it. It was already the best orchestral music George had ever done and it was easy to see what he was getting at if the move from theater to concert music needed anything at all.<sup>26</sup>

That first conversation on the subject between Reiner and Bennett likely took place during their 14 August 1942 luncheon, just before *Porgy and Bess*'s September closing was announced.<sup>27</sup> Reiner's plans were soon sufficiently concrete that the New York Philharmonic-Symphony, which had engaged him for several 1942–43 appearances, timetabled a

"Gershwin-Bennett Suite from *Porgy and Bess*" for the following March and April.<sup>28</sup> Reiner again met with Bennett on 29 September, joined by a young Goddard Lieberson (1911–77), head of the classical division of Columbia Records; Max Dreyfus was Reiner's luncheon companion two days later.<sup>29</sup> Bennett was then orchestrating Ann Ronell's new musical *Count Me In*, which would open on Broadway on 8 October; his starting date on the *Picture* is uncertain. Nonetheless, he assured Reiner by mid-month that "'Porgy and Bess' is pushing ahead speedily; in fact is well toward completion. It still sounds like 'Porgy and Bess.'"<sup>30</sup> A few weeks later, Bennett provided a further update, his work seemingly finished:

I am having a photo offset of the score of our Porgy and Bess music sent to you [in Pittsburgh]. I hope you can find time to look it over before we begin the copying of the parts. I had a long session with Olin Downes of the New York Times on the subject and he is doing an article on it for Sunday, November 15. The paper is trying to dig up a group picture of you, Gershwin and me taken . . . one hot morning a few years ago. I sincerely hope you are pleased with the scoring of the music.<sup>31</sup>

On 10 November Lieberson wrote to Reiner, conveying Dreyfus's assurance that the conductor would be guaranteed the premiere and that his participation would be played up in the attendant publicity.<sup>32</sup> Olin Downes's lengthy *Times* article appeared on 15 November, the new score said to have been completed "at the request of Mr. Reiner."<sup>33</sup> Soon thereafter, Bennett traveled west to hear a Pittsburgh Symphony performance of one of his works, after which Reiner sent an update to Albert Sirmay at Chappell:

Bennett attended last night [20 November] the performance . . . and today we went over the score of PORGY & BESS. He will report to you about our mutual findings and some minor changes which I have suggested. It will not be necessary for you to forward to me the revised score—which I hope will live up to all our expectations.<sup>34</sup>

Bennett made the revisions promptly and notified Reiner:

I went over the "Porgy" score, making several minor improvements and also all the changes you asked for just as nearly as possible to your ideas. The copyists are at work and have promised the material for January first. It runs just short of twenty-three minutes by my timing at the desk, which might mean it is a little longer in actual playing.<sup>35</sup>

Reiner then informed the NYPO of the *Picture*'s length ("23–24 min. in the final form which I have seen a few days ago") and of the works that

would share the program for the *Picture*'s New York debut.<sup>36</sup> Lieberman, however, expected and desired an earlier premiere, and sought clarification from Reiner while alerting him to another conductor's interest in preparing a *Porgy and Bess* potpourri:

They [Chappell] had hoped for a performance in New York earlier in the symphonic season than March. Wasn't it your original plan to play it in January? If not, it was my error because I think I told Dreyfus you planned to do it then. . . . That inevitable smeller-out of sensational doings, H. Leopold Stokowski, called Chappell Music two or three weeks ago to tell them he was going to make his own transcription of "Porgy & Bess". . . . As it stands now, Stoky has been stalled, but I think the sooner we get in the picture with "P.&B.", the better off we'll be.<sup>37</sup>

Stokowski, even before approaching Chappell, had explored the idea with former assistant Alexander Smallens:

You remember we talked over the possibility of making a kind of symphony out of the music of PORGY AND BESS. At that time I was very busy, but now I have more time to do it. Is there a piano score of the whole opera from which we could work? Was there any of the music that you omitted in the dramatic version you made for the theatre that you think should be in the symphonic version? I . . . shall be very indebted for any suggestions you can make about PORGY.<sup>38</sup>

Reiner's prompt reply to Lieberman's 1 December letter establishes Max Dreyfus as the source of the *Picture*'s title (seeking to avoid confusion with the Spialek "Orchestra Selection" of 1936) and discloses Reiner's view of the Pittsburgh premiere as a preliminary of sorts: "As to the date of the N.Y. performance. . . . The reason I had planned it for my SECOND series with the Philharmonic is because I would like to give it an out-of-town tryout in Pittsburgh first. The earliest I can do it in Pittsburgh will be Feb. 5th & 7th. This will give us ample time to make revisions if they should be necessary."<sup>39</sup>

The Pittsburgh and New York concerts, where the *Picture* debuted, were neither "pops," nor all-Gershwin, nor all-American events, but rather full-dress subscription programs. On 5 and 7 February 1943, in Pittsburgh, Reiner began with Schubert's *Rosamunde* overture and Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*. Following the *Picture* and intermission was Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto with soloist Jascha Heifetz.<sup>40</sup> On 31 March, Reiner led the NYPO at Carnegie Hall, the *Picture* being preceded by Berlioz's *Benvenuto Cellini* overture, Debussy's *Ibéria*, and Ravel's *Rapsodie espagnole*. Bennett's Pittsburgh program note was reused,



additional evidence that he had not further revised the *Picture* after its premiere. It proved to be a red-letter day for Bennett; also making its New York debut that evening was Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Oklahoma!* with his orchestrations. Unsurprisingly—given Bennett's pragmatic view of his Broadway assignments—he spent the evening in one of Carnegie Hall's boxes and took a bow for the concert-ending *Symphonic Picture*.<sup>41</sup> Reiner repeated the program on 2 April; his NYPO concerts the following two days included the new Gershwin–Bennett work along with Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony and the Schumann Cello Concerto, featuring Gregor Piatigorsky. The *Picture* would gain an impressive following quickly, with numerous high-profile performances over the following months.<sup>42</sup>

### The Gershwin–Bennett Association

In his notes for the Pittsburgh premiere of the *Picture*, Bennett pledged that he had done "what I knew—after many years of association with Gershwin—he . . . would like as a symphonic version of his music," and those years of association encompassed all but the very earliest of Gershwin's career. Bennett (1894–1981), four years Gershwin's senior, had come to New York in 1916 from his Kansas City hometown. A position as music copyist at G. Schirmer, and brief service as a pit violinist on Broadway, preceded his stateside Army service during World War I. Later, as an arranger at Harms (F. T. B. Harms and Francis, Day, and Hunter) he "began arranging for [Gershwin] almost as soon as he began writing tunes."<sup>43</sup> Some subterfuge was involved in his unusually rapid promotion from preparing utility arrangements for publication to orchestrating numbers for new shows, as he explained to Gershwin in an early 1920 letter.<sup>44</sup>

Bennett would contribute orchestrations to Gershwin's *Lady, Be Good* late in 1924, by which time he had similarly aided Jerome Kern, Louis Hirsch, Vincent Youmans, and others—and even collaborated on a lyric with Ira Gershwin.<sup>45</sup> He was also the principal orchestrator for 1925's Gershwin–Stothart's *Song of the Flame*.<sup>46</sup> Though Bennett's Broadway career flourished, most of the later 1920s was spent overseas, regularly conferring with Nadia Boulanger, during what became some of his most productive years as a composer. A Guggenheim Fellowship proved insufficient to support his wife and young daughter, and so he accepted occasional theater assignments, including Gershwin's *Funny Face* and Kern's *Show Boat* in the United States and shows by Richard Rodgers (*One Dam Thing after Another*) and Kern (*Blue Eyes*) in London. The Gershwin brothers traveled to London and Paris in 1928,

and Bennett was on the scene professionally and socially, garnering several mentions in Ira's European diary.<sup>47</sup> Upon his return to America, he would provide orchestrations for the Gershwins' *Girl Crazy* (1930) and much of *Of Thee I Sing* (1931). Two years later, Bennett helped score *Pardon My English* and joined Gershwin and twenty-seven others in founding the short-lived Composers Protective Society.<sup>48</sup> And, six months before the debut of *Porgy and Bess*, Gershwin attended the 8 April 1935 premiere of Bennett's opera *Maria Malibran* at the Juilliard School—as did Fritz Reiner.<sup>49</sup> A glimpse inside Chappell Music at the time is provided by Albert Sirmay in a letter to Max Dreyfus:

I want to report on two musical events . . . of great interest to you. The first one is Russell's opera, "MARIA MALIBRAN". . . . after the performance . . . last night, I felt like bowing in admiration before Russell. . . . The great surprise of the evening was that Russell is, in the real sense of the word, a great master of the stage and a fully accomplished writer of opera style. . . . I dare say that "MALIBRAN" is far the best American opera I have ever heard. If there is any justice in the world, the Metropolitan Opera must take it up next season and then Russell will have received full compensation for his grand composition.

Being now in a laudatory mood, I feel like telling you something about my great pet, George Gershwin. Last Sunday [April 7th], the General Motors Symphony Concert included George's piano "CONCERTO", played by himself. Although I've heard this Concerto played by him many times, I was never so thrilled as last Sunday. We usually are not able to judge our contemporaries, but this time it came clearly to my mind that George's Concerto is a classic that will go down in history. . . . You who brought up George must surely feel great satisfaction in his surpassing all expectations. If his opera, PORGY, will be appreciated by the general public as I feel it must be, then George is heading for immortality. . . . You can surely be proud of both Russell and George.<sup>50</sup>

Bennett, in his writings for publication, claimed no particular participation or influence regarding *Porgy and Bess*, mentioning only that he and William Daly had "watched it grow on Gershwin's piano and desk."<sup>51</sup> His presence at the 1935 rehearsals was nonetheless confirmed by Mitchell Miller, oboist in the pit and for Gershwin's ambitious twenty-eight-city tour the previous year:

He [Bennett] and Bill Daly, who were friends of Gershwin, were at the rehearsals . . . and if something didn't sound, he [Gershwin] would question them openly in front of the musicians. They would make recommendations openly, just minor ones; that's what was going on . . . he

[Bennett] was consulted in rehearsal; I mean, they were there as friends, not as helpers.<sup>52</sup>

A related curiosity is Gershwin's rough sketch for Maria's act 2, scene 1 "I hates yo struttin' style," with its marginal annotation "Russ Bennett Wic 2-0285." While proving little, it is consistent with Bennett's mention of being, like Daly, a Gershwin intimate while the opera was being brought to completion.<sup>53</sup>

Bennett moved west in 1936 to arrange and compose in Hollywood; an early assignment was Kern's *Show Boat* at Universal, released on 14 May. The Gershwins arrived in August, and Bennett and Gershwin had occasion to play tennis in Los Angeles, as they had in New York. While on staff at RKO, Bennett's final work for Gershwin was scoring for *Shall We Dance* (released 7 May 1937) and *A Damsel in Distress*, completed after Gershwin's death on 11 July and released on 19 November.<sup>54</sup>

Bennett's association with Gershwin's music, and with Ira, Kay Swift, and others in the Gershwin circle continued for decades. Oscar Levant appeared on the 22 December 1940 "Russell Bennett's Note Book" network radio program at WOR, for which Bennett concocted a new orchestra work, *A Smattering of Ignorance*, in his guest's honor.<sup>55</sup> An advance screening of the Gershwin biopic *Rhapsody in Blue*, hosted in New York on 15 May 1945 by Paul Whiteman, included Bennett; attendees were convened to plan for the city's "Gershwin Jubilee Week" to begin 29 June, celebrating the film's release. Bennett led a recording of *Porgy and Bess* vocal highlights for RCA in 1950 and hosted and conducted an on-camera "Scott Music Hall" network television performance (3 June 1953) of "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" by Leontyne Price and William Warfield.<sup>56</sup> In the late 1950s, Bennett completed the popular forty-minute *Porgy and Bess: Concert Version* for vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra (see Appendix B) and conducted one of the first stereophonic recordings of the *Picture* for RCA.

Bennett also served repeatedly as a judge for the Gershwin memorial composition contest; fellow adjudicators over the years included Ferde Grofé and Paul Whiteman, as well as Artur Rodzinski, Leopold Stokowski, Leonard Bernstein, William Schuman, and Roger Sessions.<sup>57</sup> Enjoying renewed popularity at present is Bennett's 1953 *Gershwin in Hollywood* orchestral medley; Bennett wrote to Ira Gershwin upon its completion:

Thank you for your note of August 12th. I used the songs you picked out without exception in the "remodelment". I even used your introduction

based on “They Can’t Take That Away From Me”. There follows: Back Bay Polka—A Foggy Day—Slap That Bass—Love Walked In—Nice Work If You Can Get It—One Two Three—They Can’t Take That Away from Me—and a dramatic coda based on Love Walked In. The whole thing runs about eight minutes.<sup>58</sup>

Such evidence of Bennett’s association with the Gershwins has received little attention from scholars and critics. Discussion of the imprimatur of Gershwin–Bennett scores like the *Picture* and *Gershwin in Hollywood*—an entirely subjective matter—will be aided by a fuller understanding of their personal and professional relationship.

### Source Materials

Gershwin’s *Suite from Porgy and Bess* was initially characterized by devoted biographer Edward Jablonski as “more than a scissors and paste job.”<sup>59</sup> He tempered his stance over the years: “admittedly a kind of scissors and paste job”; “a scissors-and-paste job”; “a hasty paste-up effort.”<sup>60</sup> Johnson described the holograph as having been “assembled by gathering and annotating . . . mimeograph-copied pages from the full score [of the opera, with] additions in pencil (of various colors) and paste-ins . . . numerous instances of . . . paper pasted/taped in to cover a cut.”<sup>61</sup>

Steven D. Bowen prepared a computer-engraved score and parts in 1997, judging the holograph’s “red pen, plain pencil and red pencil additions” to be Gershwin’s, with lavender and blue pencil markings “probably Abravanel’s from 1958–9.” He continued: “Abravanel made a cut in the last movement and had new parts copied” including his editorial changes, though “he failed to mark these in the score . . . for almost forty years [copies of these have been] the only available performance materials for *Catfish Row*.”<sup>62</sup>

The *Symphonic Picture* used the 1935 opera orchestration as its source material, as is clear when comparing the scores side-by-side; Bennett wrote it all out anew, in ink.<sup>63</sup> A handsome full score, reproduced from the work of Chappell’s autographer(s) rather than plate-engraved, was published some time later. It stands as the definitive score for the work.

Two substantially identical *Picture* artifacts of importance survive: Bennett’s and Reiner’s personal photo-reproductions of the holograph. Bennett’s was copied from his “first-state” version following Reiner’s initial inspection, thus including the conductor’s penciled annotations. Reiner’s score reproduces the holograph as revised, incorporating changes seen in the published edition and heard on all commercial



recordings. This latter item also has Reiner's conducting-aid annotations, suggesting its use for his 1943 performances.<sup>64</sup>

### Instrumentation

Gershwin scored *Porgy and Bess* for nine woodwind players (fl1, fl2/picc, ob1, ob2/EH, cl1, cl2/asax, cl3/asax, bcl/cl4/tsax, bsn), nine brasses (three horns, three trumpets, two trombones, tuba—that is, 3/3/2/1 brasses), two percussion (one principally timpani), piano, banjo, and strings. The “commercial” clarinet/saxophone doubles, alongside flutes and double reeds, echo 1934's *I Got Rhythm Variations* and the instrumentation for several of his musicals. Slight reductions in orchestral forces were made for the original production, and a smaller scoring for twenty-seven was used for the 1941–42 revival.<sup>65</sup> The *Suite*'s instrumentation, naturally, is identical to the opera's, though none of the excerpts chosen by Gershwin employs the saxophone doubles.

The *Picture* uses fourteen woodwinds (fl1, fl2, fl3/picc, ob1, ob2, EH, cl1, cl2, bcl, bsn1, bsn2, A-A-T saxes), eleven brasses (4/3/3/1), percussion, harps 1–2, banjo, and strings. Symphony clarinetists today, as in Gershwin's time, are not expected to be proficient saxophonists; thus the *Picture* has separate clarinet and saxophone sections, as does *An American in Paris* and Ferde Grofé's symphonic rescoring of the *Rhapsody in Blue*.<sup>66</sup> The *Picture*'s full-time saxophones, much as in these other scores, typically function as a unit independent of the orchestral woodwinds. The trio is at times entrusted with sustained block-harmony choral accompaniments, but is otherwise rarely prominent, save for the solo saxophone “Crab Man” street cry and the section's first chorus on “There's a Boat Dat's Leavin' Soon for New York.” In similar three-voices-in-parallel writing, they take up the choral parts, along with the trumpets, on “Oh, I Can't Sit Down,” just as the trio of onstage “Charleston Orphans' Band” saxophones had in 1935.<sup>67</sup> The *Picture* uses B-flat clarinets exclusively, as Gershwin did in his opera and concert works, and in “commercial” practice then and now. In the holograph, however, Bennett pragmatically directed his copyists to provide an A Clarinet “double” line in the players' parts for the sixteenth-note figure from the opera's introduction, a change of written key from six sharps to one that simplifies the passage's execution.

Gershwin's choice to use orchestral piano in his opera is often described as a characteristic and distinctive touch. However, a large percentage of the pit piano's use (as contrasted with the stage-piano's “Jasbo Brown” solo as the opera opens) is not of an *obbligato* nature, but rather as a unison doubler-reinforcer of other instruments. This was a

common golden-age Broadway practice, where discreet piano writing could add considerable body to the ensemble sound without, it was hoped, being heard consciously. One may wonder to what degree the piano was actually heard in Gershwin's pit in 1935; the instrument's aural prominence varies considerably on recordings of the opera and *Suite* spanning seventy years.<sup>68</sup> Reiner did consider retaining the orchestral piano and beginning the *Picture* almost exactly as in the *Suite* (see Appendix A); after deciding not to use the "Jasbo Brown" music, however, he likely considered the instrument less essential, given that it would have little impact as a doubler-reinforcer amidst a fully symphonic complement.

While the use of harps for the *Picture* might suggest an inappropriate *La Mer*- or *Daphnis and Chloe*-like voluptuousness, they too are used primarily as doubler-reinforcers. The pair sometimes take over Gershwin's spare writing for the piano almost verbatim, as in "Summertime," but are used much less continuously in the *Picture* than the piano is in the opera and *Suite*. In concert, the harps are aurally detectable only in the most transparent passages, while on commercial *Picture* recordings their presence varies widely, sometimes being aggressively spot-miked.<sup>69</sup>

A characteristic Bennett touch in the *Picture* is a determined avoidance of harp glissandi. He considered it "[a] privilege to have as friends a real Who's Who of the instrument," including Carlos Salzedo, and confessed that writing glissandi, especially when "the average listener can spot them on the way," made him feel "a little apologetic" to these esteemed harpists.<sup>70</sup> And so the *Picture*'s twenty-four minutes include but two glissandi, one being in precise unison with the ascending scale that begins the opera's introduction (it could as well be played as a "fingered" scale, though not nearly as loudly). The other, also a diatonic scale, is the run up to the climax of "Oh, Lawd, I'm On My Way" (R180+1 in the published piano-vocal score), highlighting a similar three-octave scale passage in unison violins.<sup>71</sup>

Another reason for the restrained harp scoring in Bennett's commercial assignments, and in all but his most serious compositions, was pragmatic: "When your work is . . . to be printed for many orchestras to play you need to worry a little about having two or even one harp in the orchestra, and it isn't easy to arrange in such a way as to play with or without them."<sup>72</sup> The *Picture*'s most exposed harp passage occurs at the close of "Summertime"; as the strings sustain the final chord across several bars, the harps play ascending filigree lifted from Gershwin's violin arpeggios that accompany the song's second verse. The passage's effect is complete with both harps present, and agreeable with only one,

yet the unknowing listener might not even take a moment's pause if the harps were entirely absent.<sup>73</sup>

### Analysis: Suite

The contents of the *Suite's* five movements are easily described with reference to the opera's published piano-vocal score:

- (1) *Catfish Row* uses the opening of act 1, scene 1 through the "Jasbo Brown" piano music and "Summertime" to R24. It is shortened, however, by eliminating forty-six bars of the piano solo (R1+4 to R5; R7+4 to R8+4) and the chorus's first six "Wa-Wa, Doo-da, O-wa-de-wa" bars (R9+2 to R10). Also, a few measures of choral singing that follow are not doubled in the opera orchestration, and so are written into the winds; these additions (unlike those in the middle of *Porgy Sings* or at the end of the *Fugue*, discussed below) are unquestionably Gershwin's.<sup>74</sup> Using the *Fugue's* opening subject, Gershwin then crafts the only measures newly created for the *Suite*, a four-bar coda.
- (2) *Porgy Sings* is drawn from act 2, scene 1. It begins at R12 with the run-up to "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'," and creates one chorus of the AABA' song by uniting the initial AAB (R13 to R17+3) with the concluding A' (R25–R27). "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'" is lifted practically verbatim from the opera, the melody already in the banjo and—in the *Suite*—cued into bassoon or trombone as well. The *Suite* holograph has three added notes for cello, in an uncertain hand (Gershwin's? Abravanel's?), linking "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'" with the cello's familiar three-bar lead-in to "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" (R95–3).<sup>75</sup> This link (Ex. 1) is heard on Abravanel's recording and incorporated into the current Bowen/1997 performance materials. It is absent, however, from the pre-Bowen rental cello part and the widest-circulating recordings, all of them pre-1997 (both of Leonard Slatkin's, Seiji Ozawa, James Levine, Erich Kunzel).<sup>76</sup>

The remainder of *Porgy Sings* uses "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" from R95–3 to R98 and then from R102 to the final cadence preceding R107, eliminating portions where Bess sings alone. Since the melody is already present in the orchestra nearly throughout, generally in the first violins, Gershwin had almost no adjustments to make. At R102 is a detail retained from the opera orchestration: the first trombone's unison with Porgy's duet voice. Such lyric trombone doubling of a singer is far more common in 1930s musical theater

R27-5

*mf cresc.*

*calmato*

R95

*Andantino cantabile*

*mp con calore*

3

Example 1. *Suite: Porgy Sings* (conclusion of “I Got Plenty O’ Nuttin’,” beginning of “Bess, You Is My Woman Now”). Music and Lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All Rights Administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin®, George Gershwin®, and Ira Gershwin™ are trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*® is a registered trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

than in grand opera, though the trombone is usually muted in such combinations.<sup>77</sup> This passage’s treatment in the overall recorded balance is worth noting on recordings of the *Suite* and in performance, where “Porgy’s” trombone line has not the same presence vis-à-vis “Bess’s” melody in massed upper strings as do their duet voices onstage.

- (3) The *Fugue*’s music is first heard in act 1, scene 1 as underscoring to the fight between Crown and Robbins, with several vocal interjections above (“Oh, stop them!,” “look out,” etc.). Its presentation in the *Suite* is based on its substantially identical act 3, scene 1 return as a purely orchestral accompaniment to Crown’s fight with Porgy;



the *Fugue*'s central placement in the *Suite* is the sole violation of the opera's performance order. On commercial *Suite* recordings, two different *Fugue* endings are heard, with neither corresponding exactly to the published piano-vocal score. Example 2 gives the relevant piano-vocal bars and reductions of both Gershwin's orchestration (with treble instruments sustaining and the added low-register chord) and the *Suite* holograph, with its revisions to the final chord. The replacement sonority, a Gm6, was apparently intended to bring closure (the *Fugue* having begun in G minor). Though Wayne Shirley, among others who have examined the

Piano-vocal score, Act 3, scene 1

R36  
PORGY (laughing)  
Ah ha ha ha ha ha

Suite paste-up before revision (= Opera holograph)

Suite paste-up with revised final chord

The image displays three musical staves. The top staff is the piano-vocal score for Act 3, scene 1, showing Porgy laughing with the lyrics 'Ah ha ha ha ha ha'. The middle staff is a 'Suite paste-up before revision' (Opera holograph), showing the piano accompaniment with a final chord. The bottom staff is a 'Suite paste-up with revised final chord', showing the piano accompaniment with a revised final chord.

Example 2. *Porgy and Bess*: act 3, scene 1 conclusion of fugue (Porgy kills Crown). Music and Lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin®, George Gershwin®, and Ira Gershwin™ are trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*® is a registered trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All rights reserved. Used by permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

holograph materials, believes the change not to be Gershwin's, it was incorporated into the Bowen/1997 rental score for the *Suite*.<sup>78</sup>

- (4) *Hurricane* juxtaposes act 2, scene 3's initial thirteen bars and its concluding forty-nine via a cut from R172 to R220. The cut is especially graceful because the phrases beginning at R172 and R220 are identical except for their tonalities—the former in G major, the latter in A. Gershwin's neat solution, his sole transposition in the *Suite*, is to raise the initial thirteen bars a whole step. Also, unusual for the *Suite*, there is a brief interpolation, as Gershwin borrows the eight bars preceding R248 from act 2, scene 4's continuation of the act 2, scene 3 storm.
- (5) *Good Mornin' Brother* similarly reduces act 3, scene 3 from 604 to 294 bars via one central cut (R128–1 to R176), thus juxtaposing its opening with "Oh Lawd, I'm On My Way." The cut links two passages in E major, so no modulating bridge is needed.<sup>79</sup> Gershwin bolsters the scoring slightly, adding additional woodwinds to the two doubling Porgy's voice (in the opera) as the song begins.

### **Analysis: Symphonic Picture**

While Gershwin's *Suite* incorporated considerable material cut in 1935, the *Picture* consists entirely of portions that survived, a few bars of *Hurricane* music excepted.<sup>80</sup> Another distinction: the devices of reordering and transposition, used once each in the *Suite*, figure several times in the *Picture*. Below is Bennett's synopsis from his 1943 Pittsburgh program note (though none of these titles actually appears on the manuscript or published score). The keys are in brackets, including all the transpositions as specified by Reiner (see Appendix A):

- (1) Scene in Catfish Row (with peddlers' calls) [G]; Strawberry Woman [D; orig. in C]; Crab Man [G]
- (2) Opening Act 3: "Clara, Clara" [C; orig. in D-flat]
- (3) Opening Act 1 [E]
- (4) Summertime [B minor]
- (5) I Got Plenty O' Nuttin' [E; orig. in G]
- (6) Storm Music [E]
- (7) Bess, You Is My Woman Now [A–D-flat–F; orig. in B-flat–D–F-sharp]
- (8) The Picnic Party [G]
- (9) There's a Boat Dat's Leavin' Soon for New York [B-flat–C]

(10) It Ain't Necessarily So [G minor]

(11) Finale (Oh, Lawd, I'm On My Way) [E]

There is no evidence that Reiner's specified transpositions addressed idiomatic or range concerns. I believe they were chosen to create fifth-related adjacent sections (especially descending fifths), pleasing to the ear and so requiring no modulatory bridges. Retaining Gershwin's keys would have twice yielded tritone-related successive excerpts: Crab Man to "Clara, Clara" (G to D-flat), and Storm (Hurricane) music to "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" (E to B-flat). In both cases, Reiner's shift of a vocal excerpt by a half step creates a smooth, descending-fifth progression.<sup>81</sup>

Reiner begins the *Picture* with the opera's act 2, scene 3 opening, the early morning chimes at St. Michael's church, which was Gershwin's choice to open the *Suite's* fourth movement. Shown in Ex. 3 is something comparatively rare in the *Picture*: at mm. 10–11, a wholesale change of timbre, with Gershwin's violin–viola triplets reassigned to woodwinds (the small notes are Bennett's additions, not in the opera or *Suite*). Why? This scene-opening passage, in G, rests on its dominant until the tonic pedal appears in m. 14; I suggest that delaying the appearance of the full string choir until that point heightens the sense of arrival at the tonic, the effect being especially expansive in the concert hall.<sup>82</sup>

Bennett's transfer of "Summertime" from the opera's scoring to the *Picture* is an almost literal one. The doubling of Clara's voice is retained in the violins (first verse) and oboe (second verse), the parallel dyads transferred from piano to harp, the brasses mostly silent. Slight adjustments are made to reflect the differing clarinet/bassoon complement.

The act 2, scene 3 Hurricane (Storm) music is likewise little changed. The additional horn and trombone add extra weight to their sections' unison gestures, and the surging low woodwind–string chords, moving chromatically in parallel, benefit from the weight and fluidity the saxophones can provide. Bennett's most noticeable modification (Ex. 4) occurs at R227, the height of the storm. In addition to reassigning one of the two woodwind lines to the violins, Bennett creates staggered D–E–F clusters for the trumpets (silent in the opera), extracted from the violin line.

"Bess, You Is My Woman Now," though lowered a semitone in the *Picture*, also employs much of Gershwin's scoring. The opening scheme is unchanged: melody in unison violins, a low-strings accompaniment doubled by horns and clarinets in alternation, and woodwind fills at

Opera/Suite: ww & pf, chime (D)  
Picture: ww & str, harps (secco quarter notes)

Adagio

eng hn  
*mp* espr.

Opera/Suite: vn, va  
Picture: ob, cls

Opera/Suite: fl, cls  
Picture: fl, hns

Picture only (Bennett's addition)

Example 3.    Act 2, scene 3 opening in opera/*Suite* and in *Symphonic Picture*. Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and



phrase ends. For the second chorus, Bennett again retains Gershwin's accompaniment and upper-strings melody (in octaves, with two "filler" harmony voices). To this he adds the saxophone trio which, though masked aurally by perhaps twenty-five to forty violins and violas above, serves to bind the scoring together (Bennett's duplication of the highest violin voices in saxophones, an octave lower, fills in the space "between the hands" in Gershwin's straightforward transfer of his piano-vocal scoring to the orchestra). Elsewhere, although Gershwin's first trumpet doubles Bess's voice on the climax of "Bess, You Is My Woman Now," Bennett silences the trumpets throughout the duet, saving them for their entrance on the jubilant "Oh, I Can't Sit Down" ("The Picnic Party" in Bennett's synopsis) immediately following.

Substantially rescored passages do occur in the *Picture*, notably "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'." One AABA' chorus is heard in both *Suite* and *Picture*, with Reiner specifying an extension for the latter. (Gershwin's eleven-bar "Porgy change since dat woman come to live with he" interlude remains unused in both.) The *Picture*'s first chorus (R13–R20) hews fairly close to Gershwin, keys aside, with pizzicato accompaniment in strings and melody in banjo and bassoon. The concluding A' extension (R25–R27–5) is an exuberant near-tutti, with Bennett adding a canon-like eight bars in the violins above, the sort of added countermelody notable for its rarity in the *Picture*. In Gershwin's original scoring, "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'" is a solo number for Porgy, with choral humming added to its second strain, first in men's voices and then for full chorus. Bennett, in moving the opera "from the theatre to the concert hall," may well have sought to suggest Rouben Mamoulian's extroverted 1935 staging, whimsical unoccupied rocking chairs and all (rehearsal numbers added editorially):

[R13]: All in rockers, rock gently two to a bar (shoe rag and hammer in motion?); [R16]: Shoe rag & hammer stop; all rockers stop; [R18–2]: All rockers go, women sew in time; [R20]: All rhythm [sic] & rockers stop; [R22]: Start rhythm implements louder—men asleep wiggle feet in time to music and heads too—everybody is working—women rock and sew in time to music. The [unoccupied] rocking chairs on string start moving 2 beats to the bar. [R24]: All stop motions—rocking chairs stop, pulled back as far as they will go. [R25]: All start motions again, rocking chairs

Opera/Suite: oboes, clarinet 1  
Picture: violins 1, 2

R227

*ff*

[8ves continue]

Opera/Suite: flute, piccolo, clarinets 2, 3  
Picture: all high woodwinds

Picture: added trumpets 1, 2, 3

*ff*

Opera/Suite: horns, bassoon, violin 2 & viola (tremolo)  
Picture: horns, saxophones, viola (tremolo)

[8ves continue]

*ff*

Example 4. Act 2, scene 3 Hurricane music in opera/*Suite* and in *Symphonic Picture*. Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira

start all in double time, 4 to the bar; [R26]: Girls on stage rise & point to Porgy; Sleeping men awake with a jerk & sit up—men rise in slow motion irregularly stretching & yawning—all rise slowly.<sup>83</sup>

Reiner's decree that "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'" be transposed from G to E major served two apparent functions. First, because the Hurricane music retains Gershwin's key (E), it could interrupt the song's conclusion without shifting tonalities. Also, in keeping with Reiner's favored fifth-related key successions, "I Got Plenty O' Nuttin'" moves smoothly to the A-major "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" even if the optional cut of the Hurricane music is chosen.<sup>84</sup>

The penultimate chord in Gershwin's opera, seen in Ex. 5, is an E dominant seventh with a split (or "blue") third.<sup>85</sup> The published *Picture* ending stratifies this bichordally, with G-major chords in strings and woodwinds superimposed on the sustained E-major triad in brass and saxophones. Gershwin's concluding E 6/9 chord is replaced with a low-register tonic triad, an enduring symphonic gesture of finality.<sup>86</sup> Though several writers have criticized Bennett for changing the *Picture*'s ending, they were unaware that it was nearly "verbatim Gershwin" in the first-state score, but then revised to satisfy Reiner.<sup>87</sup>

## Transitions

The *Suite* contains but one added transition, Ex. 1's three-note cello link (of uncertain origin) in *Porgy Sings*. Because the *Picture*, by contrast, is a medley, Bennett's challenge—as in a Broadway overture—was to smoothly weave the selected excerpts together and to establish periodic climactic points, while leaving no doubt as to the final ending. He provides a complete close for the *sostenuto* excerpts ("Clara, Clara," "Summertime," and "Bess, You Is My Woman Now"), something avoided in the louder and livelier selections ("I Got Plenty," "There's a Boat," "It Ain't Necessarily So," "Oh, I Can't Sit Down," and the Hurricane music).

Bennett's *Picture* transitions are notably concise and, unlike common Broadway practice, draw on Gershwin's motivic or accompanimental elements rather than the song melodies themselves. Perhaps the

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## Symphonic Picture (as revised/published)

Three staves of music in 4/4 time, key of D major. The top staff features a melodic line with trills (tr) and a fermata. The middle and bottom staves provide harmonic support with chords and triplets. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *ff* (fortissimo). The bottom staff has a triplet of eighth notes.

## Opera/Suite

R181

Three staves of music in 4/4 time, key of D major. The top staff features a melodic line with trills (tr) and a fermata. The middle and bottom staves provide harmonic support with chords and triplets. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *ff* (fortissimo). The bottom staff has a triplet of eighth notes.

## Symphonic Picture (first state)

Three staves of music in 4/4 time, key of D major. The top staff features a melodic line with trills (tr) and a fermata. The middle and bottom staves provide harmonic support with chords and triplets. Dynamics include *ff* (fortissimo) and *ff* (fortissimo). The bottom staff has a triplet of eighth notes.

Example 5. Endings of opera/Suite and Symphonic Picture (first-state and revised versions). Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin®, George Gershwin®, and Ira Gershwin™ are trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*® is a registered trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All rights reserved. Used by permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

most inventive of these transitions is Bennett's use of Gershwin's inner-voice ostinato from the opera's act-ending Hurricane music (Ex. 6) to link it with "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" (Ex. 7).<sup>88</sup>



The musical score consists of three systems, each with three staves. The top staff is for the voice, and the bottom two staves are for piano/brass/saxes. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The first system ends with a measure marked [EM]. The second and third systems end with a measure marked [E6/9]. The piano/brass/saxes part features complex chordal textures, including triplets and sustained chords. A bracket labeled "brass & saxes sustain" spans across the second and third systems.

Example 5. Continued.

### Symphonic Picture: Bennett's Revisions

Bennett first disclosed Reiner's desire for revisions to the *Picture* in his autobiography, completed in 1980 (published 1999). The only additional evidence is his own surviving first-state score, Reiner's 21 November 1942 letter to Sirmay, and Bennett's to Reiner the next day ("making several minor improvements and also all the changes you asked for"). As Bennett explained:

**Grandioso**

**R231** fls

vn *tr*

ww, brass

*tr*

+ va, vc, db

**stringendo**

*tr*

hns, va, vc, pf

*tr*

cls, bn, brass

fls, obs,  
vn, va, pf

*Example 6.* Opera/Suite: Ending of act 2, scene 3 (Hurricane Music). Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin®, George Gershwin®, and Ira Gershwin™ are trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*® is a registered trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All rights reserved. Used by permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.

He and I disagreed in two spots. Eventually I came to lean to his ideas in one place toward the end of the piece. I wanted to weave in a melody he had left out ("I Loves You, Porgy") and build up a little climax combining it with another phrase or two from the show and blossoming into the finale, "Oh Lawd, I'm On My Way." He preferred to keep it a medley and so it remains.<sup>89</sup>

This constitutes the most substantial revision to the *Picture*—the biggest difference between the first-state and published versions. In the revision, Bennett uses the orchestral postlude ending act 2, scene 2 as Reiner's typewritten outline had specified. The discarded original transition (opening and last measures shown in Ex. 8) interlaced "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" and "I Wants to Stay Here" (i.e., "I Loves You, Porgy"); these *dolcissimo* measures would have been the *Picture*'s last passage of repose. Though the opening bars of "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" are employed motivically many times in Gershwin's opera (typically accompanied by rising or falling parallel harmonies), its use in Bennett's transition is sympathetic in style without being an exact "lift" of any of them.

Concerning the second of the "two spots" where Reiner and Bennett were of different minds:

The other point of disagreement was a tiny cut he made, four measures [actually three], in George's original "Catfish Row" music. In the middle of the tranquil opening everyone stops to listen to a single unaccompanied line (cellos and English horn in my version) singing, "Bess, You Is My Woman Now." The calm music goes on with the four notes of "is my woman" echoing for many measures in the middle of the harmony. This is the sort of moment that great composers leave us, but apparently great conductors don't always share our teardrops. Sometimes a musical snob doesn't seem to have a friend in the world.<sup>90</sup>

Example 9 reproduces Bennett's original scoring. In the opera, the act 2, scene 3 "Crab Man" street cry is followed by five "chime chords" on G and then, unaccompanied, the opening of the "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" melody. Though Reiner's initial written outline for the *Picture* directed the street-cries section to be ended "with chimes," Bennett had included the three additional bars. This, to Reiner, undesirably established the C-major tonality in advance of "Clara, Clara," and so he crossed these measures out in the first-state score and added a terse annotation: "? do not anticipate key." While he eventually honored Reiner's wishes by eliminating these three bars, the matter remained worthy of mention in Bennett's memoir decades later.<sup>91</sup> His

fls

saxes, hns

3

calmando

dim.

pp

trbns, tuba

Andantino cantabile

vn 1 & 2

mp

Example 7. *Symphonic Picture* (transition preceding “Bess, You Is My Woman Now”). Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, George Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, and Ira Gershwin<sup>™</sup> are trademarks of Gershwin



disappointment circa 1942 is suggested by the pointed annotation on his first-state score, beneath the crossed-out measures: "These three pregnant bars and their fate is better than a biography of him whose handwriting is in red [—] RRB."<sup>92</sup> Reiner also changed the chime tone itself, from G4 to C-sharp<sup>5</sup>. The resulting "raised 11th" sonority, while not an exact duplication of either of the opera's "chime chords," is a recurring one in *Porgy and Bess*, and has been cited as a feature of both Gershwin's opera and Berg's *Wozzeck*.<sup>93</sup>

Bennett retained very few musical "souvenirs" from his decades on Broadway or the numerous orchestra and concert band medleys he did from *Oklahoma!*, *My Fair Lady*, and the like for Chappell Music. That he devoted several paragraphs of his memoir to the *Picture* and also saved a copy of the first-state score suggests the medley was not, to him, a routine assignment. The differences between the original and revised *Picture* amount to about two of its twenty-four minutes. One can only guess as to Bennett's desire for a performance "restoring" some or all of the later-rewritten passages.

### Commercial Recordings

The *Suite* joined other Gershwin works unrecorded before his passing; he had commented, perhaps pleadingly, in 1936, "I'm told that recording companies only have money enough to make recordings of old masterpieces. Still . . . the concerto [his Concerto in F] is ten years old, isn't it?"<sup>94</sup> Even the 1945 release of the *Rhapsody in Blue* biopic prompted no recordings (or performances, apparently) of the *Suite*.<sup>95</sup>

The relative dearth of *Suite* performances in the 1960s and early 1970s mirrored its limited availability on LP. The 1959 Abravanel/Utah recording fell out of print in 1967, though Leonard Slatkin's in St. Louis (1974) helped revive attention for the work, as did those by Ozawa (Berlin, 1984), Kunzel (Cincinnati Pops, 1985), Slatkin (again, digitally, in 1987) and Levine (Chicago, 1990). Michael Tilson Thomas, though a champion of Gershwin's scores in their original form, performed and recorded a hybridized *Suite* with his San Francisco Symphony for the 1998 Gershwin centennial, with interpolated vocal solos and duets by Brian Stokes Mitchell and Audra McDonald.

Several recordings of the *Suite* exhibit cuts and retouchings, Kostelanetz's being both the most reworked and most abbreviated. Abravanel's pioneering LP added a repeat of "I Got Plenty" and made

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49

*ff*

*rall.*

*Dolcissimo*  
*solo vn*

*p*

*pp*

*tpt*

3

Example 8. *Symphonic Picture* original transition, "There's a Boat Dat's Leavin' Soon for New York" to "It Ain't Necessarily So." Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin®, George Gershwin®, and Ira

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system consists of three staves: a solo violin (vn) part on the top staff, a horn (hn) part on the middle staff, and a piano (p) part on the bottom staff. The second system also consists of three staves: a horn (hn) part on the top staff, a piano (p) part on the middle staff, and a piano (p) part on the bottom staff. The third system consists of three staves: a piano (p) part on the top staff, a piano (p) part on the middle staff, and a piano (p) part on the bottom staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 8. Continued.

cuts in the last movement. Ozawa seems to silence the first movement's solo piano at R10 as pizzicato strings take up the block-chord ostinato, while Kunzel disregards Gershwin's cuts in the "Jasbo Brown" piano music, playing it in its entirety while shortening the final movement via a cut from R122 to R126–3. Kunzel's pianist, too, cannot be heard in passages like the upper-register afterbeats at R120 where it is not a reinforcer-doubler and ought to be discernable. Furthermore, though Jablonski had mentioned in 1959, "the fugue, an intimation of which is

The musical score is divided into several systems. The first system features a saxophone part with trills and triplets, marked *f* and *ten.*, and a piano part with a *pp* *colla parte* instruction. The second system continues the saxophone and piano parts, with a horn part (*hns*) entering. The third system shows the saxophone and piano parts with *pp* (*simile*) dynamics. The fourth system includes chimes, strings (*str*), and a vocal line (*vc, eng hn*) with the lyrics *['Bess, you is my wo-man now']*. A box indicates that the next three bars are cut by Reiner. The fifth system, marked *Andantino dolente* and *mp*, features violin and cello parts (*vn, cls*) with the lyrics *['Clara, Clara']*, and an oboe (*ob*) and horn (*hn*) part.

Example 9. *Symphonic Picture* (first state): Crab Man (street cry), "Clara, Clara." Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin®, George Gershwin®, and Ira Gershwin™ are trademarks of Gershwin Enterprises. *Porgy and Bess*® is a registered trademark of Porgy and Bess Enterprises. All rights reserved. Used by permission of Alfred Music Publishing Co., Inc.



heard immediately after 'Summertime'" (to conclude the first movement),<sup>96</sup> these ending bars are cut by Kunzel (among others). Jablonski is silent on these matters in both his liner notes and in a later statement of preference for Kunzel's reading.<sup>97</sup>

Commercial recording of the *Symphonic Picture* was a consideration from the onset, as evidenced in Fritz Reiner's correspondence with Goddard Lieberson, of Columbia Records, and Bennett. Though the American Federation of Musicians' "recording ban" was in force during their discussions, having begun on 1 August 1942, Columbia and Reiner surely hoped it would last only briefly, as had the ASCAP strike of early 1941 that fostered the rise of BMI.<sup>98</sup> The AFM ban, however, lingered long past the *Picture*'s early-1943 debut. Decca, one of the first record companies to settle with the union, recorded the *Picture* on 9 August 1944, with Alfred Wallenstein leading his Los Angeles Philharmonic. It was, however, far from complete, being squeezed onto two discs and shortened by some seven minutes.<sup>99</sup>

The recording ban ended late in 1944 with the capitulation of Columbia and Victor, and Fabien Sevitzy's Indianapolis Symphony recorded the *Picture* for Victor on 8 February 1945, having broadcast a concert performance on 6 January. Reiner would wait until 27 March to record for Columbia in Pittsburgh, meaning he was denied both "first" and "first complete" recording honors. Sevitzy's and Reiner's three-disc recordings, albums in the literal sense, appeared shortly before the mid-1945 debut of the film *Rhapsody in Blue*, whose release prompted an outpouring of Gershwin on radio and records characterized as a "Gershwin glut" by *Time* magazine.<sup>100</sup>

Bennett later explained that "Fritz had worked hard laying out the medley, which had to play exactly twenty-four minutes according to recording plans"<sup>101</sup> (three twelve-inch 78-rpm discs), though neither Reiner's typewritten outlines for the *Picture* nor personal copies of the score bear annotations concerned with duration or side breaks. While scoring the *Picture*, Bennett had informed Reiner that "the breaks for recording give me some problems, but I suppose that should be a secondary consideration, really," though his first-state score likewise exhibits no indications of such planning. In any case, Bennett was able to reassure Reiner that the score would meet its targeted length.<sup>102</sup>

Reiner, finally permitted to record "his" *Picture* for Columbia in early 1945, had before him a score that functioned as he, and Bennett, had configured it. The record buyer would enjoy a satisfying aural experience, with each of the album's six sides coming to a reasonably graceful close. For concert and radio, the medley constituted a unified whole that had already found favor with many

prominent conductors and their audiences. Yet Reiner made one brief cut: fourteen measures from the introduction to the opera<sup>103</sup> (which follows the atmospheric act 2, scene 3 opening and “Clara, Clara” in the *Picture*) on side two were eliminated, likely because retaining this half-minute of music would have pushed the side length past acceptable limits.<sup>104</sup>

Reiner and Sevitzyk would lead the only substantially complete *Picture* recordings prior to the emergence of Columbia’s long-playing record in 1948.<sup>105</sup> The twenty-four-minute medley proved ideal for one side of an LP,<sup>106</sup> and it would amass an impressive discography over the years, both preceding and following the *Suite*’s late-1950s re-emergence.<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately for the *Picture*, however, it has often received casual treatment, especially on disc where listeners are never informed of cuts. Reiner himself changed one detail in 1945, raising the violin counterpoint an octave for the second-chorus extension of “I Got Plenty,” and Sevitzyk, the same year, discarded the banjo. More recently, in 1981, Eduardo Mata’s Dallas recording touched up the percussion and eliminated the solo saxophone’s “Crab Man” street cry, while Andre Previn’s version—also without disclosure in the liner notes—cut both the first six minutes and the Hurricane music.<sup>108</sup> Who can know how many concert or broadcast performances of the work have similarly incorporated undisclosed cuts or revised scoring?<sup>109</sup>

### Reception History

The *Suite* was not the only one of Gershwin’s concert works to be premiered outside New York. The Second Rhapsody and *Variations on “I Got Rhythm”* were first heard in Boston, though the former’s appearance generated plenty of national press, and the latter was heard in twenty-eight cities in as many days on Gershwin’s early 1934 tour. Yet the *Suite*’s debut in Philadelphia denied it the kind of New York premiere other Gershwin works received, with plentiful coverage in the then-numerous daily papers.

Several of Gershwin’s biographers have discussed the *Suite*’s initial reception. Robert Kimball, in the 1970s, remarked: “Neither George’s *Suite* nor his performance of the *Concerto in F* was especially well received [in Philadelphia]. . . . Subsequent performances of the *Suite* failed to alter the original impression it made, and today it is rarely performed. The suite the public knows is the . . . Bennett.”<sup>110</sup> Recently, Howard Pollack viewed the criticism of 1936–37 in more positive terms: “in Philadelphia . . . it met the same kind of mixed response as attended

the arrival of the opera there one week later. In the months that followed, however, as Gershwin conducted the work [during guest appearances] . . . the Suite elicited more consistently favorable response."<sup>111</sup> Regardless, the *Suite's* impact was not sufficient to have gained conductors' interest in the years after Gershwin's death, aside from the apparent exceptions of Monteux and Mitropoulos mentioned above. Upon the *Suite's* first, although abridged, New York performance—1963's Kostelanetz/NYPO music-and-dining "Promenades" concert—it received cordial notice: "[Catfish Row] is a suite from 'Porgy and Bess' arranged by the composer in 1936. It received a few performances then. A few years ago Ira Gershwin found the score in his house. It does not contain any of the popular material from the opera. But those we know well enough: a 'Catfish Row' was a pleasant enough work to encounter. One section, by the way, is remarkable [*sic*] Ravel-like."<sup>112</sup>

The *Symphonic Picture's* initial performances in Pittsburgh and New York prompted considerable attention. Most critics approved the work's concept and execution, and several predicted a long life for the new medley. Reiner could hardly have been disappointed with the Pittsburgh critic's judgment that "Mr. Bennett has done a magnificent job of orchestration that does fullest justice to the style and harmonic scheme of George Gershwin . . . an excellent work for concert presentation, and before long this setting will be part and parcel of the repertory of every progressive orchestra in the land. The performance . . . would have made George Gershwin very proud."<sup>113</sup>

But Reiner's primary goal was a strong impression in New York. A few sentences from the *Times* review might stand as a distillation of the New York press's judgments:

Mr. Bennett not only followed these [*i.e.*, Reiner's] suggestions, but, as he asserted, remained loyal to Gershwin's harmonic and orchestral intentions. . . . Bennett has woven these excerpts into a consistent and coherent entity, enriched their orchestral texture with decided skill and provided a work filled with most vivid and effective color contrasts.<sup>114</sup>

The *Telegram* was equally enthusiastic: "a first-rate synthesis. . . . Modestly claiming that he tried to keep the music loyal to the Gershwin original, Mr. Bennett . . . did a good deal on his own, such as bolstering up the orchestration here and there, making neat tie-ins between episodes. . . . a very interesting accomplishment [which] will be played frequently."<sup>115</sup> The *Post's* reviewer thought the score "orchestrated with a resiliency and a brilliantly professional touch which Gershwin hardly came within miles of. . . . One of the great virtues . . . that would



certainly tickle Gershwin, is that it doesn't favor the popular set numbers . . . there are also the scene in Catfish Row, the openings of the first and third acts, the storm music and the picnic party."<sup>116</sup>

The *Journal* judged the *Picture* "faithful to the original characteristics of the score,"<sup>117</sup> while the *Brooklyn Eagle* stated, "The potpourri had its moments . . . for the most part those sections which incorporated the best-known melodies of the work. . . . Like the symphonic synchronization of Jerome Kern's 'Showboat,' [sic] this one . . . serves its purpose well and is a better job." Miles Kastendieck mentioned Reiner's reordering of the selections, wondering "whether anything was gained thereby."<sup>118</sup> Jerome Bohm, like Edward O'Gorman, drew comparisons with Gershwin's own orchestration: "Bennett's arrangement . . . disregards the dramatic sequence of the numbers . . . although it is a cannily devised potpourri. The orchestration is a superb one from every point of view. It is far more expertly fashioned than Gershwin's original scoring . . . and containing many highly effective touches."<sup>119</sup>

A minority opinion was put forth by the *Sun*: "No very long life need be predicted for it. . . . Like the 'Showboat' Scenario . . . this is a glorified potpourri. . . . [Bennett] attempts nothing of redistillation and about all that need be said . . . is that he did an altogether professional job with the instrumentation."<sup>120</sup> And PM questioned the concept rather than its execution, bringing to mind Bennett's initial reluctance to take on the assignment: "Russell Bennett has done this extraordinarily skillful and tasteful job with Mr. Reiner's suggestions . . . as good as it could possibly be. The question remains whether such 'symphonic pictures' of stage works are a good idea. . . . No serious symphonic conductor would dream of commissioning a 'symphonic picture' of, say, *La Forza del Destino*, which also has wonderful singing tunes. Why, then, of Kern or Gershwin stage works?"<sup>121</sup>

Criticism in the national music journals was similar in tone. *Musical America* was expansive: "Mr. Bennett . . . did no violence to the original character of the music, but did much to glorify it orchestrally . . . far richer and more grandiose in effect than the original . . . [for] those who have not heard the opera itself, it will be a welcome resume. For initiates, we dare say the original will continue to be most satisfactory."<sup>122</sup> *Musical Courier* said little: "a well knit and altogether likable symphonic portrait of the Gershwin tunes and rhythms."<sup>123</sup>

These first-hearing reactions came from critics who had known a living Gershwin; surely most had seen *Porgy and Bess* in 1935 or 1941–42. The more recent reviewer's perspective is different, important points of reference being the considerable Gershwin scholarship of late and numerous commercial recordings of his scores. Though the 1943 press



made no mention of the *Suite*, comparisons are now plentiful, and opinions divergent: “Compared to the more frequently played . . . [Symphonic Picture] . . . Gershwin’s own suite kept some of the opera’s dramatic tension and unaffected appeal that Bennett managed to smooth over”; “The popular ‘Porgy and Bess—A Symphonic Picture’ is, of course, an always credited arrangement by Robert Russell Bennett . . . [the *Suite*] is pallid stuff indeed, and not just when compared with the work of virtuoso orchestrators such as Bennett.”<sup>124</sup>

Over the past half-century, numerous scholars and reviewers have gauged Bennett’s faithfulness to Gershwin’s “orchestral intentions.” As neither *Porgy and Bess* nor the *Suite* has been published in full score form, however, one wonders how frequently these judgments have been based solely on aural comparison.<sup>125</sup> An interesting phenomenon, too, is the occasional critic’s after-the-fact programming advice: “Mr. Masur . . . might instead have conducted Gershwin’s own suite”; “If Judd cared enough to play Bennett’s [*Picture*] so lovingly, why didn’t he just record Gershwin’s own Catfish Row?”; “The only disappointment was the Russell Rodney Bennett [sic] medley. . . . Why didn’t Princiotti use Gershwin’s own suite or, better yet, bring in a couple singers to do arias from America’s greatest opera?”<sup>126</sup>

Though critical reaction to the *Suite* and *Picture* is part of their legacy, the actual influence of such commentary is uncertain. Critics’ power to sway potential patrons is considerably greater in the theater than in the concert hall, where pivotal decision-making lies with orchestra conductors themselves. Late in life, Bennett noted that Rodgers and Hammerstein had become “bigger than the critics,” whose reservations little hindered a show’s popularity, and the same could be said of Gershwin, given his music’s longtime drawing power on all-Gershwin concerts and recordings. Critical opinion can hardly have caused the obscurity of the *Suite* following Gershwin’s death, or have affected the pace of its return to prominence after 1958; similarly, the judgments of conductors and listeners concerning the *Picture*, beginning in 1943, have been of far greater influence than its initial critical reception.

## Performance History

One measure of the *Suite*’s post-1958 impact is the frequency with which America’s full-time orchestras—a strong force in canonizing native repertory—have programmed it. Kostelanetz guest-conducted the *Suite* in several locales beginning in the mid-1960s, with his 1965 Philadelphia performance being an eleven-minute abridgement echoing his 1963 NYPO performance and recording. New Yorkers, however,

would apparently wait until 1974 for another hearing—again, a Kostelanetz/NYPO “Promenades” affair.

Performances of the *Suite* have increased in recent decades, especially in conjunction with the 1998 Gershwin centennial and the opera’s seventieth anniversary in 2005. Popular recordings by Kunzel, Ozawa, Levine, and others have also broadened its circulation. Still, the *Picture* maintains its longtime advantage, the Minnesota Orchestra (for one) tallying over twenty performances of the *Picture* and but three “pops” hearings of the *Suite*. Edo DeWaart’s midsummer “pops” presentation of the *Suite* in 1983 was San Francisco’s first since Monteux’s of 1942, and Chicago waited from 1936 until 1990, when James Levine led the work at Ravinia (prior to recording the work for Deutsche Grammophon). The Cleveland Orchestra, which first played the *Picture* in 1943, would not perform the *Suite* until 2001. Most conductors programming the *Suite* or *Picture* have doubtless chosen one in favor of the other, Leonard Slatkin being one of the few who have led both scores several times:

My father [Felix Slatkin] recorded the Bennett Porgy [the *Picture*] and I did Catfish twice for discs. But for almost all my other performances, not connected to recording, I have used the Bennett. Then there is the matter of the version for soloists, chorus and orchestra [Bennett’s *Concert Version*]. Overall, I think the Symphonic *Picture* works the best. It has all the atmosphere and most of the big tunes. The orchestration is fitting for today’s concert halls, as Catfish seems more suited for a pit band. I like having the whole Jazzbo Brown intro but the fugue does not really work. And the *Suite* seems a bit piecemeal as opposed to feeling like a whole experience.<sup>127</sup>

Whether one believes that symphony conductors lead public taste or follow it, they unquestionably continue to program and record the *Picture* more frequently. We may speculate as to why (The *Suite* lacks some expected “song hits”? A medley is preferable to a stop-and-start suite? The authority of Gershwin’s own work is inconsequential? The *Picture*’s instrumentation, though fuller, is less problematic?), but Charles Schwartz’s 1973 observation—“despite the ‘authenticity’ of the suite . . . it has never come close to matching the popularity of [the] *Symphonic Picture*”—remains fundamentally accurate.<sup>128</sup>

### **Coda: “what I knew . . . Gershwin would like”**

Bennett’s autobiography, published articles, correspondence, and recorded interviews disclose much about his craft and his decades of association

with Gershwin. Though the present-day researcher might wish he had been less circumspect, Bennett's tact and diplomacy were important contributions to his success as a commercial orchestrator, as Olin Downes noted when announcing the new *Symphonic Picture* in 1942:

Mr. Bennett, we say, has been respectful to the point of reverence to the Gershwin musical text. But this is not to say that he has failed to give the ideas a setting that he designs in his own right, nor is it in the nature of an insinuation to remark that he has been an invisible but most potent ally in certain scores of other gifted composers. These are subjects which he shuns, greatly preferring discussion of the work of admired contemporaries and the art that he serves in his scores.<sup>129</sup>

Another virtue was Bennett's musical self-effacement, a disinclination to impose his personal harmonic idiom and other aspects of his style upon his material. Kern, Rodgers, Porter, Berlin, Gershwin, and others repeatedly engaged him to prepare the all-important first arrangement of their new songs, in part because of what he once described as a "trade secret": presenting the creations of America's "best song writers" with "the least possible embellishment."<sup>130</sup>

As to the orchestration of concert music, he wrote:

Many fine composers, knowing of my experience as an orchestrator, come to me with their problems about certain passages in their scores. I'm glad to say that long experience has taught me the answer to their problem in nine cases out of ten. It is always the same answer: *Recompose it*. If the sound disappoints you even when well conducted and played, recompose it.<sup>131</sup>

Bennett consistently played down the importance of the orchestrator's craft, whether as a specialty distinct from composition or as an aspect of compositional technique: "no combination of instruments can change the quality of a tune"; "no orchestration should be bigger or better than the music"; "I have never found a poor piece of music that lent itself to good orchestration! . . . The music itself always comes first and must always be judged first."<sup>132</sup> Gershwin's own orchestration skills have received considerable comment; though Bennett was the sole credited orchestrator for 1930's *Girl Crazy*, he "had help in the form of an orchestration by the composer himself. He was developing fast at the craft and I had no need to revise or re-do anything."<sup>133</sup>

Late in life, Bennett's regard for Gershwin's concert works remained undiminished: "the more you hear his music, the more you

hear; [that's] a test of good music."<sup>134</sup> Also ever-present in Bennett's commentary is admiration for his friend's singular gifts:

When George Gershwin used to talk about his serious music some of his fellow song writers would make faces behind his back. They were not to be blamed, because the term *serious* is a poor excuse for what he meant to say. And yet there seems to be no word to use that comes any closer. . . . When Gershwin asked Alban Berg how he, the composer of "Wozzeck" and "Lulu," could possibly love his music, he replied, "My boy, music is music." It was an easy answer, and of course true, but highly educated people are inclined to take their education for granted, and who indeed wouldn't be glad to have George Gershwin's talent as part of his equipment?<sup>135</sup>

Gershwin had a tremendous fund of melody and a great rhythmic and harmonic talent. I sometimes wonder where he would have gone if he had not died so young. He wanted to do really serious music.<sup>136</sup>

And what of *Porgy and Bess*? Bennett perceived a connection between "Bess, You Is My Woman Now" and "Clara, Clara" and thought it "the sort of moment that great composers leave us," and his praise for Gershwin's opera remained unqualified, even forty years after its premiere: "The original Gershwin score of 'Porgy and Bess' had four clarinets, but they didn't all survive. In one way or another the original score was trimmed down quite a bit in performance, but it is such an achievement in composition that it does well in almost any theater anywhere."<sup>137</sup> It was *Porgy and Bess*, evidently, that sparked Bennett's warm relationship with Eva Jessye, displayed in their 1960s–70s letters.<sup>138</sup> Two excerpts are especially revealing; Jessye, gathering material for a theater-related book, had asked for his thoughts:

Answering your question as to what I did with Gershwin, I helped raise him musically. I began arranging for him almost as soon as he began writing tunes. I had great ambition for him with his brilliant talent and was never fully happy over what he did with it. However, he certainly had a style of his own put together from many of his contacts and experiences and only needed a little more cultural breadth to be one of the great figures in music. This is a rather snobbish thing for me to say but the possibilities of the man were unlimited and he was making great progress with musical techniques and orchestration. *Porgy and Bess* was undoubtedly the highest spot in his career.<sup>139</sup>

Yet Bennett's characteristic circumspection quickly asserted itself, and he wrote to her again, only days later:



Dear Eva: My remarks about my personal contact with George Gershwin were personal from me to you, and if you wish to go into the great big world with my opinion I submit the following:

George Gershwin, a nice man and a nice friend, was always hard for me to place in my general estimate of great musicians. He was always either oversold or undersold. Oversold by the great mass of listeners who simply accepted him as another source of entertainment for them and undersold by the dedicated students of music, many of whom would not admit he offered them any musical progress at all. As we walked and rode and worked together I concluded that his great asset, second only to his fantastic instinct for agreeable sounding music, was his sensitivity to everything he saw or heard which he absorbed and made a part of his creative equipment without knowing he was doing so. He loved music, he loved his own music and he loved to play the piano. You've no doubt already heard the answer of Oscar Levant when asked if George's music would be played a hundred years from then and he said "It will be if George is alive."<sup>140</sup>

Bennett would outlive by decades the friend he once "walked and rode and worked" with in New York, Los Angeles, and overseas, but graciously chose, unlike Oscar Levant, not to ride on the coat-tails of his admired colleague. Just as Gershwin distinguished himself from Berlin, Kern, Porter, Rodgers et al. with his "serious" composing and lifetime of study, Bennett's approximately two hundred concert works far surpassed the output of those commercial-arranger peers who maintained their concert-hall aspirations.

As to *Porgy and Bess*, the "best orchestral music George had ever done" and "highest spot in his career," conjecture about Gershwin's preferences—onstage, in the concert hall, and on recordings—will continue. Would the *Suite* have been the composer's long-term choice as his opera's signature orchestral résumé? And how might Bennett, who endeavored to make the *Picture* worthy of a full-scale symphony orchestra presentation, have configured it if unconstrained by Fritz Reiner's dictates and the era's recording technology? Reiner discarded two early choices ("A Woman is a Sometime Thing" and "Bess, Oh Where's My Bess?") while adding "It Ain't Necessarily So" to the *Picture* (see Appendix A), which might be dismissed as a kind of pandering; doing so, however, acknowledges the role of *Porgy and Bess*'s popular "sheer Broadway entertainment" numbers in fostering the public's continued affection. In 1943, Bennett asserted that, in scoring the *Symphonic Picture*, which Fritz Reiner had thoughtfully configured, he had been "careful to do what I knew—after many years of association with Gershwin—he, Gershwin, would like as a symphonic version of his

music,” and this affirmation remains worthy of consideration by conductors, critics, scholars, and music listeners.

### Appendix A. Fritz Reiner's Symphonic Picture Outline

[The Fritz Reiner Library at Northwestern University holds two versions of this document. The original typewritten draft rests inside Reiner's personal copy of the 1935 *Porgy and Bess* piano-vocal score; a carbon copy, with one red-penciled revision, is filed with his 1942 Correspondence. The parentheses are Reiner's; brackets are editorial. Note that it specifies “A Woman is a Sometime Thing” and “Bess, Oh Where's My Bess”—both not used—but does not include “It Ain't Necessarily So,” which does appear in Bennett's score; there are additional differences as well between this outline and the published *Picture*.

The rear flyleaf of Reiner's piano-vocal score contains his penciled preliminary notes. Seen *recto* is a detailed outline very similar to the subsequent typed document below. An initial, sketchy draft appears *verso*, partially crossed out, which begins “Introduction—Jazzbo Brown—Summertime,” paralleling Gershwin's *Suite*. This, along with marking-pencil annotations on the actual “Jasbo Brown” passage (pp. 4–7), indicates that Reiner had considered retaining Gershwin's orchestral piano for the *Picture*.]

#### Music to be used from PORGY & BESS

Begin p. 323 [opening Act 2, scene 3] to 325 then cut to p. 338 [Strawberry Woman] in D major (instead of C major) Cut to [*sic*; should be *from*] p. 339 to p. 341 (Crabman's Song) end at p. 343 with chimes. Cut to p. 446 in C (Crab song interwoven with III Act Prelude [“Clara, Clara”]) to p. 452 . . . then da capo to end at p. 449 *diminuendo* C major.

Ist Act introduction to bottom of page 5 then cut to p. 7 second line . . . through to end of “summertime” . . . then cut to p. 32 [“Summertime” & Crapshooters]

Through to p. 35 (eventual bridge with “Woman is a sometime thing”) to p. 40 no. 62 (in B minor) Cut to [opening Act 2, scene 1] p. 189 (also in B minor) two lines to p. 197.

Extended bridge to “I got plenty of nuttin” in E major ending at p. 207 . . . then cut to Hurricane Music from p. 357 to end of p. 364. Begin at p. 252 “Bess you is my woman now” in A major ending in F.

Follow up with p. 261 [“Oh, I Can't Sit Down”] to p. 270 eight measures . . . then cut to p. 497 [“There's a Boat Dat's Leavin' Soon for New York”] fifth measure (in B.) then to p. 501 semi-last measure cutting to p. 504 No. 88 to semi-last measure.

Follow up to p. 533 No. 147 ["Bess, You Is My Woman Now" as underscore to Porgy's monologue] through to p. 537—second measure. Cut to p. 538 ["Bess, Oh Where's My Bess?"] through to No. 159 then cut to p. 545 four measures before No. 164.

[In the carbon copy included with the 1942 correspondence, the sentence "Cut to p. 538 . . . before No. 164" has been crossed out and "p. 255 in e minor" has been written in. Both crossout and "p. 255 in e minor" are in red pencil.]

Through to p. 547 semi-last measure leading into p. 555 no. 177 ["Oh Lord, I'm On My Way"] to end.

### Appendix B. Bennett's Concert Version

The concert presentation of *Porgy and Bess* vocal selections began with the NYPO's 9–10 July 1936 all-Gershwin Lewisohn Stadium program. Alexander Smallens conducted original cast members Todd Duncan, Anne Brown, and Ruby Elzy; the chorus was the Eva Jessye choir, as it had been in the 1935 production.<sup>141</sup> Such performances continued regularly for years—including the Gershwin memorial concerts on both coasts—though Smallens's programming at Lewisohn would eventually come to feature the *Symphonic Picture* as often as concert presentations with singers.<sup>142</sup>

Bennett's 1956 *Porgy and Bess: Concert Version* for soprano, baritone, chorus, and orchestra was, like the *Picture*, a Chappell Music assignment. The impetus was likely the Gershwin interests or Max Dreyfus. It promptly came into regular use while, like the opera's full score and the *Suite*, remaining unpublished. A few conductors have offered one-off concert-hall samplings of their own, but Bennett's is easily the most performed—even though his name is usually relegated to the program notes or omitted entirely.

At the Yale Bowl, Harry Berman led Theresa Green, Lawrence Winters, and the New Haven Symphony in the *Concert Version*'s 26 June 1956 debut—an "out-of-town" premiere echoing the *Suite*, *Picture*, and Gershwin's opera.<sup>143</sup> Franz Allers, on leave from duties with Broadway's *My Fair Lady*, introduced the new score in Chicago a month later (Grant Park Symphony, Camilla Williams and Todd Duncan, 29 July). The initial Lewisohn/NYPO presentations were led by Smallens on 9 July 1956 (Leontyne Price, William Warfield), 3 July 1957 (Williams, Lawrence Winters), 12 July 1958 (Williams, Winters), and 18 July 1959 (Williams, Duncan). Other early performances took place at Carnegie Hall (Morton Gould, Symphony of the Air, Williams and Eugene Brice, 9 March 1957) and the Hollywood Bowl (Johnny Green,

Price, Warfield, 31 August 1957). Andre Kostelanetz led several *Concert Version* NYPO performances at Lincoln Center, with Veronica Tyler partnered by McHenry Boatwright (5–6 and 9 June 1963—only days after Kostelanetz led the city’s first *Suite* performance) and by Robert Mosley (25–26 June 1963; 30–31 May and 3–4 June 1969).<sup>144</sup>

Bennett’s *Concert Version* features the opera’s best-known vocal music; the orchestra is heard alone for some 150 of its 1,000 measures. Because the *Symphonic Picture* had been intended as a continuous listening experience, some added transitions, however concise, were necessary. The *Concert Version*, however, was designed to accommodate applause after each number, and only the occasional added bar or two were needed to give choral numbers like “Overflow” and “Oh, I Can’t Sit Down” the full close they lacked in the opera. Also, a few selections in the *Concert Version*—unlike the *Suite*—had used saxophones in Gershwin’s original orchestration, and Bennett’s task included adjusting the wind scoring to conventional pairs of woodwinds plus bass clarinet and 4/3/3/1 brasses. The opera’s pit-piano writing is transplanted practically verbatim, yet the instrument is listed as optional—likely because Gershwin used it almost entirely as a unison reinforcer in those excerpts chosen for the *Concert Version*.

Unlike the *Picture* or the *Suite*, Gershwin’s keys are unchanged, and the order of the excerpts follows the opera exactly.<sup>145</sup> Given that no vocal passages needed to be assigned to instruments (as in the *Picture* and *Suite*), the *Concert Version* scoring is even more “100% Gershwin” than the *Picture*, and occasional portions of Gershwin’s passagework that were pruned for the latter, such as the violin counterpoint at the climax of “Oh, Lawd, I’m On My Way” (beginning at R180+1 in the opera) are retained in the *Concert Version*. The ending, though revised for Reiner’s *Picture*, is here lifted almost exactly from the opera scoring. Also, unlike the “Gershwin–Bennett” *Picture*, Bennett places the composer’s name alone on the first page of the *Concert Version* score.

Bennett, experienced in choral writing for theater, film, radio, and Robert Shaw’s fabled chorus, knew well the differences between theater or opera (orchestra in the pit, voices onstage) and concert presentation (orchestra onstage, chorus at the rear). Still, the *Concert Version* retains Gershwin’s choral writing almost verbatim, and the reasons for Bennett’s occasional revisions may be deduced. An instance is the climactic ending of act 1, scene 2’s “Leavin’ for the Promise’ Lan’,” beginning at R231–2 (Ex. 10), where Bennett both raises the basses’ notes to help them project more effectively and revoices the concluding F-major tonic chord, with the “added” D and G (the sixth and ninth) present only in the quartal construction at the top of the chord.<sup>146</sup>



A more obvious revision of Gershwin's vocal scoring is Bennett's elimination of choral support from what are, in the opera, principally solo numbers: "Summertime," with its accompanying "oohs" and "ahs," and the choral echoes in "My Man's Gone Now," and "I Got Plenty." Bennett relocates these supporting passages to the orchestra if not already present in Gershwin's orchestration, keeping the spotlight entirely on the soloists. Conversely, "Overflow" is given to the chorus alone, with Porgy's brief solo interjections transferred to individual choristers. This provides variety in the presentation and gives all the vocalists opportunities to rest, while the soloists (customarily seated near the conductor) stand or sit with purpose:

#### Introduction

Summertime (Soprano)

A Woman Is a Sometime Thing (Baritone, Chorus)

Gone, Gone, Gone (Chorus)

Overflow (Chorus)

My Man's Gone Now (Soprano)

The Promise' Lan' (Chorus)

I Got Plenty O' Nuttin' (Baritone)

Bess, You Is My Woman Now (Soprano, Baritone)

Oh, I Can't Sit Down (Chorus)

Opening act 2, scene 2 African Drums, I Ain't Got No Shame (Chorus)

It Ain't Necessarily So (Baritone, Chorus)

Clara, Clara (introduction only—Orchestra)

There's a Boat Dat's Leavin' Soon for New York (Baritone, Chorus)

Oh, Lawd, I'm On My Way (Soprano, Baritone, Chorus)

Arguably, the opera's dramatic integrity is compromised in that the soprano sings Bess's solos as well as Clara's opening-scene "Summertime" and Serena's "My Man's Gone Now." The featured baritone, too, is given Porgy's role and Sportin' Life's two signature numbers. Yet this was not a new practice, as Todd Duncan himself sang Porgy's numbers and also "It Ain't Necessarily So" at Lewisohn Stadium as early as 1940. Mid-century reviewers took no exception to this, and audiences were apparently uncomplaining.

Similarly, the literal interpretation would not have the soprano singing the concluding "Oh, Lawd, I'm On My Way"; Bess, in the opera, has left for New York, where Porgy seeks to find her. Yet there is a practical consideration, with "Oh, Lawd" serving to close the forty-minute *Concert Version* and, likely, the entire concert. As this final excerpt begins (m. 964), the soprano soloist has been

Gershwin's scoring

R231

Pro mise'

Concert Version scoring

Pro mise'

Lan'

Lan'

Example 10. Act 1, scene 2, "Leavin' for the Promise' Lan'," vocal scoring in opera and in Bennett's *Concert Version*. Music and lyrics by George Gershwin, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, and Ira Gershwin. © 1935 (Renewed) George Gershwin Music, Ira Gershwin Music, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward Memorial Fund. All rights administered by WB Music Corp. Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, George Gershwin<sup>®</sup>, and Ira Gershwin<sup>™</sup>

silent since the radiant conclusion of “Bess, You Is My Woman Now” (m. 626), and bringing her to her feet to begin the finale is an understandable gesture of showmanship. The opening of “Oh, Lawd” is the featured soloists’ final moment in the spotlight and, unlike the opera, they are given the first four bars themselves before the chorus joins them (fittingly, it becomes the only number in the *Concert Version* where chorus and both soloists are heard). A few audience members might take note of this; the rest, likely not, and concerned conductors can provide any explanations thought necessary.<sup>147</sup>

## Notes

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1. Hans Spialek was then reaching his zenith as a Broadway orchestrator; Bennett, his long-time office-mate at Chappell, might well have been given this assignment had he not departed for Hollywood early in 1936. Spialek’s medley, like Bennett’s of 1961, is half the length of the *Suite/Picture* and scored for a less-than-symphonic complement. Gould’s twenty-nine-minute *Suite* is a clean-sheet reorchestration with numerous vivid orchestral effects well removed from Gershwin’s original scoring (“My Man’s Gone Now” in artificial harmonics, the horns placed an octave above the trumpets at the end of the *Fugue* excerpt, and considerable added filigree and thematic quotations). In contrast to the *Picture*’s nearly thirty commercial recordings, the Spialek and Gould medleys have been recorded once each (by RCA in the 1950s)—the former by Arthur Fiedler’s Boston Pops, abridged and labeled as a nonexistent Bennett “Symphonic Synthesis,” the latter by Gould himself.

2. Edward N. Waters’s 9 February 1936 National Symphony program note indicates that it was “completed by Mr. Gershwin in the last two or three weeks,” i.e., not long before the 21 January Philadelphia premiere. Though Lawrence Stewart, Ira Gershwin’s archivist, wrote that “no sooner had *Porgy and Bess* opened . . . than the Philadelphia Orchestra asked Gershwin to prepare a symphonic suite” (Stewart’s liner note for Westminster WST 14063, the 1959 Abravanel/Utah first recording of the *Suite*), this is undocumented, and has been ignored by later Gershwin biographers.

3. The *Suite's Fugue* is not listed in the Boston program, and the reviews give no indication that it was performed.
4. Merle Armitage, *George Gershwin* (New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938); David Ewen, *A Journey to Greatness* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1956); and *George Gershwin: His Journey to Greatness* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970).
5. Edward Jablonski and Lawrence D. Stewart, *The Gershwin Years* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958), 229.
6. John Briggs, "The World of Music," *New York Times*, 21 January 1959. Though the article suggests that Ira Gershwin's renaming preceded the 1959 Abravanel recording, the album's typography, as well as Stewart's liner notes, uses only Gershwin's original title, which this paper retains throughout except in quoted material.
7. Edward Jablonski, "An Almost Completely New Work," *American Record Guide*, July–August 1959, 848.
8. Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 2nd ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 370. Kostelanetz's ten-minute "Excerpts from *Catfish Row*" recording (Columbia CS-8933) is a curiosity, with cocktail-trio string bass and brushes added to the "Jasbo Brown" piano solo. Two movements, *Porgy Sings* and the *Fugue*, were eliminated.
9. "Soloists Chosen in Stadium Series," *New York Times*, 14 May 1936 ("He . . . will direct the first [New York?] performance of an orchestral suite arranged from his opera, 'Porgy and Bess.')." Instead, the 9–10 July programs would feature highlights sung by original cast members (see Appendix B).
10. "George Gershwin with Philadelphia Orchestra," *Musical Courier* 112, no. 5 (1936); "St. Louis Symphony Heard in Novelties," *Musical America* 56, no. 6 (1936), 56; A. W., "Boston Symphony Orchestra Concludes Season of Admirable Accomplishments," *Musical Courier* 113, no. 21 (1936), 21; "Washington Orchestra Season," *New York Times*, 24 May 1936; "Operas for St. Louis," *New York Times*, 16 February 1936.
11. E-mail to the author from Katherine Cummings, San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, 28 August 2007.
12. Also, both Monteux's printed program and the available reviews very carefully note the contributions of arrangers elsewhere on the 1942 concert (the Vivaldi concerto that Adler performed, his adaptation of the Ravel *Bolero*, and even Stravinsky's setting of the "Song of the Volga Boatman"), while making no mention of the *Suite* being anything other than Gershwin's own work. See Alfred Frankenstein, "Larry Adler Thrills Even the Skeptics," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 April 1942. The *News* critic hailed it as "the most interesting 'pop' concert program ever given by the . . . Symphony . . . it was good fun. Especially the 'Porgy and Bess' Suite (with a slight European accent) [and the Offenbach and Strauss works]." Marjory M. Fisher, "Larry Adler is 'Incredible' Virtuoso," *San Francisco News*, 15 April 1942. Fisher's account elsewhere ("Conclude Season in San Francisco," *Musical America* 62, no. 9 [1942], 21) provided no further details, and Monteux's concert was not reviewed by the city's *Examiner* or *Call Bulletin*.
13. The program included *An American in Paris* and Oscar Levant playing the *Rhapsody* (John K. Sherman, "Minneapolis Men Perform Mahler," *Musical America* 62,



no. 9 [1942], 19). According to Minnesota Orchestra librarian Paul Gunther, who shared the undated handbill and 15 April 1942 program with me, his library holds score and parts for the Spialek "Orchestra Selection," seven decades old by all appearances (e-mail to the author, 10 January 2008).

14. Gershwin's cross-country correspondence with Zenaide Hanenfeldt of his Gershwin Publishing Company office, in preparation for his 10–11 February 1937 concerts in Los Angeles, speaks only of a single *Suite* score and set of parts; likewise, the only available *Cuban Overture* score was his holograph (Box 65, Folders 3–18, Gershwin Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress [hereinafter DLC/GC]). Similarly, July 1936–April 1937 letters from publisher Harms to Gershwin detail their agreement to create a first-rate promotional, rental, and licensing apparatus for his pre-1935 concert works, including sufficient multiple sets of scores and parts—to eventually be fully engraved. Also documented are their joint plans for "re-issuance of The Rhapsody In Blue re-scored by yourself for large symphony orchestra," which has long been the subject of speculation (Box 123, Folder 25, DLC/GC). See Edward Jablonski, *Gershwin* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 224–25; Howard Pollack, *George Gershwin: His Life and Work* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 757n35; and David Schiff, *Gershwin: Rhapsody in Blue* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11.

15. Alexander Smallens appears to have conducted the *Suite* only for its Philadelphia premiere. Given the warmth and candor of their correspondence (see n65), we may presume Ira Gershwin's cooperation if Smallens had ever again wished to program the piece after the composer's death.

16. Bennett writes *Porgy and Bess: A Symphonic Picture* on the holograph and *A Symphonic Picture of Porgy and Bess* on his program note for the premiere; either might be considered correct. Among recurring mistitlings are Symphonic "Portrait," "Suite," or "Synthesis."

17. Gershwin had written, some weeks earlier: "Dear Fritz . . . I am writing this a few hours before the first performance [of *An American in Paris*—Walter Damrosch's at Carnegie Hall], and as you can imagine I am rather excited. Please get in touch with me as soon as you come to New York as I would like to go over the score with you" (Gershwin to Reiner, 13 December 1928. 1928–29 Correspondence, Fritz Reiner Library, Northwestern University Music Library [hereafter cited as NU]). Reiner led the work in Cincinnati, with Gershwin present, on 1–2 March 1929.

18. Gershwin appeared with the Los Angeles Philharmonic on 10–11 February 1937, *Porgy* being represented by Todd Duncan, Marguerite Chapman, and chorus rather than the *Suite*. Smallens was engaged to conduct after Reiner, Gershwin's initial choice, disclosed a prior commitment overseas (concert promoter Merle Armitage to Gershwin, 24 November 1936, Box 64 Folder 4, DLC/GC).

19. Reiner and Smallens had shared the Philadelphia Orchestra's 1925–26 season with Stokowski and Hans Kindler (see "New Music Notes Afield," *New York Times*, 18 October 1925) and were similarly colleagues for 1931–32 and, at Robin Hood Dell, for summer 1934.

20. "New Opera by American Composer to Be Presented at Metropolitan," *New York Times*, 19 June 1934 ("Malibran . . . is now expected to be presented . . . under the auspices of the Philadelphia Orchestra"). It was eventually premiered at the Juilliard

School in 1935. Smallens, then heading the Philadelphia Society for Contemporary Music's programming committee, had led a 7 January 1931 concert of works by Stravinsky, Hindemith, Goossens, and Bennett (who shared the applause for his first woodwind quintet). See "Contemporary Music: Give Modern Chamber Works in Academy Foyer," *Philadelphia Enquirer*, 8 January 1932. Smallens was also serving on the League of Composers executive board.

21. Kay Swift sent Reiner two telegrams on 7 October, inviting him to join the group of notables whose signatures would appear on a congratulatory silver tray for Gershwin, and also to attend the opening-night party at Condé Nast's apartment. The Reiners would host Gershwin, *Porgy* director Rouben Mamoulian, and a few others only days later (19 October) for dinner; an apparent guest list of Reiner's dating to 5 May had also included Gershwin among fifty-four celebrated personages (1935 Appointment Book and 1935 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU).

22. Chappell charged the Philharmonic only "the usual performing fee and the rental of the material," as they had in Pittsburgh (Reiner to Bruno Zirato, 10 December 1942. New York Philharmonic Archives).

23. Program note for the *Symphonic Picture*, Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, 5 and 7 February 1943. Unlike some later biographies, Ewen's 1956 Gershwin study noted that Reiner had selected the excerpts used.

24. Kenneth Morgan, *Fritz Reiner: Maestro and Martinet* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 118; Jablonski, *Gershwin* (1987), 295; Wayne Shirley, "The Trial Orchestration of Gershwin's Concerto in F," *Notes* 39, no. 3 (1983): 571n5.

25. Cheryl Crawford's *Porgy and Bess* revival originated in Maplewood, New Jersey, in late 1941, stopping in Boston before its New York debut at the Majestic Theatre on 22 January 1942.

26. Robert Russell Bennett, *The Broadway Sound: The Autobiography and Selected Essays of Robert Russell Bennett*, ed. George J. Ferencz (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1999), 183.

27. 1942 Appointment Book, Reiner Library, NU. A 19 September closing was announced ("Porgy and Bess to Close," *New York Times*, 22 August 1942), though it was held over another week.

28. "Fritz Reiner Programs," memorandum dated 2 September 1942. New York Philharmonic Archives and 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU. "NYPO" is used throughout this paper for brevity, although Philharmonic-Symphony members playing summer concerts at Lewisohn Stadium after 1951 constituted a contractually distinct organization termed the "Summer Symphony" or "Stadium Symphony."

29. 1942 Appointment Book, Reiner Library, NU. The names of Lieberman and Columbia Records president Ted Wallerstein appear frequently in Reiner's appointment books during this period.

30. Bennett to Reiner, 19 October 1942. 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU. Bennett was in Reno with his daughter, then establishing the six-week residency needed to obtain her divorce. The letter continues, "Please tell Carlotta [Reiner's wife] that I did one hundred and seventeen pages of score, and the show [Ronell's *Count Me In*] stinks beyond my wildest dreams in New York."

31. Bennett to Reiner, undated (likely late October 1942). 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU. Bennett refers to photographs taken at a rehearsal for the scheduled 10 August 1931 "All-American" program at Lewisohn Stadium, reprinted in several of the Gershwin biographies. At the concert, Daly conducted Gershwin, soloing on his *Rhapsody in Blue*, and also Levant and Bennett, playing the latter's March for Two Pianos and Orchestra (as the pair had at the Hollywood Bowl in 1930). Reiner had rehearsed his own portion of the program, but the concert was rain-delayed until the thirteenth, by which time Reiner's commitment at Philadelphia's Robin Hood Dell caused Hans Lange to take his place at Lewisohn.
32. Lieberman (Columbia Recording Corporation letterhead) to Reiner, 10 November 1942. 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU.
33. Olin Downes, "'Porgy' Fantasy: R. R. Bennett Makes Symphonic Work from Gershwin Opera," *New York Times*, 15 November 1942. Curiously, Downes mentions "A Woman is a Sometime Thing," which was included on Reiner's initial outline for the medley (see Appendix A) but not in the score in its final form.
34. Reiner to Sirmay, 21 November 1942. Box 65, Folder 70, DLC/GC. Reiner's program included Bennett's Eight Etudes (1938), and he would premiere Bennett's Seventh Symphony on one of his final Chicago Symphony programs, in April 1963. Sirmay—as a composer, best known for his operettas—had edited and supervised the engraving of the *Porgy and Bess* piano-vocal score, and took personal charge of getting Bennett's first-state *Picture* score to Reiner in Pittsburgh: "Dear Fritz: We sent you yesterday, by special delivery, a very nicely bound copy of the Gershwin-Bennett Porgy and Bess score. . . . The score really looks wonderful and I am sure you will enjoy it. . . . Your old friend, Sirmay" (undated late 1942 letter, Sirmay to Reiner, 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU). The two were acquainted in Budapest before coming to the United States in the early 1920s.
35. Bennett to Reiner, undated ("Sunday evening"—likely 22 November 1942). 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU.
36. Reiner to Zirato, NYPO, 23 November 1942. New York Philharmonic Archives.
37. Lieberman to Reiner, 1 December 1942. 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU.
38. Stokowski to Smallens, 26 October 1942. Alexander Smallens Papers, Performing Arts Library Special Collections, New York Public Library. While Stokowski never completed such a score, his willingness to, like Gould, work from the piano-vocal edition suggests the liberties that, unlike Bennett, he would have taken with Gershwin's orchestration. Stokowski programmed the *Picture* at least once, leading his American Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall on 4 October 1965.
39. Reiner to Lieberman, undated. 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU. It is contemporaneous with a similar 10 December letter from Reiner to Zirato in the New York Philharmonic Archives (the Pittsburgh concert again termed a "try out"). The *Picture*'s 27 January 1943 copyright date indicates that Bennett's revisions were completed before the premiere.
40. Following the two Pittsburgh performances, Reiner took his PSO on tour to New York State (Syracuse, Utica, Troy, and Hamilton's Colgate University on 9, 10, 11, and 13 February, respectively), with the *Picture* preceded by Wagner's *Meistersinger*



overture, Beethoven's Seventh, and Strauss's *Don Juan* (program courtesy Rensselaer County [NY] Historical Society). Albert Sirmay relayed Reiner's greetings to Ira Gershwin after attending the Troy program, and continued: "this piece cannot fail to become . . . a universally admired piece of symphonic orchestras all over the world. The construction and orchestration are simply marvelous. . . . Russell Bennett has not added anything of his own. Everything is original George Gershwin, except for the very last bars. . . . The whole piece is a gold mine of beauty. . . . I was so emotionally overcome that for minutes I couldn't talk to Fritz Reiner. The reception was, needless to say, enthusiastic" (Sirmay to Ira Gershwin, 18 February 1943. Box 128, Folder 20, DLC/GC). This echoes Sirmay's reaction in 1935: "during the [opera's] dress rehearsal . . . I was standing in the back of the Colonial Theatre in Boston, and I cried. It was no sobbing, but I cried. And Gershwin came back towards me and said, 'what's the matter with you? . . . why do you cry?' 'Because it's so beautiful [I replied].' He always referred to it on following performances [that were especially excellent]: 'the doctor is crying again.'" (NBC Radio's "Toscanini: The Man Behind the Legend," aired 8 August 1965. Don Gillis Collection, Music Library, University of North Texas).

41. Gershwin's opera and the new Rodgers musical (like the stage plays from which they were drawn) were produced by the Theatre Guild, whose executive producer Theresa Helburn praised Bennett in a 7 April 1943 letter: "May I tell you how tremendously I enjoyed [your] symphonic treatment of *Porgy and Bess* when I heard Reiner play it. It was a thrilling experience! I now feel that you are tied up with both the Guild's musical achievements." Tim Carter, *Oklahoma! The Making of an American Musical* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 212. Rodgers and Reiner explored a concert-hall *Oklahoma!* venture ("I have discussed the matter with Russell Bennett and he will be delighted to work on it with us"); this *Oklahoma!* "Interlude," slated for a Pittsburgh premiere in February 1945, never materialized (Rodgers to Reiner, 6 January 1944. 1944 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU. Reprinted by special permission from the Family Trust u/w of Richard Rodgers).

42. Reiner/NYPO (Lewisohn) on 19 June 1943; Kostelanetz/Philadelphia (Robin Hood Dell) on 1 July; Efrem Kurtz, Chicago (Ravinia) on 24–25 July; Reiner/NYPO (Lewisohn) on 8 August; Kostelanetz/Toronto on 14 October; Eugene Ormandy/Philadelphia ("Pops") on 31 October; Erich Leinsdorf/Cleveland on 7 November; Richard Burgin/Boston on 26 November, and Kurtz/Kansas City on 8 December. Performances in 1944 included Mitropoulos/Minneapolis on 28 January; Alfred Wallenstein/Los Angeles on 3 and 6 February; Black/Cleveland on 15 February (in Hartford as one of several Eastern-tour performances); Bernstein/Montreal on 19 July; and Kostelanetz/Rochester on 30 November. It was programmed the following year by Carl Bricken/Seattle in February; Kostelanetz/NYPO on 28 June; Ignace Strasfogel/Toronto on 23 August; Fabien Sevitzky/Indianapolis on 15 and 16 December, and Morton Gould/Boston on 30 December. Among performances in 1946 were those by Artur Rodzinski/NYPO on both 3, 4, and 6 January and 7, 9, and 10 November; J. Randolph Jones/Jersey City on 16 January; Reginald Stewart/Baltimore on 14 March; Howard Hanson/Eastman Senior Symphony on 15 April; Smallens/NYPO (Lewisohn) on 11 July; Hans Kindler/National on 24 July; Leinsdorf/Rochester on 7 November, and Walter Hendl/National on 19 December. Several of these early *Picture* performances were broadcast on network radio as well, broadening its exposure. Significantly, Richard Burgin's 1943 Boston program was a subscription concert, unlike Gershwin's 1936 "Pops" guest appearance with Fiedler; the *Rhapsody in Blue*, *An American in Paris*, and



Concerto in F would wait until 1997, 2004, and 2005, respectively, for subscription berths in Boston. See Joseph Horowitz, "An Upstart Named Gershwin Gets His Shot," *New York Times*, 2 October 2005.

43. Bennett to Eva Jessye, 18 February 1966. Eva Jessye Papers, Leonard H. Axe Library, Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kans. Bennett inked fair copies of several obscure early Gershwin songs: "Phoebe" (1921), "Look to the Stars," "Fairylend Wedding," and "Bébé" (Box 55, DLC/GC).

44. "I am afraid it has looked as tho I have made no effort to keep in touch with you, altho that is hardly the case. It seems there is a delicate situation liable to arise at Harms when a man [i.e., myself] that is doing 10 and p—['ten and piano'] arrangements is 'borrowed' for a production score . . . I was asked . . . to keep quiet about such scores as I write . . . consequently it is rather difficult for me to meet you at Harms without endangering this condition. I am more than anxious to work with you. . . . I believe we could turn out a mean show by the talked-of [Gershwin-Bennett] combination" (Bennett to Gershwin, 23 March 1920; Ira and Leonore Gershwin Trusts, San Francisco [ILGT]). Bennett did hundreds of these print arrangements ca. 1919–25, including Gershwin's first big hit, "Swanee." Instrumentation was either the ten-and-piano combination of flute, clarinet, two trumpets (cornets), trombone, drums, strings, and piano (with copious cues to cover absent instruments, and to aid conductors using the piano part) or the full-orchestra "fifteen and piano," which also included parts for oboe, second clarinet, bassoon, and two horns.

45. "Imagine Me Without My You" (music by Lewis E. Gensler), intended for use in the 1924 musical *Top-Hole*, was "the first published song for which Ira Gershwin, discarding 'Arthur Francis,' took credit." *The Complete Lyrics of Ira Gershwin*, ed. Robert Kimball (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 36.

46. Prior to 1924, Bennett prepared the published ten-page piano "Selections" for the 1921 George White's *Scandals* (his involvement otherwise is uncertain); Herbert Warren Wind's article, based on numerous interviews with his subject, also credits Bennett with some orchestrations for the 1922 *Scandals*. Wind, "Another Opening, Another Show," *New Yorker*, 17 November 1951, 60.

47. Diary entries for 20 March, 29 May, and 30 May 1928, excerpted in Robert Kimball and Alfred Simon, *The Gershwins* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), 93, 101. See also Jablonski, *Gershwin* (1987), 156, 169–70. Bennett and Vernon Duke would both tell of hearing Gershwin demonstrate excerpts from his work-in-progress *An American in Paris* while at the city's Hotel Majestic.

48. See "The Composers Unite," *New York Times*, 4 June 1933.

49. Bennett recalled a gathering after the premiere hosted by Gershwin, who commented: "Russ, you've gone far with what you had" (Bennett, "From the Notes of a Music Arranger," *Theater Arts*, November 1956, 89). Reiner had dined before the performance with "Simon"—presumably *Malibran* librettist Robert A. Simon, the *New Yorker* music critic. In an earlier, 30 June 1934 letter to Reiner, who was then considering the opera for his upcoming season in Philadelphia (see n20), Simon broached casting possibilities, and Bennett sent two undated follow-up notes concerning performance materials. On 21 September, however, Reiner informed Bennett of the decision—"cannot give 'MARIA' this year"—reached with his Board of Directors (1935 Appointment Book and 1934–35 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU). These files

hold additional related letters from Bennett and also Simon, an established translator of libretti; one of Reiner's and Smallens's expressed aims for their venture in Philadelphia, which would in the end be limited to established repertory, was English-language opera—yet another earnest effort to broaden opera's appeal, as with both *Malibran* and *Porgy and Bess*.

50. Sirmay to Dreyfus, 12 April [1935], ILGT. Dreyfus was then in Hollywood following a serious illness (Sirmay to Ira Gershwin, 2 November 1942. Box 128, Folder 20, DLC/GC).

51. Bennett, *Broadway Sound*, 183.

52. Mitchell Miller telephone interview with the author, 13 January 1992.

53. John Andrew Johnson, "Gershwin's 'American Folk Opera': The Genesis, Style, and Reputation of *Porgy and Bess* (1935)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996), 407–11. This was Manhattan's "Wickersham" phone exchange, though Bennett is not listed in the borough's 1934 and 1935 directories.

54. *A Damsel in Distress*'s Fred Astaire–George Burns–Gracie Allen "fun house" dance sequence features a buoyant eight-minute Bennett elaboration on "Stiff Upper Lip" scored for a modest wind band. Recorded by John McGlinn in the 1990s, it remains ripe for notice by band conductors looking for Gershwin repertory to claim as their own.

55. *A Smattering of Ignorance* (New York: Doubleday and Doran, 1940) was Levant's first bestseller. He recalled (p. 223) their joint presence at Copland's April 1932 Yaddo Festival, where his *Sonatina for Piano*—dedicated to Bennett—was premiered.

56. Warfield and Price headlined the Breen-Davis production of *Porgy and Bess*, which, beginning in 1952, toured internationally. It finished its run at New York's Ziegfeld Theatre, opening on 10 March 1953, with LeVern Hutcherson replacing Warfield.

57. "Gershwin Contest Set," *New York Times*, 1 February 1946; "Gershwin Contest Set," *New York Times*, 16 February 1960.

58. Bennett to Ira Gershwin, 15 August 1953, ILGT. He had also conferred with Ira in Los Angeles in October 1951 about a proposed "Gershwin Evening" rental/touring concert package for featured vocal and piano soloists and orchestra, to be booked by Columbia Artists Management, Inc. (Bennett to CAMI's Andre Mertens, 25 October 1951; Mertens to Bennett, 30 October 1951; ILGT).

59. Jablonski, "An Almost Completely New Work," 848.

60. Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years* (1970), 370; Jablonski, *Gershwin* (1987), 294–95; Jablonski, liner notes for the 1998 reissue of the Kunzel/Cincinnati Pops recording (Telarc 2CD–80445), originally released in 1987 with annotations by Albert Petrak.

61. Johnson, "Gershwin's 'American Folk Opera,'" 746. DLC/GC Box 49 contains the *Suite* holograph (Folder 5) and a related two-page penciled document (Folder 4), including a list of directives (in Gershwin's hand) concerning new orchestral parts for the *Suite*, mostly clarifying revisions marked on the holograph: "Lullaby ['Summertime'] – 1 Violin solo senza sord. on melody," etc. Several instructions address instances where violins are divided into three parts; in his opera orchestration, Gershwin commonly

divided the first violins, as he scored for eight firsts and four seconds. As revised for the *Suite*, these passages give the topmost line to all the firsts and the lower two parts to *divisi* second violins. The list is headed “attention Mr. Zoltai”—as early as 1925, Stephen M. Zoltai worked for Harms as both copyist and arranger.

62. The Bowen/1997 *Suite* performance materials are available from European American Music ([www.eamdllc.com](http://www.eamdllc.com)).

63. Smallens’s 5 September 1941 letter to Ira Gershwin (see n65) confirms the availability of a full score of Gershwin’s opera at Chappell Music. Among the numerous passages in the *Picture* taken verbatim from the opera holograph is the flute *obbligato* to “Clara, Clara,” which does not appear in the piano–vocal score.

64. These two items, as well as Reiner’s own published *Picture* score and *Porgy and Bess* piano–vocal score, are shelved only feet apart in their respective collections at Northwestern University.

65. Documentation of the 1941–42 reduction includes a 26 June 1942 telegram to Smallens “from the members of your Porgy and Bess orchestra” wishing the conductor a successful season at Lewisohn Stadium with the NYPO. Twenty-seven musicians are listed (more or less in score order), including NBC Symphony trumpeter Frank Falcone and soon-to-be-Philharmonic oboist Harold Gomberg (Smallens Papers, NYPL). Smallens had written to Ira Gershwin less than six weeks before the opera’s 13 October 1941 opening: “have just been approached by Cheryl Crawford to do a revival of ‘Porgy’ . . . with a view to making it a test for a future tour. She has no place [i.e., no room in the pit] for the size orchestra George required and this is also too heavy a load for the budget of any theatre. Have been yesterday to see Dr. Sirmay—at Chappel’s [sic]—and in looking over the score I come to the conclusion that the orchestration should be condensed for a smaller body of men—I would suggest 26 at the most. Doing this would make the producing of ‘Porgy’ feasible and practical as far as theatrical enterprises are concerned” (Smallens to Ira Gershwin, 5 September 1941, ILGT). Ira Gershwin noted in reply that the orchestra for Merle Armitage’s 1938 west-coast revival “was already reduced to about 26 men and still sounded pretty full . . . since it was done (and successfully) I don’t see why that particular reduced scoring can’t be done again” (Ira Gershwin to Smallens, 11 September 1941, Smallens Papers, NYPL). In a postscript to this letter, Ira gives a measure of his thoughts about the inviolability of the as-published score: “I just remembered that in New York, before [Alexander] Steinert came out here for the [1938] Armitage production, I worked with him on some cuts. One of them was quite lengthy and they tell me really helped the pace of Scene One, Act One. I am quite sure that Miss Crawford will find Steinert cooperative in indicating what these cuts were. Me, I don’t remember exactly chapter and verse.”

66. In Bennett’s “commercial” film, theater, radio, and television work, he could depend upon such masterful clarinet–saxophone players as Alfred Gallodoro, Joseph Allard, Paul Ricci, and Vincent (Jimmy) Abato. Benny Goodman (later the dedicatee of Bennett’s 1941 *Antique Suite* for clarinet and orchestra) had played both instruments for Gershwin’s *Strike Up the Band* and *Girl Crazy*, as had Artie Shaw for *Pardon My English*, prior to their emergence as rival swing-era clarinet virtuosi. In the 1930s Bennett had observed that saxophones “are of great value because they . . . can almost be ‘sung’ on without great concern over technical difficulties such as beset flutes, oboes, bassoons, and even clarinets . . . a good clarinetist, for example, feels he is on a vacation when playing alto or tenor saxophone.” Bennett, “Orchestration of Theatre and Dance

Music,” in *Music Lovers' Encyclopedia*, compiled by Rupert Hughes, rev. and ed. by Deems Taylor and Russell Kerr (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1939), 783.

67. Wayne Shirley, “The Jenkins Orphanage Band and *Porgy and Bess*,” presented at Annual Meeting, Society for American Music, 4 March 2006, Pittsburgh, Penn.

68. On the *Suite* recordings, recording engineers generally give the “Jasbo Brown” solo an up-front prominence, as with a piano concerto, and then place the pit-piano passages within the orchestral texture. In (unamplified) performance, of course, such a shift in aural perspective cannot be accomplished. A few *Suite* recordings, Abravanel’s among them, employ a quasi-broken-down piano for the “Jasbo Brown” excerpts.

69. The *Picture* recording with the truest acoustical balance is surely 1956’s monophonic Dorati/Minneapolis (Mercury MG50016); liner notes describe the use of a single microphone “hung about 15 feet directly over the conductor’s podium.”

70. Bennett, “On Writing Harp Music,” *Harp News* 1, no. 10 (1954).

71. Rehearsal numbers throughout this paper correspond to the published piano-vocal score rather than any manuscript or edition of the *Suite* or *Picture*, unless noted otherwise. R27–1 stand for one bar before R27; R27+3 for three bars after R27.

72. Bennett, *Instrumentally Speaking* (Melville, NY: Belwin-Mills, 1975), 130. His pragmatism suggests that Reiner specified the *Picture*’s pair of harps. On Bennett’s Broadway assignments, however, he could be confident that the harp, if employed, would not be cut during the run of the original production. A perhaps unique use of two harps in Bennett’s theater work is Cole Porter’s 1950 *Out of This World*, where he takes maximum advantage of their presence.

73. Reiner’s own 1945 *Picture* recording seems to use only a single harp.

74. Jablonski’s 1959 statement that “the bulk of Gershwin’s work was assigning appropriate instruments to the vocal lines” (“An Almost Completely New Work,” 848) is misleading, as these are the only such bars in the *Suite*.

75. The three bars preceding “Bess, You Is My Woman Now” are nowadays commonly played by solo cello, contrary to the opera and *Suite* holographs. The full cello section plays on Gershwin’s 19 July 1935 reading session, where he is heard to address the “celli” before giving the downbeat (*George Gershwin Conducts Excerpts from Porgy and Bess*, Mark 56 LP 667-B, 1974), and likewise with the October 1935 Victor recordings he supervised (reissued on *A Collector’s Porgy and Bess*, RCA AVM1–1742, 1976) and even September 1937’s Gershwin memorial concert at the Hollywood Bowl, with Duncan and Brown (North American Classics CD 4001, 1988). The solo-cello tradition was apparently in place with the early-1940s Smallens-led cast recording (Decca DL79024), two rare exceptions being Abravanel’s 1959 *Suite* LP and the Nashville Symphony’s 2006 recording, with which Wayne Shirley and Charles Hamm assisted (Decca CD B0007431–02), incorporating the 1935 cuts.

76. Photocopies of these earlier *Suite* rental parts were provided by Michael Owen, ILGT.

77. An annotation in the original production’s first trombone part shows that—though not indicated in the score—this passage was muted in 1935 (personal communication, Wayne Shirley to the author, June 2009).



78. The Gm6 replacement ending is heard on Abravanel's 1959 LP, and must be his, if not Gershwin's; the pre-Bowen/1997 rental parts contain a jumble of cross-outs and restorations of this chord. Of the widely circulating pre-1997 recordings (Slatkin 1974 and 1987, Levine, Ozawa, Kunzel) only Slatkin/1987 uses the revised ending. The *Suite* aside, this passage (Ex. 2) is an example of the inconsistencies between the published piano-vocal score and actual 1935 orchestration. As Wayne Shirley has observed, it is one instance of the opera's present performing materials being reconciled in favor of the piano-vocal edition.

79. Variant titles are seen for the individual numbers in *Porgy and Bess*, as well as for the *Suite* and the *Picture*. The *Suite*'s finale is given as "Good Morning, Brother" for the 1936 Philadelphia premiere but as "Good Morning, Sistuh" for some other 1936–37 performances. The title is taken from the first singing heard in act 3, scene 3 (at R109), "Good Mornin', Sistuh, Good Mornin', Brudder," following 123 bars of orchestral exposition.

80. These 1935 cuts as per Charles Hamm's "The Theatre Guild Production of *Porgy and Bess*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40, no. 3 (1987): 495–532. We should not infer that Reiner's intent was to select only "surviving" material for the *Picture*.

81. Successive tritone-related key centers in Gershwin's "serious" works are found only between movements (Concerto in F, II/D-flat to III/opening in G minor) or acts (end of *Porgy*'s Act 2, "six prayers" in Gm, to act 3 opening, "Clara, Clara" in D-flat).

82. Gershwin, in his *Suite*, eliminates Maria and Clara beginning at R221; the *Picture* does the same with Jake, Nelson, Jim, and Maria's voices after the analogous R172. Example 3 is in the opera's original key (as with the *Picture*) rather than the whole-tone-higher transposition in the *Suite*.

83. New York Public Library, Billy Rose Theater Collection prompt score (stage manager, New York run 1935). See also Charles Hamm's "The Theatre Guild Production of *Porgy and Bess*," 495–532.

84. This optional cut of the Hurricane music, not specified in Reiner's preliminary outline, is a penciled-in addition to the first-state *Picture* score.

85. The second movement (Serenade) of Bennett's popular *Symphonic Songs for Band* ends with *Porgy and Bess*'s next-to-final harmony, unresolved—a gesture unlike any in the hundreds of his compositions and arrangements I have examined. Any connection to Gershwin's opera is speculative, though Bennett did finish the *Symphonic Songs* commission in mid-1957, around the twentieth anniversary of Gershwin's death. The Serenade's E-major tonality (though no key signature is used) is exceedingly uncommon for a concert band work or individual movement.

86. The Hurricane music also ends on an E 6/9 chord (see Ex. 6), though the piano-vocal score indicates a major triad. The effect of the "added" tones is diffused, as neither the F-sharp nor C-sharp is present in the brasses. Such details may be observed only in the full orchestration.

87. Worth noting are Bennett's changes in m. 2 of both the first-state and published ending (Ex. 5). This reharmonization device is seen in both his commercial arrangements and concert works, signifying a closing/coda (the substitute chord commonly

being an “unexpected” root-position major triad rather than a complex extended harmony). See also n40, with Sirmay’s mention of the revised ending to Ira Gershwin.

88. When conductors cut the *Picture*’s Hurricane music, the effectiveness of this transition is lost, there being no contextual reason for an ostinato in seconds to emerge from the final chord of “I Got Plenty O’ Nuttin’.” Bennett’s original transition featured a four-measure chord progression in whole notes for the low brasses; Reiner cut the first two bars (not shown).

89. Bennett, *Broadway Sound*, 184. Bennett’s memory, almost forty years on, proved faulty only insofar as this transition, following “There’s a Boat,” led first to “It Ain’t Necessarily So” and only then to “Oh, Lawd.”

90. Bennett, *Broadway Sound*, 184. His turn of phrase, “George’s original ‘Catfish Row’ music,” should not be misconstrued as describing a passage forming a continuous whole in the opera (see Reiner’s Appendix A outline, where act 2, scene 3 excerpts used to open the *Picture* are detailed). Likewise, the *Picture*’s “first state” pairing of the “Bess, You Is My Woman Now” incipit and “Clara, Clara” introduction, however striking to Bennett, does not echo any such juxtaposition in Gershwin’s score. The musical “snobbery” Bennett cheerily acknowledges here was borne in part by an earnest conviction that posterity would look more favorably upon classical music’s masterworks than the musical theater scores he orchestrated.

91. Bennett “restored” the three deleted bars—in a sense—in beginning his small-scale *Selection* medley (Chappell, 1961). Following the chords that open act 2, scene 3 is the “Bess, You Is My Woman Now” incipit and then “Clara, Clara,” exactly as in the final seven bars of Ex. 9.

92. Bennett’s production scores for Broadway, radio, and television only rarely bear inside-joke annotations for copyists or conductors (one 1951 orchestration for a new Rodgers musical gives the show’s name as *The Thing and I*). The uncharacteristic critique of Reiner on his own *Picture* score suggests it was an entirely private expression. Then again, why would Bennett append his initials, if not for others’ eyes—perhaps the Chappell copyists?

93. See Christopher Reynolds, “Porgy and Bess: ‘An American Wozzeck,’” *Journal of the Society for American Music* 1, no. 1 (2007): 13, and Allen Forte, “Reflections upon the Gershwin–Berg Connection,” *Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (1999): 159.

94. Morris Hastings, “Confident George Gershwin,” *The Microphone: New England’s Radio Newspaper* 5, no. 2 (16 May 1936), back cover. Hastings, interviewing Gershwin, recorded this exchange with biographer Isaac Goldberg at the rehearsal for his 7 May 1936 Boston “Pops” appearance. Though Paul Whiteman recorded the Concerto in F in 1928 with soloist Roy Bargy (using Grofé’s reduced orchestration), the context here clearly refers to the possibility of a recording by the composer himself.

95. While in exploratory stages for the *Rhapsody in Blue* film, Ira Gershwin made known his preferred conductor: “Personally, I would love to have you in charge of the music. . . . Although the studio has final say on cast, musical direction and all other departments, you can count on me when the proper time arrives, to ask for you as my selection. In the words of a well-known lyric writer, ‘Who could ask for anything more?’” Ira Gershwin to Smallens, 11 September 1941. Smallens Collection, NYPL. Smallens had conducted Virgil Thomson’s scores for the films *The Plow That Broke the*

*Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1938) and gained George Gershwin's notice while leading Thomson's all-black opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934).

96. Jablonski, "An Almost Completely New Work," 848.

97. Jablonski, notes for Telarc 2CD-80445 (1998); Jablonski and Stewart, *The Gershwin Years*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 1996), 364. Yet another retouched recording is Tortelier's of 1995 (Chandos 9325), where timpani are added to the Hurricane music at R231, oddly doubling the first trumpet two octaves lower rather than reinforcing the bass line or fundamental harmonies.

98. "No news on the recording front and nobody seems to know when it will break or what there is that will break" (Lieberson to Reiner, 10 November 1942. 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU).

99. At WOR radio, Wallenstein had led the *Porgy and Bess* revival cast in a one-hour condensation broadcast on 7 May 1942. A year later, he would leave his position as music director to WOR colleague Bennett and take up his new Los Angeles post. Wallenstein had guest-conducted Bennett's five-movement *Orchestral Fragments from Maria Malibran* (in its own way analogous to Gershwin's *Suite*) there on 7 February 1935, two months before the opera's Juilliard premiere.

100. "New Records," *Time Magazine*, 9 July 1945. Bennett was then music director for the big-budget network radio program "Stars of the Future," with a substantial orchestra and chorus at his disposal and such up-and-coming guest performers as Isaac Stern, Leonard Rose, Margaret Harshaw, and Earl Wild. Asked to supply something distinctive for the 1 July 1945 "Gershwin Jubilee Week" broadcast, Bennett eschewed the obvious Gershwin hits and prepared an eight-minute orchestra medley, *The Gershwin Nobody Knew*, containing little-remembered songs ("Innocent Ingenue Baby," "Sweet and Low-Down," "The Signal," "Mischa, Yascha, Toscha, Sascha") and a distillation of the *Second Rhapsody* that includes its central slow theme, praised by Bennett as "a grand, grand tune." The holograph is in the Bennett Collection, NU.

101. Bennett, *Broadway Sound*, 184.

102. Bennett to Reiner, 19 October 1942. 1942 Correspondence, Reiner Library, NU.

103. The Introduction, a late addition to Gershwin's opera, is slightly shorter as scored than as published, with the 1935 piano-vocal score's eighth measure absent from the opera orchestration (and so in the *Suite*, *Picture*, and Bennett's *Concert Version*). Thus Reiner's 1945 cut constitutes mm. 9–22 of the piano-vocal score, which is mm. 8–21 in the orchestration. Gould's 1955 *Suite* includes this excised bar—another telltale sign of his working from the piano-vocal score.

104. The 1945 *Picture* recording was one of teenager Bernard Adelstein's first with Reiner: "[T]here was a tremendous amount of tension in all those sessions. Reiner was a great conductor but very tough. . . . Not only did you have to play your part perfectly, but also hope that everyone else following you for the rest of the 4 minute side played their part without any clams. If there were any problems, you would have to start the entire process over again. Talk about stress—!!!" (e-mail to the author, 8 May 2005; Adelstein would later serve as the Cleveland Orchestra's longtime principal trumpet). To sharpen the *Picture* in the weeks preceding the recording session, Reiner led performances at home and on tour in three states; due to turnover unimaginable today,

perhaps half the PSO members who recorded the work in 1945 had not played its 1943 premiere.

105. The Sevitzy recording, like his NBC radio broadcast from Indianapolis a month earlier, sacrificed some four minutes of the score, principally the “Crab Man” street cry and all of “Clara, Clara” (archival recordings courtesy of Fred Fellers, Indianapolis, IN).

106. Columbia reissued the Reiner recording, ca. 1951, on a ten-inch LP. It is heard to best advantage on the 1998 Sony CD *From Gershwin’s Time* (MH2K 60648) in Dennis D. Rooney’s remastering, taken from the original sixteen-inch lacquer discs (e-mail, Rooney to the author, 11 February 2008); it bears careful listening by anyone studying the *Picture*. Rooney further notes that “although it varied, depending on the instrumental texture, dynamics and convenience of break point, the industry standard [for a 12-inch 78 rpm disc’s maximum side-length] was 4:20.”

107. Later recordings include NYPO/Kostelanetz (1953); Minneapolis/Antal Dorati (1956, apparently the first truly complete recording); Symphony of the Air/Alfonso D’Artega (1957); RCA Symphony/Bennett (1959); Hollywood Bowl/F. Slatkin (1959); Pittsburgh/William Steinberg (1967); Utah/Abravanel (1968); Philadelphia/Eugene Ormandy (1969); Boston Pops/Fiedler (1970); Monte Carlo/Edo DeWaart (1972); London PO/John Pritchard (1975); Leipzig/Kurt Masur (ca. 1976); Dallas/Eduardo Mata (1981); London SO/Andre Previn (1981); USSR Academic SO/Yevgeny Svetlanov (ca. 1982); Detroit/Dorati (1982); Montreal/Charles Dutoit (1989); Royal Liverpool PO/Carl Davis (1991); Vienna-RSO/Steinberg (1991); Bournemouth/John Farrer (1993); Aalborg SO/Wayne Marshall (1995); New Zealand SO/James Judd (2001); Budapest SO/Rico Saccani (2007); Royal Philharmonic/Simon Lee (2007). The 1989 “Suite from Porgy and Bess” by John Williams and the Boston Pops (Philips CD 426 404–2) is actually Alexander Courage’s glittering, much-abridged, and heavily-reorchestrated *Symphonic Picture*, the arranging credited jointly to Bennett and Courage. With Williams’s apparent approval, Courage discards banjo and saxophones, adding “I Loves You, Porgy” and much original transitional material.

108. The 1989 Boston Pops “Suite” aside (see n107), the worst example of casual treatment of the *Picture* is the Philharmonia Orchestra of Hamburg recording (MGM, 1955). It is cut by more than eight minutes—shorn of the evocative act 2, scene 3 opening, street vendor’s cries, “Clara, Clara” and Hurricane music—while the banjo part is given to electric guitar. The result is a garish “song hits” medley—and the liner notes disclose none of this. More recently, Lorin Maazel’s Filarmonica Toscanini performance shortens the *Picture* to about 15:15. The opening six minutes are cut, as are the Hurricane Music and “It Ain’t Necessarily So”; saxophones and banjo are absent. Part one may be seen at <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qbh1BrDE2ac](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qbh1BrDE2ac)>, and part two at <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q\\_WDEgMyK10&NR=1](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q_WDEgMyK10&NR=1)>. Accessed 28 February 2010.

109. A recent Philadelphia Orchestra *Picture* performance at the Vail Music Festival (15 July 2009) featured an unacknowledged 7-min cut—the opening and the Hurricane music—echoing Previn’s 1981 recording (e-mail, VMF’s Lynne Mazza to the author, 17 July 2009, forwarding information provided by conductor Rossen Milanov).

110. Kimball and Simon, *The Gershwins*, 199.

111. Pollack, *George Gershwin*, 641.



112. Harold C. Schonberg, "Music: 'Proms' Arrive," *New York Times*, 31 May 1963.
113. Ralph Lewando, "Everybody's Happy When Heifetz Plays: Amazing Violin Work, Distinguished Conducting of Dr. Reiner and Stirring Performance of Symphony Society Stimulate Large Audience," *Pittsburgh Press*, 6 February 1943.
114. Noel Straus, "Reiner in Tribute to Rachmaninoff," *New York Times*, 1 April 1943. The concert opened with the finale of Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony to honor the pianist-composer, who had passed away three days earlier.
115. Robert Bagar, "Gershwin's Porgy Heard at Carnegie," *New York Telegram*, 1 April 1943.
116. Edward O'Gorman, "The Philharmonic's Got Plenty of Sumpin!," *New York Post*, 1 April 1943.
117. Grena Bennett, "Philharmonic in Tribute to Rachmaninoff," *New York Journal*, 1 April 1943.
118. Miles Kastendieck, "Music of the Day," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 1 April 1943.
119. Jerome D. Bohm, "Philharmonic Concert Is Led by Fritz Reiner," *New York Herald Tribune*, 1 April 1943.
120. Oscar Thompson, "Tribute Is Played to Rachmaninoff," *New York Sun*, 1 April 1943. Bennett, who orchestrated Kern's *Show Boat* in 1927, is sometimes mistakenly credited with the *Scenario for Orchestra*, scored by Charles Miller and premiered by Rodzinski and the Cleveland Orchestra on 23 October 1941.
121. Henry Simon, "It's Beautifully Done, But Why Do It At All?" PM, 1 April 1943. The extended "Simon and Schuster" Simon family also included Robert A. Simon, Bennett's *Maria Malibran* librettist.
122. E. "Orchestras: Reiner and Kurtz Return to Philharmonic," *Musical America* 63, no. 6 (1943), 10, 23.
123. "New York Concerts," *Musical Courier* 126, no. 8 (1943), 13.
124. Kenneth Herman, "Symphony Gives Brisk, Predictable Gershwin Show," *Los Angeles Times* (San Diego County Edition), 11 August 1989; James Wierzbicki, "Genius Wasn't Enough for George Gershwin: He Wanted to Do It All," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 2 August 1987. I am reminded of Bennett's observation, "So much can be said about music; so little can be proven," which has informed my own scholarship (interview with George Guilbault and William David Brohn for WGBH radio, Boston, 1 October 1977, courtesy George Guilbault, Natick, Mass.).
125. For this study, John DeMain kindly shared his personal *Porgy and Bess* full scores, used with the Houston Grand Opera in the 1970s and the New York City Opera in 2002. The current *Suite* rental score was provided by Michael Owen, ILGT.
126. Anthony Tommasini, "Taking Gershwin Seriously in a Laid-back Sort of Way," *New York Times*, 12 December 1998 (an account of Kurt Masur's NYPO performance the previous evening); James Tuttle, review of Naxos 8.559107 (Judd, New Zealand SO Picture recording) in *Fanfare* 26, no. 3 (January–February 2003), 100; Jim Lowe, "VSO [Vermont Symphony] Delivers Exotic Bartók Concerto," *Barre-Montpelier Times Argus*, 9 December 2008 (<[www.timesargus.com/article/20081209/NEWS02/812090368/1003/NEWS02](http://www.timesargus.com/article/20081209/NEWS02/812090368/1003/NEWS02)>, accessed 22 December 2008).

127. Leonard Slatkin, e-mail to the author, November 2005.
128. Charles Schwartz, *Gershwin: His Life and Music* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1973), 268. The League of American Orchestras prepares an annual Orchestra Repertoire Report based on surveys of more than a hundred full-time and metropolitan ensembles. Its 2000–01 through 2007–08 reports are available online ([www.americanorchestras.org](http://www.americanorchestras.org)).
129. Olin Downes, "'Porgy' Fantasy: R. R. Bennett Makes Symphonic Work."
130. Bennett, "Eight Bars and a Pencil," *New York Times*, 8 June 1947.
131. Bennett, "A Master Arranger Speaks," *The Musical Digest*, October–November 1948, 20.
132. Bennett, "From the Notes of a Music Arranger," 88; "A Look at Music Arranging," *Music Journal* 22 (1964), 88–89; "Backstage with the Orchestrator," *Etude* 61, no. 4 (1943), 223.
133. Bennett, *Broadway Sound*, 115.
134. Bennett, Krueger interview, 8 September 1978.
135. Bennett, *Instrumentally Speaking*, 122.
136. John Ferris, "Mr. Music and His Pal," *New York Sunday News*, 29 December 1968, 25.
137. Bennett, *Instrumentally Speaking*, 127.
138. Bennett's 17 June 1953 "Scott Music Hall" NBC telecast, two weeks after hosting William Warfield and Leontyne Price, featured spirituals performed by Jessye and her choir.
139. Bennett to Jessye, 18 February 1966. Jessye Papers, PSU. A dozen years later he similarly remarked, "I was always very ambitious for George, and he knew that" (Krueger interview, 8 September 1978).
140. Bennett to Jessye, 26 February 1966. Jessye Papers, PSU.
141. The 1935 opera parts, with cuts selected by Gershwin, were used at the Stadium in 1936 (Hananfeldt to Gershwin, 6 November 1936, Box 65 Folder 13, DLC/GC).
142. Following the 1936 and memorial programs, Smallens led vocal excerpts at Lewisohn Stadium in 1939, 1943, 1954, and 1956–59 (these last four being Bennett's *Concert Version*). He conducted the *Picture* there during the 1944–47, 1949–50, and 1952–53 seasons.
143. "Brief, Berman to conduct 'Pops' at New Haven," *Hartford Courant*, 10 June 1956. On 7 April 1956, Bennett had billed Chappell Music for "Porgy and Bess: Concert Version—250 pages at \$6.27, for \$1567.50"—its 1000-measure length equaling 250 nominal pages as per Local 802 AFM wage scales, there being 172 physical pages (Bennett's postwar account book courtesy his grandson Kean K. McDonald).
144. Veronica Tyler would appear as Bess in the 1964 City Center production, join the New York City Opera roster soon after, and place second in the Tchaikovsky Competition in 1966. Camilla Williams and Lawrence Winters had taken the lead roles on Columbia's "complete" recording of the opera in 1951.

145. One exception: Clara sings "Summertime" in B minor as the opera opens; it is in A minor in the *Concert Version* (though Gershwin gives Bess an opportunity to sing it in act 3, scene 1 in the lower key), which was perhaps done to make the alternate high note at the end the more manageable A5 rather than B5.

146. The opera's concluding tonic chord (seen in Ex. 5) uses this same resonant construction, a half tone lower with the "added" sixth and ninth present only in the voicing-in-fourths at the top of the sonority.

147. John DeMain led his Madison (Wis.) Symphony in the *Concert Version* in February 2002, featuring Alvy Powell and Marquita Lister a month before their appearances with him at New York City Opera. While delivering the preconcert lecture, I was gently chided by audience members for suggesting that Powell's singing of both Porgy and Sportin' Life's numbers might cause them confusion.

# Reading Music Criticism beyond the *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna Paradigm

Benjamin M. Korstvedt

A remarkable advertisement for Bruckner's Seventh Symphony appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna on 1 April 1886, ten days after the work's belated Viennese premiere. The advertisement, in the form of a flyer, was produced by the publisher of the symphony, Albert J. Gutmann, and featured a series of brief quotations from reviews of performances, including the recent Viennese performance and concerts in Leipzig, Frankfurt, Munich, and Berlin (see Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> The divergent views expressed in the quotations Gutmann selected, which highlight the disagreements between the combative responses of leading Viennese critics and the generally more positive reception of the symphony in Germany, reflect the divided state of opinion concerning the merits of Bruckner's music at the time. The contrast between the praise, which is fine but generally reasonable, and the sharply dismissive negative criticism is striking, as are Eduard Hanslick's statement that he found the work "unnaturally inflated, morbid, and pernicious" ("unnatürlich aufgeblasen, krankhaft und verderblich") and Gustav Dömpke's declaration that "Bruckner composes like a drunkard" ("Bruckner componirt wie ein Betrunkener").

These may seem odd choices for inclusion in a promotional flyer, but this was no April Fools joke. Gutmann clearly regarded them as an effective means of generating publicity for one of his products. He apparently succeeded in creating a *succès de scandale*; in Ernst Decsey's melodramatic reminiscence, the advertisement "had the effect of a cymbal crash."<sup>2</sup> Recalling the event in his memoirs, Gutmann seemed pleased to have provoked an "enormous sensation" that provided "the occasion for further polemics" (see Table 1 for this and the following quotations). Other comments about Gutmann's advertisement indicate that it was understood as part of a larger argument about Bruckner. Max Kalbeck, one of the composer's strongest critics, responded two days later in *Die Presse*, dismissing Gutmann's effort as a ploy. The promptness of



Verlag der kais. kön. Hof-Musikalien-Handlung  
**Albert J. Gutmann in Wien.**

**Siebente Symphonie (E-dur)**  
 von  
**Anton Bruckner.**

Dieses Werk wurde mit ausserordentlichem Erfolge aufgeführt: in Leipzig (Capellmeister Nikisch), München (Hof-Capellmeister Levi), Karlsruhe (beim Musikfeste des Deutschen Tonkünstler-Vereins, Dirigent Hof-Capellmeister Felix Mottl), Köln (Capellmeister Dr. Wüllner), Hamburg (Capellmeister Bernuth), Graz (Capellmeister Muck), Wien durch die „Philharmoniker“ unter Hof-Capellmeister Hanns Richter's Leitung.

**Kernsprüche aus kritischen Referaten.**

Das Werk fordert die höchste Bewunderung heraus.  
 „Leipziger Nachrichten“ vom 1. Januar 1885. **Bernhard Vogel.**

Bruckner ist ein Genie, das sich an Beethoven herangebildet hat und in der That Züge zeigt, die Beethoven's würdig wären.  
**Referat über das Karlsruher Musikfest des Deutschen Musikvereins.**  
 „Frankfurter Zeitung“ vom 1. Juni 1885.

Das ist endlich einmal ein Tondichter, welcher nicht mit sorgsamer Klügelerei kleine und nichtige Themen zu etwas Grossem zu erheben sich abmüht, sondern der schon ursprünglich wahrhaft gross empfindet.  
 „Münchener „Neueste Nachrichten“ vom 12. März 1885.

Die ersten drei Sätze sind hochbedeutend, die Themata des Adagio von ergreifender Schönheit, der Aufbau imposant. Durch das Ganze geht ein grosser Zug.  
 Berliner „Tageblatt“ vom 18. März 1885.  
**Dr. Paul Marson.**  
 (Bericht über die Münchener Aufführung, mitgetheilt durch H. Ehrlich.)

Wie wohl thut es, einmal wieder einem im besten Sinne naiven Tondichter zu begegnen, der nicht grübelt, sondern aus innerstem Bedürfnisse schafft.  
 „Deutsche Zeitung“ vom 25. März 1886. **Dr. Theodor Helm.**

Wie die früheren symphonischen Arbeiten dieses Componisten ist auch sein neues Werk durch wahrhaft schöpferische Kraft ausgezeichnet.  
 „Morgen-Post“ vom 28. März 1886. **Dr. Oskar Berggren.**

Die neueste Symphonie ist von einer Macht der Empfindung, wie sie nur den grössten unserer deutschen Tondichter nachgerühmt werden kann.  
 „Neue Wiener Tagblatt“ vom 30. März 1886. **W. Frey.**

Besteht die 7. Bruckner'sche Symphonie als ein unvergängliches Tonbauwerk vor uns. Die Zeit ist ganz nahe, in welcher die symphonischen Werke Bruckner's die Programme aller Concerte erfüllen und in das Herz aller Musikmenschen eindringen werden. Vorurtheil und Indolenz können quälen, aber niemals hindern.  
 „W. Abendpost“ vom 27. März 1886. **Dr. Hans Paumgartner.**

Ich bekenne unumwunden, dass ich über Bruckner's Symphonie kaum ganz gerecht urtheilen könnte, so antipathisch berührt mich diese Musik, so unnatürlich aufgeblasen, krankhaft und verderblich erscheint sie mir.  
 „Neue Freie Presse“ vom 30. März 1886. **Dr. Eduard Hanslick.**

Bruckner componirt wie ein Betrunkener.  
 „W. Allgemeine Zeitung“, **Gustav Doempke.**

Figure 1. An advertisement for Bruckner's Seventh Symphony published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, 1 April 1886. From Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Bruckner* (New York: Vienna House, n.d. [1970]), 172.

Kalbeck's rejoinder suggests that Gutmann had succeeded in stirring up some excitement. Decades later, Theodor Helm, whose favorable review had been quoted by Gutmann in 1886, and Bruckner's partisan biographers, August Göllerich and Max Auer, were still reminiscing about Gutmann's maneuver, which Helm described as a canny move to "paralyze" Bruckner's Viennese critics.

If Gutmann hoped to work the situation to his advantage, Bruckner himself was trepidatious. When he learned of plans for this performance of his Seventh Symphony in Vienna, he wrote a remarkable letter, dated 13 October 1885, requesting that the Philharmonic desist because he could not countenance the negative criticism he knew the symphony would receive in what he called “the woeful local situation” (“die traurige lokale Situation”).<sup>3</sup> The work had recently enjoyed success in Germany, notably Arthur Nikisch’s world-premiere performance in Leipzig on 30 December 1884 and especially Hermann Levi’s performance in Munich on 10 March 1885, which was Bruckner’s first real public triumph as a symphonist. Bruckner feared, quite correctly as

Table 1. Responses to Gutmann’s Flyer

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As the publisher of the two most popular of his symphonies, the Fourth (“Romantic”) and the Seventh (with the funeral music for Wagner’s death), immediately after the performance of the latter, I prepared a collection of key phrases from foreign and domestic reviews, which I arranged to have appear as an insert in the *Neue Freie Presse*. It caused an enormous sensation, and even provided the occasion for further polemics. The Philharmonic pasted the newspaper clipping into their score, where it is still to be seen as an emblem.<sup>a</sup>

—Albert J. Gutmann, *Aus dem Wiener Musikleben: Künstler-Erinnerungen, 1873–1908*

The confusion that this more than problematical work, which exists only by the grace of its great predecessors, is said to cause in otherwise entirely rational people results *inter alia* from the fact that the music publisher, Mr. Albert Gutmann, has considered the highly unfavorable response of the famous critic, Eduard Hanslick, to be a recommendation of his most recent product and has added a report of the same as an advertisement.<sup>b</sup>

—Max Kalbeck, *Die Presse*, 3 April 1886

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that Bruckner again came out badly with the leading Viennese critics. In order to paralyze them, Bruckner’s publisher Albert Gutmann had the inspiration to have an insert appear on 1 April 1886 in the *Neue Freie Presse*, which first noted the splendid success of the work in six musical cities before the performance in Vienna and then added nine key phrases from the critical response, seven of which, including mine from the *Deutsche Zeitung*, were decidedly favorable, some downright enthusiastic, and only the last two totally negative.<sup>c</sup>

—Theodor Helm, *Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Musikleben (1866–1916): Erinnerungen eines Musikkritikers*

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*Continued*

Table 1. continued

It is significant that the even the publisher of the symphony, Albert Gutmann, no longer took the unfavorable verdicts as tragic, but rather used [the] particularly sharp phrases for a promotional flyer in which enthusiastic judgments, especially those from German papers, were juxtaposed with the shameless statements of the "authoritative Viennese critics." Even the *Neue Freie Presse* had to publish this big paid announcement. That made a formidable impression!<sup>d</sup>

—Göllerich und Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild*

<sup>a</sup>"Als Verleger der beiden populärsten seiner Symphonien, der Vierten ('Romantischen') und 'Siebenten' (mit der Trauermusik auf Wagners Tod), unternahm ich unmittelbar nach der Aufführung der letzteren eine Zusammenstellung von 'Kernsprüchen' aus auswärtigen und inländischen Kritiken, die ich im Inseratteile der 'Neuen Freien Presse' erschienen ließ und die ungeheures Aufsehen erregte, ja sogar Anlass zu fortgesetzter Polemik gab. Die 'Philharmoniker' klebten den Zeitungsausschnitt in ihre Partitur, worin er noch heute als Wahrzeichen zu sehen ist." Albert J. Gutmann, *Aus dem Wiener Musikleben: Künstler-Erinnerungen, 1873–1908* (Vienna: Gutmann, 1914), 42.

<sup>b</sup>"Welche Verwirrung dieses mehr als problematisches Werk, das nur von den Gnade seiner großen Vorgänger lebt, in sonst ganz nüchternen Köpfen anstiften sollte, geht unter anderm daraus hervor, dass der Musikverleger, Herr Albert Gutmann, das höchst ungünstige Votum des berühmten Kritikers Eduard Hanslick für eine Empfehlung seines neuesten Geschäftsartikel angesehen und einer Anzeige desselben als Reclame beigelegt hat." Max Kalbeck, "Dichter und Symphoniker (Eine zeitgemäße Parallele)," *Die Presse*, 3 April 1886; English version from Crawford Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, vol. 2 (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 511–12.

<sup>c</sup>"Daß Bruckner bei der führenden Wiener Kritik auch diesmal schlecht wegkam, sei nur der Vollständigkeit wegen erwähnt. Um dies zu paralisieren hatte der Verleger Bruckners, Albert Gutmann, den Einfall, am 1. April 1886 in der 'Neuen Freien Presse' ein Inserat erscheinen zu lassen, das zunächst den glänzenden Erfolg des Werkes in sechs Musikstädten vor der Aufführung in Wien feststellte und hierauf neun Kernsprüche aus kritische Referaten anreichte, von denen sieben, darunter das meinige aus der 'Deutschen Zeitung,' entschieden günstig, einige geradezu enthusiastisch und nur die zwei letzten total absprechend lauteten." Theodor Helm, *Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Musikleben (1866–1916): Erinnerungen eines Musikkritikers*, ed. Max Schönherr (Vienna: Verlag des Autors, 1977), 192–93.

<sup>d</sup>"Bezeichnend ist, dass auch der Verleger der Symphonie, Albert Gutmann, die ungünstigen Urteile nicht mehr tragisch nahm, sondern besonders scharfe Wendungen daraus für ein Werbeblatt benützte, in welchem die enthusiastischen Urteile, besonders aus reichsdeutschen Blättern, den schamlosen Äußerungen der 'maßgebenden Wiener Kritik' gegenübergestellt waren. Auch die 'Neue Freie Presse' musste diese große, bezahlte Annonce bringen. Das machte gewaltigen Eindruck!" Göllerich und Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffens-Bild*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Regensburg: Bosse, 1936), 466–67.

it turned out, that this success would only feed the resentment of Hanslick and his circle.

Many writers, and not only Bruckner hagiographers (for whom it was long a cause célèbre), have regarded the negative criticism of the Viennese premiere in very personal terms. Constantin Floros, for example, recently described Bruckner's October 1885 letter to the

Vienna Philharmonic as “one of the most shocking documents in music history” that reveals how great “Bruckner’s fear of Hanslick’s savaging” (“Bruckners Angst vor Hanslicks Verrissen”) had become.<sup>4</sup> A slightly different tack was taken by Karl Kraus, who in 1907 published the text of Bruckner’s letter to the Philharmonic under the heading “Anton Bruckners Bittschrift” (“Anton Bruckner’s Plea”) in *Die Fackel*.<sup>5</sup> Kraus treated the letter not only as a poignant reflection of Bruckner’s personal situation (melodramatically calling it “a tortured man’s declaration of will during torture . . . a final appeal for mercy”), but also as a testament to the sorry state of culture in an age in which “malicious dwarves ruled over good-natured giants.”<sup>6</sup> Alongside the letter, Kraus reprinted a lengthy excerpt from a poem of his own invention he had published in 1903 that opens with the line “Ist die Folter in Oesterreich abgeschafft?” (“Has Torture Been Abolished in Austria?”) and paints an absurd scene in which Bruckner, Hugo Wolf, and Bedřich Smetana are zealously tortured with medieval implements by Hanslick, Kalbeck, and Dömpke, thus vividly illustrating Kraus’s feeling that there was something repugnant in seeing the tools of mockery wielded by the journalistic establishment not to satirize the powerful but to ridicule these relatively marginal figures of Viennese cultural life.<sup>7</sup>

Taken as a whole, the entire nexus—including the extremely critical reactions to the symphony and counter-reactions from other critics, as well as the social context of Viennese concert life at that time—embodied by Gutmann’s advertisement crystallizes a fascinating moment in which concert music was the object of intense cultural energy, much of which, as I will argue, focussed on crucial, closely held points of difference central to the self-identity of the Viennese bourgeoisie in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Gutmann’s strategy of publishing a very mixed selection of critical opinion in the *Neue Freie Presse*, which was Hanslick’s paper and the all-but-official journal of the Viennese liberal establishment, strongly suggests that he was aware that a diversity of cultural opinion existed within this segment of society. This article considers how critical resistance to Bruckner’s music was part of a debate then swirling about the proper definition of Austrian *bürgerlich* identity. It explores the circumstances of this criticism, moving beyond the texts with which it begins, establishing—and rejecting—some possible paths of approach, reviewing how musical politics in late-nineteenth-century Vienna has been constructed in English-language scholarship, identifying some salient aspects of the social circumstances of Viennese music criticism at that time, and finally, returning to consider more closely how some critics verbally represented the music of Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony. This is, then, an exercise in reading in the fullest sense of the



term; it hopes to build a deeper, clearer picture of a place, a time, a musical culture—a culture of hearing, discussing, and understanding music—that differs markedly from our current one. So, rather than trying quickly to bridge the awkward gaps that appear between our current interpretive presuppositions and what nineteenth-century critics wrote, it is important, at least initially, to hold these spaces open: the fascination and the critical opportunity offered by seemingly strange critical responses subsist precisely in the spaces of difference they create against our established patterns of comprehension.

### Readings of Viennese Music Criticism

Although it is quite possible to overestimate the prevalence of extreme, derogatory words about music in Vienna during this time, such rhetoric was by no means uncommon, particularly in newspaper reviews of new concert music and opera. The immediate historical context, in Vienna as in much of Europe, was the conflict of opinion about the relative value of Wagnerian “Music of the Future” as opposed to the more tradition-minded music epitomized by the works of Johannes Brahms. In Vienna, the discussion took on a particularly sharp edge because not only was Brahms a well-known resident of the city, but Bruckner, who was also a prominent figure there, was often seen as the representative of the Wagnerian aesthetic in the realm of the symphony. Stark differences regarding the virtues of these two compositional approaches and their leading exponents often inflected critical responses, as in these infamous examples from Hugo Wolf, in the *Wiener Salonblatt*, and Eduard Hanslick, in the *Neue Freie Presse*, respectively:

Conspicuous is the crab-like progress in Brahms’s output. It has, to be sure, never reached beyond the level of mediocrity, but such nothingness, emptiness and hypocrisy as prevails throughout the E-minor symphony has not yet appeared in any previous work of Brahms in so alarming a manner. The art of composing without ideas has decidedly found in Brahms its worthiest representative. Just like the Good Lord, Herr Brahms is a master at making something from nothing.<sup>8</sup>

The Overture to the “Meistersinger,” which hurls out all of the leitmotifs of the opera piecemeal in a flood of chromatic passages and sequences, eventually whipping them willy-nilly into a veritable tonal hurricane, must raise the suspicion among the uninitiated that the Nuremberg Meistersingers were primarily concerned with cyanide. I hesitate to call this the most unpleasant opera overture in the world only because of the even more hideous prelude to “Tristan und Isolde.” It always makes me

think of the old Italian picture of that martyr whose intestines were slowly reeled out of his body.<sup>9</sup>

Such cruelly brilliant phrases and images are indeed tempting to pass around in conversation—this was surely part of the intention behind them—but any attempt to make sense of this sort of discourse in a culturally grounded way must move beyond a quotational approach, resisting the urge to traffic in *bon mots*, if it hopes to understand what these words meant, where they came from, and how they fit into a larger social, communicative context. The extremity of many critical comments about the music of Bruckner and, to a lesser extent, Brahms can easily inspire a defensive reaction even today; thus many scholars who deal with this material, sensing that a degree of caution is needed, have sought ways to explain and often to defuse such extreme statements. One well-worn tradition is to dismiss critical opinions that seem mistaken or out of sympathy with modern views as mistakes or “misjudgments.”<sup>10</sup> In an age in which the canon of nineteenth-century music is securely established, it is not hard to pass silently over opinions that look like failures of judgment, yet this does little to help us grasp what Hanslick was thinking and hearing at the time. Nor does it help to try to explain and minimize the import of critical opinions on the basis of biographical circumstances, by, for example, emphasizing that Hugo Wolf had been rebuffed as a student in his efforts to receive compositional guidance from Brahms and was thus primed to derogate his music as a reviewer.<sup>11</sup> The impulse to mollify the import of refractory critical vitriol is quite understandable, and may even seem natural, but it does not aid historical analysis, especially when such impulses assume that one key can unlock the riddle of why music critics wrote what they did—be it a commitment to one musical party or the other, a grudge, or a simple incapacity to grasp or understand certain musical works. Each of these factors surely played a part, but none alone, or even in simple combination, is able to accommodate the complexity of the facts on the ground or engage the underlying cultural conditions, and therefore cannot lead very far into the exploration of music’s place in larger constellations. For this, a whole network of considerations that emerge from the social, cultural, political, and material situation of musical performance and reception, as well as writing about music, needs to be brought into the discussion.

Serious scholarly interest in the intersections between music, criticism, and cultural politics in this milieu is not new, of course. A number of sophisticated efforts have explored the musical reality behind specific criticism made at that time; for example, Klaus Hübler took Wolf’s quip

that Brahms exercised “the art of composing without ideas,” which was meant as a strictly derogatory statement, as the starting point for the musical analysis of the superb motivic economy of some of Brahms’s late piano pieces, and Dorothea Redepenning searched for the positive musical grounds behind the sense expressed by several critics that Bruckner’s music lacks “logical thinking.”<sup>12</sup> The approach to Viennese music criticism that I am most interested in—because of both its interpretive sophistication and its influence—originated in the early 1990s in the writings of American musicologists. The most salient works in this area are by Leon Botstein and Margaret Notley, both of whom emphasize the crucial, even determining, influence of politics on musical taste and critical commentary, with particular attention to the role of liberalism in politics and musical reception.<sup>13</sup> These scholars find in the musical culture of the time, especially in the disputes about Brahms and Bruckner, reflections of a crisis of Viennese liberal culture and its conflict with antagonistic political forces that were rising at that time. For Botstein, “between 1873 and 1897 a dramatic political shift away from liberalism helped to define the Viennese world of aesthetic and cultural politics” so strongly, he argues, that “the Brahms-Wagner division, the Brahms-Bruckner conflict, and the Makart-Feuerbach rivalry had roots in the social and political divisions that developed during the 1870s.” The most crucial division was between a liberal, *grossbürgerlich* establishment that had a significant Jewish component and “a new radically conservative movement that sought to establish a political and cultural alternative to the cosmopolitan liberal conceits of Vienna’s cultural, literary, and academic elite.”<sup>14</sup> Botstein concludes that “the Wagner-Brahms conflict was more about disciples and the polemics of cultural politics than about music,” while recognizing that “even where fundamental aesthetic issues were at stake, as in the Bruckner case, the social and political dimensions of the conflict were decisive.” Parallel divisions in cultural politics and aesthetic matters “represented segments within [a] Viennese public whose antagonisms deepened and rendered extreme what otherwise might have remained a serious matter of aesthetics.”<sup>15</sup> Notley, who approaches the topic from a slightly different angle and moves more directly from music criticism to cultural politics, sees both Brahms’s music and its positive reception by critics as expressions of a liberal worldview that valued reason, moderation, individualism, and rationality. She argues that this liberalism was opposed with increasing strength in the 1880s by what “amounted to a non-rational cult of emotion and instinct,” which she associates with radicalism, political reaction, anti-Semitism, and Wagnerism. Notley holds that this worldview was expressed, if not by Bruckner’s music directly, then by its



enthusiastic reception by critics and audiences. She argues that politics played a crucial role in the public's response to music, as can be seen from the "ardent support" Bruckner received in "the press of the Pan-Germans and of the Christian Socialists, the most important of the anti-Liberal parties on the far right formed during that decade."<sup>16</sup>

This interpretive approach can point with justification to the tendency to construct this music and its reception along party lines.<sup>17</sup> This pattern was established long ago and has survived several metamorphoses. For example, Theodor Helm referred several times to the Brahms "party" in his review of a performance of the First Symphony by the Vienna Philharmonic on 26 March 1882.<sup>18</sup> In 1883, Josef Schalk interpreted the reception of Bruckner's symphonies as part of a larger struggle that he glossed in terms of Wagner's late worldview as the conflict between the German spirit and the spirit of the modern.<sup>19</sup> In his 1886 review of the Seventh Symphony, Hanslick declared that "Bruckner has become a military command and 'the second Beethoven' in the articles of faith of the Wagner community."<sup>20</sup> Richard Heuberger wrote in the opening paragraph of his obituary of Bruckner, which Brahms and Hanslick reportedly admired, that in his last decade Bruckner had become the object of a "passionate as well as exaggerated cult" ("ebenso leidenschaftlichen als übertriebenen Cultus"), to which Heinrich Schuster responded a few weeks later in his own obituary of the composer that it was rather the "opposition to Bruckner" that was a "party matter."<sup>21</sup> These "parties" were soon identified with religious and political agendas. Schuster's obituary associated opposition to Bruckner with "the old Liberal" tendency in politics, while in 1920, Ernst Decsey (who was himself Jewish) linked the "battle of the Brucknerian symphony" with the struggle of the Catholic ethos against "the faithless soul of liberalism."<sup>22</sup> An 1890 article from the Catholic newspaper *Das Vaterland* titled "Ein Opfer der Wiener Musikkritiker" ("A Victim of the Viennese Music Critics") claimed, in a statement that betrays a *völkisch* slant, that the animosity of the "clique" that opposed Bruckner was due to the "great discomfort" they felt at seeing a composer stepping to the forefront whose works were not the property of the Simrock Verlag, Brahms's main publisher.<sup>23</sup> In his massive Brahms biography, published between 1904 and 1914, Max Kalbeck, writing from the other side of the debate, offered what has become an influential account of musical politics in the 1880s, when "music," as he wrote, "became mixed up with politics and obscurants of various party camps had their hands in the matter."<sup>24</sup> He rather crudely reinforced the notion, often drawing on anti-Catholic imagery, that Vienna was rent by organized musical disputes of an almost military cast, describing "troops summoned to oppose



Brahms" supported by "extremists of various reactionary, religious, political and social congregations" and "bands of rowdies eager to agitate" following "battle orders," thronging the standing-room section at Brahms concerts, hoping to "terrorize" the Musikverein audience.<sup>25</sup>

Postwar scholarship, especially English-language work, has generated its own interpretive approaches to nineteenth-century Bruckner and Brahms criticism that can tend to inscribe a slightly different set of dividing lines, which crystallized especially with Notley's work, based on a dichotomy of liberalism and a Wagnerian right wing. It is not surprising that scholars and especially commentators have adopted the construction of "Brahms as Liberal"; yet they have not always done so with the kind of subtlety it requires, which Notley herself largely supplied.<sup>26</sup> Care is needed here for several reasons. Although, as will be discussed below, efforts in this area can be greatly facilitated by the work cultural historians have done over the last two decades to elucidate the cultural politics of Austrian liberalism, the term liberal remains a tricky one to apply with due sophistication in this connection. Not only is "liberal" a heavily freighted term in contemporary American culture, but its etymological implication of freedom and its accrued sense of progressiveness belie the conservative social politics common among the liberal bourgeoisie in the later nineteenth century and threaten to obscure the resistance, incomprehension, even animosity, felt by many liberals toward modernist artistic innovation. Likewise, it is certainly true that much speaks in favor of linking Brahms and nineteenth-century liberalism—not only were many of his patrons and supporters members of the cream of liberal society, he himself was a skeptical secularist, his works succeeded very well on the open market, and his music exhibits two tendencies important to the liberal project, namely historicism and rationalism—yet it is equally true that partisans of Brahms, Bruckner, and Wagner cannot be slotted into neat social, political, or religious categories that mirror the cultural politics that we now believe drove musical opinion. Brahms and his circle were not free of regressive tendencies.<sup>27</sup> Some of Bruckner's outspoken supporters, including Paul Heyse and Ludwig Speidel, were not Wagnerians, and Jews and liberals, as well as anti-Semitic nationalists and reactionaries, were among the fierce champions of Bruckner, and Wagner for that matter.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, a broad reading of musical journalism of the time contravenes a binary view of the politics of Viennese music criticism that divides critical response into pro-Brahms (and thus anti-Wagner and anti-Bruckner) criticism published in liberal journals and pro-Bruckner (and thus pro-Wagner and anti-Brahms) appearing in the reactionary nationalist press. Uwe Harten's survey of Bruckner reviews written during the

composer's lifetime by forty-three authors, published in "fifteen liberal journals of various shades," shows only a weak symmetry between a critic's basic musical orientation and the politics of the papers in which he (or, very rarely, she) published.<sup>29</sup>

It is without question that an illiberal temper is expressed by the chauvinism and especially the anti-Semitism that lurches through some music criticism of that time, yet today it may be deceptively easy, and in some ways tempting, to draw very sharp distinctions between what look like positively liberal tendencies and those cultural impulses that we properly revile and that, particularly in hindsight, look foreboding. There is now little danger of supposing, let alone seriously arguing, that music criticism expressed little more than matters of musical taste and objective artistic judgment. If anything, we are more likely to err in a different direction by assuming that we have now finally surveyed the situation rightly and that we now understand what music critics were "really" talking about—namely politics, and quite specifically about liberalism versus political reaction and/or radicalism—and thus feel encouraged to make too direct an equation between partisan musical opinions and apparently parallel political tendencies and developments.

Recent scholarship, including the latest contributions by Nicholas Cook and Kevin Karnes, as well as those by Notley, Botstein, and several others, has continued to affirm and illuminate the complex interactions of politics, religion, aesthetics, and social tendencies that shaped Viennese musical culture, and particularly criticism, in the late nineteenth century, especially in connection with Brahms and Schenker.<sup>30</sup> The critical reception of Bruckner during his lifetime has, however, remained marginal to the scholarly discussion; focussing on it offers, therefore, the opportunity of deepening and sharpening our understanding of the field in which it operated. It is clear that an array of overlapping causes, none of which worked alone, are implicated in this. In order to do justice to the richness of the situation, it is necessary to treat the cultural politics of liberalism and its "others" along more than one simple axis, with the understanding that "ideology offers the social subject not a set of narrowly 'political' ideas but a fundamental framework of assumptions that defines the parameters of the real and the self" and, therefore, that cultural realities and subjectivity are "constructed within more than one system of differences."<sup>31</sup> Writing specifically about musical history, Leon Botstein recently raised concerns about the reductiveness of criticism that not only fails to take proper measure of the aesthetic moment of the music it considers but also constructs its historiography of Viennese musical culture along a single axis.<sup>32</sup> Dominick LaCapra's caution against "a reductive contextual historicism

that converts all artifacts into mere representative documents” and his imperative that critical study of the “high culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna” should seek to “rethink the entire relation between artifact or text and context in a way that contests both formalistic and historicist methods” challenge interpreters to pursue below obvious levels of meaning and implication.<sup>33</sup> The relationships between text and context most relevant to my project concern those between prevailing interpretive paradigms and scholarly approaches, music criticism and its social situation, and verbal description and musical text.

### The *Fin-de-siècle* Vienna Paradigm

The crucial historiographic starting point here, as for so much work in this area, is the so-called fin-de-siècle Vienna paradigm. In its simplest terms, this paradigm, which originated in the work of Carl Schorske in the 1960s and 1970s, much of which was included in his prize-winning *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* and later took on something of a life of its own, sees elements of Viennese cultural life, including various forms of artistic expression, in the last decades of the nineteenth century as manifestations of the “eclipse and failure” of a broadly defined culture of liberalism and the rise of various forms of illiberal political and cultural tendencies including nationalism, anti-Semitism, Christian socialism, and mass populism, which found decisive political realization with Karl Lueger’s ascent to the office of mayor of Vienna in 1897.<sup>34</sup> Schorske’s fin-de-siècle Vienna was a culture in crisis, in which liberalism gradually lost its cultural prestige and authority. Just as its political powers were draining, the younger lights of Viennese culture retreated from liberalism into political resignation and “the cultural escapism offered by the traditional sensual, Catholic culture of the aristocracy.”<sup>35</sup> This construction of a crisis, shaded by portents of decline and even doom, leaves, as James Shedel wrote, “little room for doubt that substituting an aristocratically based *Gefühlkultur* for the liberal culture of reason and law was a decisive symptom of Austrian society’s sickness unto death.”<sup>36</sup>

If the import of a text can be measured by the quantity and quality of the scholarly work it has productively informed, then Schorske’s *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* is unquestionably an epochal work for scholars and critics of Viennese modernism, art, and culture. Part of what makes Schorske’s approach so stimulating is his insight that “political values, both explicit and implicit, reflect material circumstances and, in turn, condition cultural-aesthetic styles.”<sup>37</sup> This general formulation of the relationship of politics, material conditions, and cultural expression is now, it seems safe to say, well accepted, yet Schorske’s representation of



fin-de-siècle Vienna, for all of its influence, has attracted important critique, much of it from historians who have rethought the nature of Viennese liberalism, looked for a more critical handle on its role in politics and society, and re-examined the actuality of its ideology, all of which has tended to make Viennese liberalism seem both less pervasive and less “liberal” than is commonly assumed.<sup>38</sup> One set of cautionary responses concerns the role played by liberalism in Viennese politics and culture. Some scholars hold that Schorske overestimated both the influence of liberalism in its heyday during the 1860s and the effects of its decline in the 1880s and 1890s during its “extrusion from political power.”<sup>39</sup> It has also been objected that Schorske’s view of fin-de-siècle Vienna is so strongly inflected by the knowledge of subsequent developments—including the retreat of liberalism as a leading political and cultural force in Europe and the United States in the mid-twentieth century, the collapse of the Habsburg empire following defeat in 1918, and, less directly but more horribly, the emergence of Nazism, which drew directly not only on the anti-Semitism but also on the irrational politics in a “sharper key” Schorske diagnosed in fin-de-siècle Vienna—that it raises the problematic question of an Austrian or Viennese *Sonderweg*, a concept borrowed from the historiography of Germany that holds that the German people followed a unique path of historical development that facilitated the rise and political success of National Socialism.<sup>40</sup>

Critical scholars have also deepened the available view of turn-of-the-century Viennese culture in ways that have made the lines of distinction between liberalism and competing political forces less bright and secure than they initially seem.<sup>41</sup> Much suggests that Viennese liberalism was a more complex phenomenon than is commonly assumed. Thus John Boyer wrote that despite a “superficial, self-proclaimed ideological component,” which was at times dismissed as a “‘mask’ of reason,” liberals in fact “possessed a highly complex social interest program designed to maintain and enhance their constituents’ vested social and political privileges.”<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, upon closer analysis, nationalism, the Social Democratic and Christian Socialist movements, and even anti-Semitism, all begin to appear less as alien forces that simply threatened liberalism from the outside than as developments that emerged within the ambit of liberalism itself. Pieter Judson, who argues that there are ways in which liberalism “may have been responsible for the foundation of the so-called irrational politics which supposedly repudiated it,” finds structural continuities between liberal philosophies of the public sphere and those of “radical nationalists and even some antisemites in the 1890s.”<sup>43</sup> Recent scholarship has also



facilitated productive questions about whether the Catholic culture of Grace and the liberal culture of the word, to borrow Schorske's coinage, are properly seen as opposites or as two poles along a rather fluid continuum.<sup>44</sup>

In view of these developments, Judson offered a direct challenge to scholars:

If the study of Vienna 1900 is going to recover the intricate genealogies of political mobilization and cultural explosion of the Austrian *fin de siècle*, it must be informed by a greater recognition of the complex and influential liberal legacy to Central European politics and culture. The compelling but ultimately ahistoric paradigm that has dominated most discussions of Vienna 1900 must be replaced by approaches that rest on a greater appreciation for historical, geographic and social context.<sup>45</sup>

Musical scholarship has been slow to respond to this call. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the signal achievement of American scholarship on Viennese culture, headed by the work of Carl Schorske, was to extract basic cultural and political distinctions, to focus and distill them. Now, a generation or two later, what is needed is to open them up again, in order to try to further unfold the complex role played by music in the cultural discussion of those times, and thereby recover something of the complexity of experience in musical listening, performing, and perceiving that existed then and there.<sup>46</sup> This project carries a special charge for musicology because Vienna of the late nineteenth century—in addition to being the birthplace of the discipline of *Musikwissenschaft*—was home to Brahms, Mahler, Bruckner, Hanslick, Schenker, Wolf, the young Schoenberg, Guido Adler, among others. The re-evaluation that is essayed here begins by taking closer heed to the social nature of journalistic criticism, which was the main forum for Viennese musical opinion.

### **Reading Viennese Music Criticism as a Social Medium**

Viennese music criticism was a literary genre in its own right, and reading it as a genre—in the strict sense of that term as a category that takes account of its modes of publication and consumption, as well as its sociohistorical context and its relationship to concert life and to listening—enables a firmer grasp of key points about not only its verbal texts but also its social nature and its meaning. One of the leading hallmarks of Viennese music criticism of the time was that it was published largely in the daily press, not in specialized music journals. Music criticism usually appeared as a *feuilleton*, often on the front page alongside news of very different sorts. These *feuilletons* encompassed far more than

music criticism, ranging from social critique to literary essay. They placed wit and sentiment above reasoned judgment, and partook fully in what Geoffrey C. Howe recently described as an Austrian tradition of employing “language as a tool of persuasion and equivocation” rather than as a “tool of faith and reason.”<sup>47</sup> The most successful critics, therefore, were usually not only the most strongly opinionated, but also the most subjective, craftiest, most stylish writers—and the most fun to read and discuss. In a striking turn of phrase, Robert Hirschfeld identified a new species of feuilletonistic music criticism, “die Kunst der kritisch bewegten Formen” or “the art of critically moving forms,” that arose with the establishment of greater but still limited press freedom in 1848.<sup>48</sup> Less noticed perhaps, but quite palpable is a change in tone and demeanor in the 1880s, when music criticism began to grow distinctly more polemical, partisan, and sharper edged and, as Manfred Wagner pointed out, moved away from the discussion of the craftsmanship of musical works and the quality of performance toward discussions of aesthetics, musical meaning, and cultural politics.<sup>49</sup> This was partly a matter of generational change, which was especially marked during this decade, as a number of new, younger critics—Hans Paumgartner, Theodor Helm, Max Kalbeck, and for a few years Gustav Dömpke and Hugo Wolf—appeared on the scene.<sup>50</sup> It may also have been fueled by a growing Viennese taste for sensationalism, often grist for the feuilleton, which, as Richard Specht recalled, tended “to make a scandal and nothing but a scandal out of things that should otherwise be serious,” as in the campaigns against Feuerbach, Waldmüller, Bruckner, Wolf, Klimt, and Mahler in which he saw the “bloody traces” of the old Habsburg Spanish court ceremony lingering in a Viennese culture denied the outlet of the bullring.<sup>51</sup>

This populist edge marks a point of distinction from the kinds of music criticism published in specialized music journals.<sup>52</sup> These journals were written primarily for active musical amateurs, for whom reviews of recent compositions, articles about singing or piano methods, advertisements for new publications of music, and the like were as important as reviews of concert performances. In contrast, after 1848, Viennese critics wrote primarily about music performed, and often composed, in Vienna, a city that was coming to see itself as the leading center of European music. After the events of 1866 and 1870, music became increasingly central to the self-identification of Austria, and its capital, Vienna. As Martina Nussbaumer effectively demonstrates in her book *Musikstadt Wien*, the construction of Vienna as “eine Urstätte deutscher Tonkunst” gathered force and political significance as Austria’s political position as a leader of German-speaking Europe began to fade.<sup>53</sup> This

meant, among other things, that music was already accumulating a political cast as a symbolically important art form associated with “Germanness” that was of interest beyond the immediate circle of active concert goers. Nevertheless, music criticism, even in regular newspapers, was quite technical and detailed and sometimes included references to particular keys and themes, or even to specific pages or measures in the score; occasionally, even musical examples were included (a practice that became a regular part of the popular discourse about music only with the rise of program notes).

The communicative function of music criticism depended on its audience in other ways. During the last third of the nineteenth century—a time when simply listening to music (not playing it oneself or encountering it as part of some other performative context, whether in worship, parade, dance, or something else) was in fact a fairly new phenomenon—music criticism was increasingly written for an audience then emerging across Europe and America largely comprised of people who listened to music in the concert hall, as opposed to those who knew music primarily from playing it or singing it themselves, or from amateur or domestic performances.<sup>54</sup> Public concerts of orchestral music had come of age in London and Paris in the late eighteenth century, but standing professional orchestras that gave series of regular symphonic concerts only became established in the second third of the nineteenth century. The Musikverein building, which was and remains the most important and prestigious concert space in Vienna, was built in 1870 under the auspices of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and was located only a few meters from the Handelsakademie, another pillar of the ascendant bourgeoisie. The institution of the late-nineteenth-century public concert, as Hanns-Werner Heister wrote, was conceived of as space in which autonomous music found its highest realization (“Realisierungsort autonomer Musik”), and thus where, according to this aesthetic ideology, art achieved its proper freedom from necessity, from explicit social function, even from any specific expressive or dramatic purpose.<sup>55</sup> Yet the symphonic concert has conflicted historical roots that reach back to exclusive aristocratic events of the sort that gave rise to the symphony in the eighteenth century, as well as to the commercial popular virtuoso concerts of the early nineteenth century, which were as much populist entertainment as what we would like to call “serious music.” Latent tensions between elite and popular, between music as privileged aesthetic discourse and music as direct rhetorical appeal, between heart and brain in music (as Schoenberg was to put it much later) shaped the social nature of the concert in the time of Bruckner and Brahms, as they undoubtedly still do. In short, the



symphonic concert as a cultural form embodied many of the virtues and contradictions of the educated bourgeoisie, the social class that cultivated it in the late nineteenth century. These basic tensions can be read quite palpably in music criticism, as well as in the larger spheres of cultural politics in which they were negotiated.

An important frame of reference for any deep reading of this body of criticism, then, is the concept of the bourgeois public sphere, as established by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Habermas conceives of the bourgeois public as a “sphere of private people come together as a public” unrestricted by state power and outside the circles of family or dynastic affiliation. Here the bourgeoisie could engage in the enlightened rational debate that served as the medium of public opinion in liberal bourgeois society in the epoch following the French Revolution.<sup>56</sup> This idealized conception plainly does have some applicability to Viennese music criticism, which was a forum of public opinion carried out in the daily press, the archetypical medium of the bourgeois public sphere. Yet it is necessary to consider how a range of impinging forces tempered the ideal of an imagined “free marketplace of ideas.”<sup>57</sup> During the later decades of the nineteenth century, the advance of capitalism placed the unity of the bourgeoisie under considerable strain; a growing distinction arose between the “old middle class” and the “economic haute bourgeoisie,” and the independence of public opinion eroded as commercial interests increasingly penetrated the emergent mass media and public culture.<sup>58</sup> This meant that a unitary public as a single unified community of bourgeois opinion could hardly exist, since competing sets of opinions and interests subsisted within the bourgeoisie itself.<sup>59</sup>

Furthermore, in the musical world of Vienna, lines were blurred between public commitment and private, personal interests in ways that compromised the rationality of opinion formation. In addition, the slow tempo of Enlightenment in Austria allowed structures and, just as importantly, the mentality of the *ancien régime* to linger in ways that countermanded the enlightenment ideals commonly ascribed to the bourgeois public sphere.<sup>60</sup> Many of the musical institutions that structured bourgeois musical life in *Ringstrassenzeit* Vienna, including the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, the Wiener Tonkünstlerverein, the Akademische Wagner-Verein, and the Wiener Philharmoniker, were voluntary associations of the sort that were a prime means by which the bourgeoisie realized its will to lead and structure society in this epoch.<sup>61</sup> (Others were not, notably the Hofmusikkapelle and the Hofoper, both of which were linked to the court.) As Cornelia Szabó-Knotik has emphasized, the circle of musicians, critics, and patrons around Brahms,



and to a lesser extent around Bruckner, often proved crucial to the formation of public opinion. These groups may not have included many actual members of the nobility, yet their active promotion and support of new music can be seen as an “imitation” of aristocratic patrons of a century earlier. These circles also continued some of the functions of the aristocratic salons; there, in private, the essential taste-makers and shapers of musical life, who now were critics rather than aristocrats, were cultivated not simply through friendly social contact, but also by means of informal performances, rehearsals, and discussion in ways that helped form the judgments offered in the public sphere.<sup>62</sup>

The extraordinary influence exerted by the press, and by the *Neue Freie Presse* in particular, on Viennese bourgeois self-identity, taste, and cultural opinion was noted by, among others, Stefan Zweig, who wrote that “whatever appeared in the [paper’s] feuilleton seemed vouched for by the highest authority,” and Wilfred Steed, who found that “the greater part of what does duty for ‘Austrian opinion’ is dictated or suggested to the public by the editor-proprietor of the *Neue Freie Presse*.”<sup>63</sup> In the musical arena, the influence of the press on opinion, prestige, and even repertory was known and often questioned. One persistent negative response to Brahms was, for example, that his reputation was not merely greater than merited by the qualities of his works but had been artificially trumped up by the press. (An idea mirrored strangely by Brahms’s own assertion that “Bruckner owes his fame exclusively to me. Without me no one would have given a hoot about him, but this happened very much against my will.”<sup>64</sup>) Wagner harped on this theme late in life, most notably in “Über das Dichten und Komponieren” and “Über das Opern-Dichten und Komponieren im Besonderen” (both 1879), as did Hugo Wolf, who was quite ready to believe that Brahms’s music was more or less foisted upon the concert audience because of his personal connection with critics and conductors.<sup>65</sup> This angle was still available to Max Graf in 1900 when he opened his “Brahms-Studie” with a polemic about the antagonism between authentic modern art, which he praised for its revolutionary, metaphysical, and heroic character, and journalism, which he denigrated as superficial, shallow, and lacking any sense of the “eternal sources of art.” According to Graf, the “journalistic world” is thus naturally opposed to all modern art, excepting that of Brahms, whose work, Graf felt, did not display any of the traits of heroic modernity, and therefore received unusually strong support in the press.<sup>66</sup>

The most proximate critique, and in many ways still the most penetrating, of the role of journalism in Viennese public discourse is Karl Kraus’s. For Kraus, opposing the corrosive effects of journalism on

the social conscience and exposing the moral hypocrisy of the bourgeois press were great causes. He famously focussed attention on the crucial but often overlooked point that the press does not so much report events as create them through its coverage:

Is the press a messenger? No: it is the event. Is it speech? No: life. . . . I therefore welcome the charge that all my life I have overestimated the press. It is not a servant—How could a servant demand and receive so much? It is the event. Once again the instrument has run away with us. We have placed the person who is supposed to report outbreaks of fire, and who ought doubtless to play the most subordinate role in the State, in power over the world, over fire and over the house, over fact and over our fantasy.<sup>67</sup>

Kraus's key insight into the function of journalistic criticism, though, may be the recognition that it substitutes linguistically expressed opinion for real experience. It thus not only short-circuits the formation of valid judgments but actually, as Walter Benjamin remarked, "paralyzed the imagination" of its readers, constraining the possibility of genuine sensuous or aesthetic experience by holding sway "over our fantasy" by isolating "information from experience."<sup>68</sup> Part of the reason that Kraus was suspicious of music criticism was because he was, as Robert Scheu once called him, the advocate for the "rights of the nerves" against "the police, press, morality, and concepts," all of which sought to shape, mold, and prefigure moral judgment, sensory response, even experience itself.<sup>69</sup> Music criticism was an early expression of the increasingly opinion-driven discourse of the press, epitomized by the *feuilleton*, in which opinion functions as a form of "false subjectivity that can be separated from the person and incorporated into the circulation of commodities," independent of any real experience of the ostensible object of discussion.<sup>70</sup>

All of this suggests that, through the linguistic medium of the *feuilleton*, music criticism enabled circuits of communication to be completed between instrumental concert music and its audience, for unlike many genres of nineteenth-century music, such as *lieder*, program music, and opera, symphonies and chamber music generally did not have words attached to them; indeed the identity of these genres depended on their nonverbal, "purely musical" character. This music was therefore both more open to symbolic interpretation than was vocal music, and its explanation potentially more fraught. One function of writing about this music was, then, to connect music with the verbal realm, which enabled nonmusicians, and indeed musicians themselves, to engage music with the mainstream of cultural discussion, which is

primarily verbal. This function was even more important then than it is now, for at a time when occasions to hear concert music were far more limited, words and verbal codes were more powerful in shaping the hearing and perception of music.

At times, music criticism actually seems to have been designed as a mechanism to organize, direct, and even discipline the perception of musical works. Musicologists have grown fascinated by the ways that words predicate hearing.<sup>71</sup> It would be nice to assume that good music criticism, as one writer recently proposed, is that which intentionally “prolongs and deepens the experience of music” and “brings the reader nearer to the ineffable essence of music.”<sup>72</sup> But this intention was by no means a given in music criticism in fin-de-siècle Vienna.<sup>73</sup> Not only did Hanslick’s and Kalbeck’s criticism of Bruckner (like Wolf’s Brahms criticism, among others) begin from distaste for the music, as Hanslick openly admitted in his reviews of the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies, but such writing was in no small measure designed to school potential listeners in this distaste by providing verbal representations that assigned negative denotations to the wordless connotation of the music. Clearly, this criticism was often pursuing something other than what is now normally assumed, perhaps too optimistically, to be the function of what Edward Cone called the “critic proper,” namely helping “the listener consider the work in such ways as to enable him to perceive it directly for himself, independently of any interpretation.”<sup>74</sup>

This complex set of circumstances begins to explain why Viennese music criticism so obviously flouts the widespread twentieth-century position that critical opinion is at its best relatively neutral and dispassionate, and gains validity by leaving behind narrow judgments of taste and personal prejudices in the pursuit of unbiased, “objective” understanding of an art work.<sup>75</sup> To the contrary, the best critics, like all good feuilletonists, had what has been called “commanding subjectivism of judgment.”<sup>76</sup> It is noteworthy that, in establishing the principles of *Musikwissenschaft*, Guido Adler was at pains to ensure that the music historian not “allow himself to be dragged like an everyday critic into the confusion of unstable value judgments.”<sup>77</sup> Since even the most knowledgeable and serious of critics of the time were not ultimately pursuing the same goal as Cone’s “critic proper,” we must be a bit chary of taking their opinions and comments too directly as frank “objective” evaluations of the music without being aware of the paradox of trying to coax grand musical judgment from essayistic expressions of the moment. Yet, the virtuosity and subjectivity of criticism that colors, even discolors, its musical judgments may make those critical words all the more revealing when read in other less obvious ways.



## Music Criticism and the Establishment of Austrian Bourgeois Identity

One interpretive imperative that develops from the historical critique of the fin-de-siècle Vienna paradigm is the demand that the nature and role of liberalism in the Austrian bourgeoisie be treated with renewed subtlety and historical precision. The final decades of the nineteenth century were without a question a time of fundamental change for Viennese society under the pressures of a straining empire, the increasing demands of democracy, capitalism, and technology, and the cultural, aesthetic, and psychological ramifications of the onrushing processes of modern rationalism. Unlike the aristocracy and even the proletariat, the bourgeoisie—the social group that embodied liberalism—was not a rigidly defined group; to be bourgeois was not simply a matter of birth, but also of professional attainment and social affiliation. Pieter Judson links this basic characteristic to what he calls the “associational life” of the bourgeois public sphere, which was particularly strongly formed in Vienna “institutions like the voluntary association[s] that underlay the new civil society, institutions separate from both bureaucratic state and traditional *ständisch* corporations.”<sup>78</sup> The centrality of these associational organizations to the liberal bourgeoisie was not simply external, but structural in the strong sense of the term, for “the liberals’ worldview originated and spread largely through a particular kind of organizational experience” and “liberal assumptions about society were embedded in their very organizing structures.” In particular, they gave social expression to an essential dynamic of inclusion and exclusion, by which an individual must pass “certain threshold requirements” in order to gain the privilege of equal participation in the bourgeois public sphere. Thus the liberal construction of public citizenship carried “a distinctive combination of invisible hierarchy with proclaimed democracy.”<sup>79</sup>

Because it was situated in this structural field, music criticism took part in a larger process by which contradictions and tensions inherent in both the ideology and social position of Austrian bourgeoisie were negotiated. It is hardly a surprise that the printed word would here function as an essential means of articulating and arguing—one might well say “imagining”—the terms of inclusion and exclusion in the bourgeoisie, for this was the first social class to have emerged in the age of “vernacular print capitalism,” for which journalistic discussion was a prime shaping force, and the first ruling class whose class solidarity was not primarily concrete, but achieved on an “essentially imagined basis.”<sup>80</sup> When this body of music criticism is viewed from this position, it starts to fall more clearly into place as something quite different—and much



more interesting—than a conflict between liberalism and other opposed political interests; instead, it emerges as an arena for contesting an internal conflict within the Viennese bourgeoisie, and perhaps even within individuals themselves.<sup>81</sup>

Returning to the more traditional, and perhaps more Germanic, categorization of Brahms (who is arguably the central figure in the discussion) as a *bürgerlich* artist rather than as an essentially liberal artist is helpful as a first step in clarifying and focussing the terms of the current discourse about the cultural politics of Viennese musical life.<sup>82</sup> In particular, it helps to move the discussion of music's social and political dimensions beyond a series of fairly blunt binary oppositions defined by liberalism (e.g., liberal versus antiliberal, liberal versus Christian socialism and German nationalism, liberal rationality versus "sharper-key" irrationality, and so forth) toward the recognition of an array of overlapping axes of difference in which liberalism is one value among several that defined finer shades of difference and identity within the German-speaking bourgeoisie of Vienna. To regard Viennese musical politics as an intramural, rather than intermural, conflict is not an entirely novel perspective; indications from the time suggest that the basic divisions were understood as part of a conflict within one larger group. This can be read, for example, from the use of the terms "pope" and "antipope" to characterize the relationship of Brahms and Bruckner. In a rather bitter series of remarks in 1895, Brahms stated: "Nietzsche once suggested that I became famous only by accident: I was needed by the anti-Wagnerians as an antipope. That is of course nonsense."<sup>83</sup> Brahms here refers to a passage in Nietzsche's *Der Fall Wagner* (1888), in which the philosopher does suggest that Brahms's success was circumstantial—even accidental—but Nietzsche does not use the telling term "antipope"; Brahms supplied that word himself.<sup>84</sup> While one might take it as nothing more than a convenient metaphor to describe the figureheads of two antagonistic groups, on closer consideration it may be more than this. The Papal Schism of the fourteenth century, during which time there were two claimants to papal authority, arose not over essential issues of theology or doctrine but largely from mundane politics, and it did not, unlike the Reformation of the sixteenth century, lead to a permanent division or to theological and ecclesiastical revolution. Brahms's usage certainly stems in part from the clear identification of Bruckner as a decidedly Catholic man and artist, something which the agnostic Brahms found alien and apparently disagreeable, yet the term also, intentionally or not, betrays a recognition that this was a struggle of two tendencies within a single "church," namely that of Germanic symphonic music celebrated in the bourgeois concert hall.

Socially and culturally, the points of difference between Bruckner and Brahms—and just as importantly between their respective audiences and admirers—were comparatively narrow. Indeed both men were relatively typical examples of the newly emergent urban bourgeoisie of the time: both were born to relatively low social position, both consistently worked with substantial success to improve their social standing, both came to Vienna as adults to pursue a career, and both of them were rather strongly connected with the new associational and institutional structures of Vienna (from the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* to, in Bruckner's case, the University of Vienna).<sup>85</sup> Differences that carried considerable significance at the time undoubtedly did exist between the social character of the two composers: one was a native of upper Austria, and the other from Hamburg, Germany; one was a Catholic believer, and the other a skeptical Protestant; one began his musical career as an organist and church musician, and the other as a piano lion; and, to be sure, Brahms was more fully enmeshed in the social world, habits, and mindset of the *gebildete*, liberal bourgeoisie. These divisions, which have always been seen and often exploited to serve various agendas, appear less stark when placed against the situation of Antonín Dvořák, whose concert music and operas were beginning to gain some performances in Vienna at this time. As David Brodbeck's recent article "Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna" highlights, real ethnic and political issues were involved. Not only was Dvořák a Czech, but a number of his works from the time made use of Czech musical elements and had titles that identified them as Czech (including *Slavonic Dances*, *Slavonic Rhapsodies*, *Czech Suite*, *Furiant*s), and his music was clearly heard by German-speaking critics in Vienna as ethnic.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, critical response to Dvořák's music was inflected by the politics of Czech identity and language, which were particularly hot at this time because many German Austrians believed that the language ordinances enacted in 1880 favored Czech speakers and disadvantaged the many German speakers in Bohemia and Moravia.

Reading criticism of Bruckner and Brahms as part of a larger debate of inclusion and exclusion carried out *within* the circle of the Viennese German-speaking *Bürgertum*—rather than a debate conducted between liberals and "others"—also helps to clarify why concern tended to focus so intensely on issues that mirror deeper tensions at stake for the bourgeoisie at this time, including the claims of secular rationalism versus forms of transcendence; the elite individual versus a large, mass public, and historicism versus progress.<sup>87</sup> This tension can only have intensified because both of these composers were working with roughly parallel aims, namely, to create post-Beethovenian symphonic works

adequate to their time and place. Indeed, given the very tight terms of debate, Freud's notion of the "narcissism of small differences" can help to explain why it was so traumatic. Freud argued that when the characteristics that articulate socially decisive categories and differences are very narrow and fine, great weight is placed on defining, articulating, and claiming small points of significance.<sup>88</sup> In Freud's view, points of distinction that are very slight paradoxically pose the greatest threat to the ego's sense of self-identity; because these are less rationally explainable, they tend to give rise to particularly sharp feelings of antagonism and expressions of aggression, which may help to explain why some critics felt the need to resort to rhetoric that would be otherwise inexplicable.

It is significant in this regard that Bruckner's sharpest critics were Germans resident in Vienna.<sup>89</sup> The stylistic constellation of rationality, which was typical of the European bourgeoisie as a whole, was somewhat less tightly woven, less inextricably bound into the social and cultural fabric in "semi-feudal Austria," where, as Adorno emphasized, the rationality of the "laws of exchange" and its attendant "bourgeois autonomy" thrived far less than in Germany.<sup>90</sup> The musical expression of high-bourgeois rationality was epitomized in many ways by Brahms, who, like Beethoven, as Adorno pointedly noted in this connection, was a German and a primary progenitor of "the rationality of integral composition" in Vienna.<sup>91</sup> When Freud revived his concept of "the narcissism of minor differences" in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930), he specifically identified animosity and ridicule between South Germans and North Germans as a classic example of the way small differences could inspire aggression.<sup>92</sup> In recent musicological writing, the tendency has been to consider the strongest divide to be that between German and non-German, a category that is often considered to have been defined by anti-Semitic distinctions.<sup>93</sup> This system of inclusion and exclusion did have a real presence in nineteenth-century thinking and was of course drawn with growing extremity in the early twentieth century, yet in the late nineteenth century, the distinction within German-speaking central Europe between Protestant Germany and Catholic Austria was also potent.<sup>94</sup> Criticism of Bruckner and Brahms was especially filled with references to these religious types; Bruckner himself once wryly put it in these terms to his friend Anton Meißner: "You see, Anton, we both have fiery natures and are Catholics. Brahms is for cold natures and Protestants!"<sup>95</sup>

The contrast between the climate of opinion in Vienna and Germany was, as we saw at the start of this essay, pointedly noted at the time, and while it may seem odd that Bruckner was initially accepted more readily outside of Vienna than in it, this pattern of response actually becomes quite understandable when seen in its immediate social



context. The individuals involved in ongoing critical discussions in Vienna were enmeshed in a remarkably tight network of personal connections that meant that these critics were often not reviewing performances of works by unfamiliar composers given by unfamiliar celebrities but music composed and performed by men they knew. Given the narrow social circles of musicians in Vienna, this meant that personalities and personal issues inevitably influenced critical opinion.<sup>96</sup> To judge by the meanness of many of his private comments, Brahms felt a sense of uneasy symphonic rivalry with Bruckner; his repeated comments to Elisabeth von Herzogenberg, Richard Specht, Max Kalbeck, and others that Bruckner's music was a "swindle," among other disparagements, are ample evidence of this.<sup>97</sup> What is less widely recognized is that this scornful attitude must have been at least partially a result of rivalrous anxiety toward a composer who was beginning to succeed with his symphonies, the genre most important to the self-definition of any German-speaking composer who aspired to greatness and in which Brahms admittedly struggled.<sup>98</sup> Bruckner suspected that Brahms's attitudes toward other composers were based in part on his feelings of insecurity; he said of Dvořák that he was a "talent," but that "Brahms knows full well that Dvořák can never become a danger to him," an attitude that was neatly (and implausibly) inverted by Kalbeck, who defended Brahms from the charge that he acted out of anxiety by pointing out "the exceptional magnanimous way he sought to promote Anton [sic] Dvořák, who must have seemed a much more dangerous rival than Bruckner."<sup>99</sup> No matter how one gauges the potential threat to Brahms posed by Dvořák, the chronology of performances of Bruckner's music and critical responses to it in the mid-1880s suggest that his ascent caused some discomfort in Brahms's circle. The successful premiere of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony in Leipzig on 30 December 1884 seems to have aroused negative feelings in Brahms; his sour comments to Elisabeth von Herzogenberg, who had attended the Leipzig concert, are remarkable in this regard, especially since, as August Göllerich and Max Auer pointed out, at this time Brahms could not have heard nor seen the Seventh Symphony!<sup>100</sup> The performance of the Seventh Symphony in Hamburg, Brahms's hometown, on 19 February 1886, a month before the Viennese premiere, had garnered a big, rather positive review in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, as well as the unexpected admiration of Eduard Marxsen, Brahms's old teacher; this can only have fueled the angst of Brahms and his circle before the Viennese premiere of the work on 21 March, especially coming on the heels of the Viennese premiere of his own Fourth Symphony on 17 January 1886, which was somewhat coolly received.<sup>101</sup>



## Reading Music Criticism Again

It remains to return to the criticism of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony, with which the essay began, and to read it in ways that go beyond the fin-de-siècle Vienna paradigm, not to reject or to try to refute this paradigm—it has far too much historical relevance and critical power for that—but to think *against* it in order to supplement it, even at times to subvert it, in the pursuit of clearer, fuller insight. I want to get back to the words of Bruckner's critics and the music they describe. In particular, I am interested in reading through the overt level of musical judgment and explanation offered in these texts in order to begin to grasp more firmly how they encoded cultural critique. My approach is indebted to Hayden White's argument that readings of historical writing can work to expose the "deep structure of the historical imagination" by reaching beneath the "manifest content" of a text to its "understructure," a level that exists prior to conscious decision and "prefigures" historical understanding.<sup>102</sup> By focussing on moments of extreme, critical rhetoric in Bruckner reviews—for it is at those moments that criticism is most likely to convey unspoken, and perhaps unspeakable, cultural assumptions and prejudices—it is, I believe, possible to begin to uncover layers of meaning lying behind the overt critical text and reconstruct ways in which music was heard to articulate these meanings.

One piece of the "understructure" of this discourse that emerges with particular frequency and force in such a reading is the setting of boundaries for inclusion and exclusion in the invisible hierarchy of bourgeois identity. The most important axis of difference was the possession of adequate faculties of reason and, perhaps more subtly, a commitment to treating what Max Weber called *Zweckrationalität* (instrumental rationality) as a crucial basis of judgments of utility and social value.<sup>103</sup> The valorization of reason was of course a hallmark of liberalism since the Enlightenment, when it was first established that reason should be the guiding principle of civil society and that the ability to reason was an essential characteristic of humanity; yet nineteenth-century liberalism, which depended evermore on maintaining a threshold of inclusion in an age of gradually increasing democratization of all phases of culture, needed to define reason against its other; therefore, as Judson wrote, liberalism "implicitly posited the existence of a potentially darker side to human existence, a realm of *unreason*."<sup>104</sup> It cannot be a mere coincidence that the concerted criticism of Bruckner by liberal Viennese critics devolved on accusations that his music was illogical, irrational, and representative of nonrational states of consciousness including drunkenness, dreams, religious mysticism, or Wagnerian *Wahn*.<sup>105</sup>

Anxiety about rational regulation and control was a motive force in Viennese society. As Peter Vergo pointed out, "The Habsburg concept of dynastic power was inextricably linked with the ideals of stability and the preservation of the existing order"; these were ideals that existed very concretely in the structures of "official" life in Vienna . . . regulated down to the most minute details," from which "the unforeseen, the irrational was excluded," if only ostensibly.<sup>106</sup> Stefan Zweig, looking back through rose-tints in the 1940s, mythologized this sentiment: "In this vast empire everything stood firmly and immovably in its appointed place . . . nothing would change in the well-regulated order. . . . All that was radical, all violence, seemed impossible in an age of reason."<sup>107</sup> Despite Zweig's sentimental view, the social and bureaucratic apparatus of the late-nineteenth-century Habsburg bourgeoisie was hardly a paragon of rationality, but was rather baroque in its intricacy. Moreover, a sense has long persisted that the official structures of the late Habsburg Empire existed in a never fully reconciled tension with the deeper grain of Viennese life, which was infused with a respect for, even an affiliation with, those nonrational, mysterious, fateful, sublime, and sensuous dimensions of human existence that rationalism has always found hard to encompass. As a result, an uneasy relationship, which was figured in many different ways—between order and disorder, between the regulated and the anarchical, between reason and instinct, to name a few—manifested itself both culturally and psychologically.<sup>108</sup> This unresolved equation was soon to form the seedbed, to take a very powerful instance, of Freud's theory of the unconscious, which is a sophisticated model of the interactions of the controlling (Superego) and the uncontrollable (Id). Something similar was behind Max Weber's famous comments, born of a different German context, at the end of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* about the threat of an "iron cage" forged by the force of the unchecked "ascetic rationalism" inherent in capitalism as he saw it.<sup>109</sup>

In music criticism, this fundamental duality was expressed in various terms, often deploying conceptual pairs such as logic versus inspiration, tradition versus innovation, and natural versus unnatural. Conventional bourgeois values fell quite clearly on one side of this equation and were voiced emphatically in complaints about Bruckner's music concerning its apparent formlessness, reliance on repetition, chaotic structure, and disturbing desire to contaminate symphonic music with theatrical elements, all of which climaxed in declarations that Bruckner was "by far the most dangerous of musical innovators" or "an anarchist who pitilessly sacrifices everything that is called logic and clarity of development."<sup>110</sup> In this discussion, the value of rationality had special salience and was repeatedly at issue for Bruckner's critics. It

often served as an emblem of the bourgeois value system, as part of what Hermann Broch described as the congeries of value that formed the “conditions of the style or non-style of the nineteenth century, in which rationalism, individualism, historicism, romanticism, eclecticism, skepticism are all embedded and sustained in a kind of Manchesterism calculated for all eternity, all converging in an inextricable bond, yet each retaining an organic unity.”<sup>111</sup> Much of the resistance and even animosity Bruckner aroused went right back to competing concepts, which were probably not consciously articulated, of rationality and its role in artistic creation and reception. This was the reason why, for one segment of the audience, Bruckner’s symphonies were, as Johannes-Leopold Mayer suggested, “a public nuisance,” and why, as Carl Dahlhaus once observed, those “who felt at home in the Brahms camp” found in this music “the basic axioms of musical thought threatened, even more so than by Wagner.”<sup>112</sup>

Yet one cannot justifiably deny—notwithstanding the critics eager to do so—that Bruckner’s compositional approach was rational, for it was, even to a fault. He had devoted several years in his early adulthood to the study of the discipline of counterpoint under Simon Sechter, and in his 1876 inaugural address, upon his appointment to the University of Vienna faculty, Bruckner declared his commitment to a “science of music” that analyzes music to its “elements” and “atoms.”<sup>113</sup> Yet in Bruckner’s oeuvre, rationalism was applied to the production of musical works not aimed primarily at the ideals of organic unity in the service of subjectively expressive, historicist romanticism, but rather to artistic effects that ultimately reach beyond the merely reasonable or logical, whether to the sublime, the awesome, or the Absolute. The achievement of such an artistic impression called upon a second order of logic, which, as Broch pointed out, could be traced back to the high Middle Ages, “which were theologically at least as rational as modern science—even magic has rational foundations, all the more so a mysticism in the mold of Eckhart—and were nevertheless far removed from any kind of individualism, romanticism, or decorativism.”<sup>114</sup>

One palpable manifestation of these different orders of musical rationality subsists in differing attitudes to the sensuous nature of music. Max Weber identified “Protestant asceticism” as a fundamental element of the “the spirit of capitalism” and believed that by the end of the nineteenth century an emerging form of “ascetic rationalism” was exerting widespread influence on social ethics and the “plastic elements of modern culture” alike.<sup>115</sup> Nietzsche had not so long before written about “the desensualization of modern art.”<sup>116</sup> The increasing presence of asceticism in the project of modernity has, I think, been well



established, but again here some of the Viennese cultural strains—undoubtedly stemming from a Catholic culture of plasticity and incarnation—cut against this and were at issue in Bruckner's music and its reception.<sup>117</sup> This may be identified provisionally as what Adorno called the "sensuous culture of Vienna" with its "intense delight in pleasure," which in music was embodied by "a certain luxuriant lushness of harmonic feeling, a sense of letting the sounds melt on the tongue and an enjoyment of dissonance."<sup>118</sup> For Bruckner, this harmonic sensibility could overrule the rules of strict style and conventional harmonic syntax; indeed, at times it seems that for Bruckner, far from determining the inexorable unfolding of things as fixed laws, musical rules existed in order to be bent or even trespassed artfully.<sup>119</sup>

Bruckner's approach, which reflects a possibly unexpected dose of irony together with a Catholic sensibility that the human transgression of certain rules is quite inevitable but can be forgiven, is rather different. It may not submit easily to the rules, be it the rule of counterpoint, "good taste," or social convention; but it does not, however, try determinedly to break them down, to revolutionize them, or discard them for some sort of anarchical utopia. Rather, it seeks chinks in the system and finds opportunity in them for expression and pleasure. A direct appeal to Michel Foucault is hardly necessary to identify pleasure, musical or otherwise, with the rule of self-control, to suggest that pleasure arises dialectically from regulation and discipline, that libertinism and permissive behavior exist only in tandem with their opposites, and that, in both bourgeois and Christian morality, pleasure is often linked with illicit conduct and transgression. A distinctive relationship of regulation and control was inherent in the cultural attitude that grew up within the *Lebenswelt* of the old Habsburg Empire, with its legendarily complex set of structures based on absolutism, religious dogma, and baroque ceremony. The rules of this empire were notoriously brittle and only grew more so as modernity increasingly permeated Austria after 1848; to abide by that system must have entailed a degree of good-spirited tolerance for the absurd, along with a skillful pleasure in skirting the official rules of a system of rigid, intricately involved regulation, which one has no interest (nor any real possibility) of escaping, let alone overthrowing, yet which cannot be followed slavishly. This is obviously quite different from a system that esteems the authentic adherence (authentic both literally and existentially) to the rule of law.

One example of how this all played out musically may be found in the dominant preparation that precedes the third theme in the first movement of the Seventh Symphony (mm. 103–22), which achieves magnificent effect with elegance of means, exploiting a prolonged,



luxuriantly dissonant sonority that inhabits a gray area between long-held harmonic suspension and extended tertian harmony (see Ex. 1). This passage was not much discussed at the time (nor has it been by present-day writers), yet it did excite the attention of three great music theorists—August Halm, Heinrich Schenker, and Ernst Kurth—early in the twentieth century, each of whom proposed rather different interpretations of it.<sup>120</sup> For Halm, this passage was no ordinary organ point, nor an “eleventh chord,” but “the most grandiose of dominant effects” (“die grandioseste Dominantwirkung”) intensified by multilayered suspensions into “a phenomenon of tension, indeed of triumphant, jubilant tensile strength” (“ein Phänomen von Spannung, ja von triumphierender, jauchzender Spannkraft”). Schenker, not surprisingly, was far more resistant; at one point, he referred to it as an example of a bad, “unzeitgemäß” organ point that appears artificially like a “*deus ex machina*.”<sup>121</sup> He observed that in this passage, Bruckner pushed the limits of tertian chordal construction so hard that when the pitch F-sharp, which is the root of the dominant chord, arrives in the upper voice it appears paradoxically as the seventh of G-sharp (see m. 115). Kurth echoed this point as he noted that this passage had more to do with “gravitational dissonance” (“typische Schwerkraftsdissonanzen”) than actual harmonic suspension. More salient to the present discussion than the nuances of how these theorists attended to the harmonic and tonal nature of this passage is that each of them paid special attention to this passage and was interested in the ways in which it exploited a kink in the harmonic system. Furthermore, Bruckner’s symphonic design plays on a different order of ambiguity—or, better, *singularity*—gesturally and functionally; such an extraordinarily strong lead-in threatens to dwarf the slender theme (which ordinarily should be more noteworthy than its preparation) that follows, and, even though it is a highly distinctive thematic idea in its own right, the gesture of this preparatory dominant is not accounted for in the recapitulation.

An even more significant example for the present discussion, partly because of the remarkable words about it offered by Gustav Dömpke, is the brief transition from the first theme to the second theme in the Adagio of this symphony (see Ex. 2). In the review in which he declared that Bruckner composes “like a drunkard,” Dömpke also wrote this:

At the end of the first section [of the Adagio], the composer tries to shock us with a particularly audacious combination. He mixes bass [and Wagner] tubas with horns and lets them execute the most hair-raising, chromatic, divergent progressions possible. We truly shudder from the



115 (etwas belebend) *ff*

120 *Ruhig pp*

Example 1. Continued

Example 2. Bruckner, Seventh Symphony, second movement, mm. 33–37. From *VII. Symphony E-dur*, Anton Bruckner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954). Used by permission.

putrid odor that the discords of this putrefaction-crazed counterpoint force into our noses.<sup>122</sup>

These bars, which are certainly impressive, cannot be missed by anyone who hears the symphony, yet have not received much attention from recent commentators (Robert Simpson hardly mentioned them, nor did Wolfram Steinbeck or Stephen Parkany).<sup>123</sup> Neither Hanslick nor Kalbeck commented on this passage, while Helm heard this music as spooky, but neither threatening nor repugnant: “The sonic effect of the tubas in Bruckner’s Adagio is indescribable. Sometimes they make one shiver, as if from being spooked; for example, in the four bars, which sound like a sigh from the grave, before the entry of the *Gesangsperiode* in F-sharp major.”<sup>124</sup>

Paumgartner was hardly alarmed by them: “The first horn leads mysteriously from the main theme to the second theme, pianissimo and accompanied by the four [Wagner] tubas and the contrabass tuba, which descends into the darkest depths.”<sup>125</sup>

This music evidently was not universally outrageous to its first audiences, which makes the extremity of Dömpke’s visceral reaction all the more significant. In part, Dömpke must have been responding to the passage’s perceived Wagnerian identity (in addition to the prominent use of Wagner tubas, its chromatically altered harmony was of a sort often heard as Wagnerian at this time), the rejection of which was a linchpin in Hanslick’s refusal of Bruckner’s style.<sup>126</sup> These bars do present an intense, dissonant sonority—derived from an augmented sixth chord, intoned by Wagner tubas against a chromatic motif in the



horns—that prolongs harmonic tension to almost extravagant length (often more than twenty seconds in performance), emphasizes its dissonances, and resolves to splendid, unexpected effect, ushering in a songful, attractive, strongly contrasting theme group.<sup>127</sup> Despite this unconventional treatment, it is certainly possible to construct an interpretation of this passage that emphasizes its stylistic authenticity and musical logic. Prolonging a dominant function for dramatic and expressive effect was a long-established trump card of nineteenth-century symphonism, having been treated with great power by Beethoven; thus one could well judge that Bruckner was extending, elaborating, and intensifying a possibility inherent in the tradition in which he was working. The passage under discussion can also be accounted for nicely as part of a network of important cadential progressions that occur across the symphony, systematically deploying strongly “gravitational” secondary dominants and protean augmented-sixth chords to support the larger design of the symphony. For example, Bruckner introduces the emphatic C-minor arrival, at m. 233, of the first movement with a clear applied dominant, while he is content to introduce the two most important returns of the tonic key later in the movement (mm. 281 and 391) with unconventional chromatic motion.<sup>128</sup> The augmented sixth chord that agonized Dömpke is only one of a series of such chords that serve as the pivots of important formal hinges in this symphony. The first chord (first movement, mm. 47–50) presents the chord as the harmonization of one of the work’s most important intervallic cells (the chromatic-neighbor tone motif, C–B–A-sharp) to introduce that movement’s secondary theme group (see Ex. 3). The main theme of the

[Allegro moderato] Ruhig

vn1 47 p

[pp] p

vn2 p

[pp] p

low strings

p cresc. sempre p

augmented  
sixth chord

Example 3. Bruckner, Seventh Symphony, first movement, mm. 47–50. From VII. *Symphony E-dur*, Anton Bruckner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954). Used by permission.

Sehr feierlich und sehr langsam

augmented sixth chord

Example 4. Bruckner, Seventh Symphony, second movement, mm. 1–2. From VII. *Symphony E-dur*, Anton Bruckner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954). Used by permission.

augmented sixth chord

Example 5. Bruckner, Seventh Symphony, fourth movement, mm. 273–75. From VII. *Symphony E-dur*, Anton Bruckner, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 7, ed. Leopold Nowak (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954). Used by permission.

Adagio features an augmented sixth chord in its first measure (see Ex. 4), and the spectacular climax late in that movement is based on the most fundamental of augmented sixth progressions (mm. 176–77). The Finale penultimately culminates in a progression that resolves, although obliquely, the augmented sixth chord introduced in the first movement to the tonic key (see Ex. 5).

Yet the very distinctive sensuous impact of the passage in the Adagio—and all that was denoted by its unabashed luxuriating in special timbres and dissonances—must have troubled the ascetic rationalism of Dömpke's ear more deeply than any explanation could

overcome. The possibility that these bars could be taken by many listeners as splendidly justified, both aesthetically and stylistically, challenged him to represent them in terms of the most immediate sensory experience of physical revulsion—a repugnant odor—so as to render in words the depth and intensity of his rejection of this music and its all too powerful aesthetic presence. The imputation of a repellent smell to Bruckner's music was extreme but not unprecedented; Kalbeck referred to the odor of "Bengali fire" (a type of sulfurous firework) that hung about the Finale of the Seventh Symphony, and in his 1885 review of the Quintet for Strings in F, he described Bruckner's music as redolent of "the perfume of heavenly roses and the stink of hellish sulfur," lacking only the waft of incense to complete the mystical experience.<sup>129</sup> Likewise, Dömpke's clear implication that Bruckner's music was sick and corrupted was not new; Hanslick declared that he found the Seventh Symphony "unnaturally bloated, morbid and pernicious" and filled with "fevered overexcitement," while Kalbeck asserted that the symphony had been created out of the "dead and mutilated remains of an old world dedicated to ruin" ("die todtten und verstümmelten Überreste einer dem Untergang geweihten alten Welt").<sup>130</sup> This sort of cant, especially if contrasted with repeated references to the healthiness of Brahms's music, exploits rhetoric that soon became a mainstay of cultural pessimism, as well as racist and anti-Semitic propaganda; it is remarkable to see ostensibly "liberal" critics hauling out verbal weapons that would seem more at home in reactionary screeds.<sup>131</sup> In fact, these verbal attacks on Bruckner evince some odd parallels with Wagner's ranting in "Das Judentum in der Musik," most notably by harping on Bruckner's supposedly all but parasitical dependence on the music of Beethoven and Wagner himself, in a way that strangely mirrors Wagner's infamous denunciation of Jewish musicians not only for writing crassly derivative music, but also for failing to be genuinely creative. Consider in this connection Kalbeck's assertion that the Seventh Symphony could exist only "by the grace of its great predecessors" and was finally "nothing more than an impromptu comedy of stock figures, attractive and repulsive by turns; a brightly colored picture painted with motives from Beethoven and Wagner," with an Adagio that was "a timid schematic copy of the Adagio of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with the free employment of Beethovenian and Wagnerian melodies."<sup>132</sup>

This vein of criticism is hard to square with a reading of these critics as "liberal" in any full sense of the term, yet it is quite consistent with a reading of this criticism as part of a larger struggle over the self-identity of the Austrian bourgeoisie. As Ann Laura Stoller argues, "The discourse of degeneracy" was less a "vehicle of bourgeois empowerment"

than an “expression of ‘social anxiety,’ ‘internal disorder,’ and political fear.”<sup>133</sup> Within the context of Viennese musical politics, this perspective makes a great deal of sense, as this language was used to dismiss music that was distasteful, yet contained an undeniable power to move audiences and, even more disturbingly, to touch and move the violently resisting critic. This may help account for the apparatus of restraint, often repressive or even punitive (recall Kraus’s evocation of medieval instruments of torture), occasionally brought to bear in resisting Bruckner’s music.

The phase of Bruckner’s critical reception I have been discussing was precisely coincident in time and place with the founding declaration of musicology, Guido Adler’s “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft,” in which Adler actively contested the unhistorical, subjective mode of criticism that prevailed in the leading genres of feuilletonistic criticism of the time.<sup>134</sup> In so doing he joined a battle over musical discipline and enjoyment, or what Suzanne Marchand has called the process of “professionalizing the senses” that developed in the field of academic historical criticism and attempted to “consider music from a standpoint disabused of subjective judgments based on taste or politics.”<sup>135</sup> Ian Biddle recently suggested that Adler “aimed squarely at wresting the study of music from the amateur, from that ‘lover’ of music, the hopeless *enthusiast*.”<sup>136</sup> These terms can apply almost directly to Hanslick’s criticism of Bruckner, and a similar impulse was expressed with greater crudity, one might say, by Hanslick’s acolytes Kalbeck and Dömpke. Biddle states, rightly in my judgment, that Adler’s project is not “usefully characterised simply as a disavowal or an elaborated Puritanism in the face of popular enthusiasm,” but it is hard to judge some criticism of Bruckner as anything but that. Indeed, rather than attempting to develop a disciplined and therefore ultimately an appreciated, enjoyable way of hearing this music, dismissive criticism of the sort that Gutmann reproduced in his advertisement was intended to demean and defuse this music, to provide listeners a way of hearing it that negates its power by constructing its innovations as dangerous, delusional, and deceitful, but emphatically not as legitimately powerful or genuinely effective.

Bruckner worried that the aggressive, coordinated criticism of Hanslick and his allies had “ruined” some of his symphonies for posterity.<sup>137</sup> Perhaps he had some cause for concern. The afterlife of this body of criticism has been surprisingly strong, especially in the Anglo-American realm, where Hanslick and Schenker are securely placed among the most foundational commentators on nineteenth-century instrumental music, and where prevalent views of Bruckner remain tinged by presumptions traceable to criticism from the 1880s and 1890s. One conventional position, as a perusal of leading American



music-history textbooks will reveal, is that his symphonies are not well structured, derivative of Beethoven and Wagner, expressive of mystical states, and unduly infused with theatrical elements.<sup>138</sup> Bruckner's place in the performance repertoires of American and British orchestras may have become quite solid, yet the relative absence of his work from the canon (to evoke the famous distinction Joseph Kerman drew<sup>139</sup>), from textbook anthologies and, in train, syllabi is still very much with us. In a certain sense, within the rails of the musicological, enjoying Bruckner, and even more, taking him quite seriously, is matter of "enjoying the other" and thus cutting against some of the usual disciplinary restraints.<sup>140</sup> Perhaps this enjoyment thus gains a bit of freedom not available when enjoying the canonized saints of the realm, and perhaps this may produce a charge of a sort that can help rearrange some of the discipline's established patterns of judgment and evaluation.<sup>141</sup>

Likewise, understanding of the culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna has been both empowered and constrained by the historical and interpretive paradigms that have grown up with it over the last two generations. Judson's call for the "study of Vienna 1900" to work to "recover the intricate genealogies of political mobilization and cultural explosion of the Austrian *fin de siècle*" while stimulating "a greater recognition of the complex and influential liberal legacy to Central European politics and culture" can be answered in the field of music by teasing out the undercurrents of music and criticism in ways that challenge the canonical lines in interpretation.<sup>142</sup> Opening new, more intricate, and more incisive paths—as I hope to have done in this article—through this field, in which politics and aesthetics often cross at strange angles, can only help further renovate and complicate our understanding of fin-de-siècle Vienna and of ourselves, both as musicologists and as heirs of liberal bourgeois culture. Approaching the topic in this way, especially to the extent that current views of liberalism are implicated in it, may make the project a bit less comfortable, for we cannot distance ourselves from it quite so easily, but sometimes, as in antagonistic Bruckner reviews, critical discomfort generates real insight, intentionally or otherwise.

## Notes

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1. Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Bruckner* (New York: Vienna House, n.d. [1970]), 172. Gutmann, who published Bruckner's Quintet (1884) and Fourth Symphony (1890) in addition to the Seventh (1885), was a remarkably enterprising impresario as well as publisher; see Leon Botstein's comments in "Music and Its Public: Habits of Listening and the Crisis of Musical Modernism in Vienna, 1870–1914" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1985), 732–35.
2. "Es wirkte wie ein Beckenschlag. Ungeheures Aufsehen war die Folge." Ernst Decsey, *Bruckner: Versuch eines Lebens* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1920), 94. Unless otherwise noted, translations are by the author. Decsey's words not only literally echo Gutmann's comments quoted below but also allude to the cymbal crash that marks the climax of the Adagio of this symphony. In the 1940s, the authenticity of this cymbal crash became the subject of dispute (now essentially resolved in favor of its authenticity), but in 1920 Decsey would not have doubted its legitimacy.
3. Anton Bruckner, *Briefe 1852–1886*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 24/1, ed. Andrea Harrandt and Otto Schneider (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1998), 275.
4. Constantin Floros, *Anton Bruckner: Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2004), 56. Reading this letter in emotional, personally tragic terms has a long, contorted history that includes, in addition to genuine as well as maudlin biographical sympathy, an address Joseph Goebbels gave in 1937 as part of the ceremonies surrounding the Nazi enshrinement of a marble bust of Bruckner in the Ruhmeshalle der Deutschen in Wallhalla. Goebbels declared that, given the ways in which "intellectual carpet-baggers . . . misused their esteemed station as judges" to condemn his music, "one can understand the shocking document written in Bruckner's hand that is held today in the archives of the Vienna Philharmonic." Goebbels, who misidentified the date of the letter as 1884, saw it as a clear demonstration of a German genius pushed over the brink by "bitterness" and "emotional anguish," and he considered it one more piece of historical justification for his own 1936 ban on the publication of art criticism. See "Joseph Goebbels's Bruckner Address in Regensburg (6 June 1937)," trans. John Michael Cooper, *Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 605–9.
5. Karl Kraus, "Anton Bruckners Bittschrift," *Die Fackel* 223–24, 12 April 1907, 1–3. Strictly speaking, Kraus published a facsimile and transcription of Bruckner's draft of the letter, which had been given to him by an unidentified former student of Bruckner. This text differs in some details from the final letter, but not in its basic import. The text of the actual letter was not published until 1924, when it appeared in two editions

of Bruckner's collected letters: Anton Bruckner, *Gesammelte Briefe*, ed. Franz Gräflinger (Regensburg: Bosse, 1924), 136–37, and Anton Bruckner, *Gesammelte Briefe, Neue Folge*, ed. Max Auer (Regensburg: Bosse, 1924), 196. It is now in Bruckner, *Briefe 1852–1886*, 275.

6. “Eine Willenskundgebung des Gefolterten während der Folter. Ein letztes Bittgesuch um Gnade,” and “die von den Zeiten erzählen wird, da boshafte Zwerge über gutmütige Riesen herrschten.” Karl Kraus, “Anton Bruckners Bittschrift,” 2.

7. The poem originally appeared in *Die Fackel* 131, February 1903, 1–4. An English translation is in Kraus, *In These Great Times*, ed. Harry Zohn (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1984), 31–34.

8. “Auffallend ist der Krebsgang in dem Produciren Brahms'. Zwar hat sich dasselbe nie über das Niveau des Mittelmässigen aufschwingen können; aber solche Nichtigkeit, Hohlheit und Duckmäuserei, wie sie in der E-moll-Symphonie herrscht, ist doch in keinem Werke von Brahms in so beängstigender Weise an das Tageslicht getreten. Die Kunst ohne Einfälle zu componiren, hat entschieden in Brahms ihren würdigsten Vertreter gefunden. Ganz wie der liebe Gott versteht auch Herr Brahms sich auf das Kunststück, aus Nichts etwas zu machen.” *Wiener Salonblatt*, 24 January 1886, in *Hugo Wolfs Kritiken im Wiener Salonblatt*, vol. 1: *Die Kritiken*, ed. Leopold Spitzer and Isabella Sommer (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2002), 137; English translation from *The Music Criticism of Hugo Wolf*, ed. and trans. Henry Pleasants (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), 186.

9. “Die Overtüre zu den ‘Meistersingern,’ die nacheinander alle ‘Leitmotive’ der Oper brockenweise in eine Fluth von chromatischen Gängen und Sequenzen wirft, um sie schließlich in einem wahren Ton-Orcan über- und durcheinander zu schleudern, muß in Uneingeweihten die Vermuthung erregen, daß die Nürnberger Meistersinger sich hauptsächlich mit Cyankali beschäftigten. Dieses Orchesterstücke für die unangenehmste Overtüre der Welt zu erklären hindert mich lediglich die Rücksicht auf das noch entsetzlichere Vorpiel zu ‘Tristan und Isolde.’ Ich muß dabei immer an das alte italienische Bild jenes Martyrers denken, dem die Eingeweide langsam aus dem Leibe herausgehaspelt werden.” Eduard Hanslick, “Feuilleton: Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* II,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 25 June 1868, 1.

10. For example, Peter Wapnewski stated quite simply, “It is obvious: Hanslick dramatically misjudged (in addition to Wagner) Liszt, Berlioz, Bruckner, Hugo Wolf and Richard Strauss.” “Es ist offensichtlich: Hanslick hat (nächst R.W.) Liszt, Berlioz, Bruckner, Hugo Wolf und Richard Strauss dramatisch verkannt.” See Hanslick, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Rezensenten: Gesammelte Musikkritiken*, ed. and with an epilogue by Peter Wapnewski (Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter, 1989), 327.

11. See Frank Walker, *Hugo Wolf: A Biography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 83–87. Wolf would in turn suffer humiliating rejection as a composer at the hands of Hans Richter and the Vienna Philharmonic, partly because of ill will roused by his intemperate critical writings about Brahms.

12. Klaus Hübler, “Die Kunst, ohne Einfälle zu komponieren: Dargestellt an Johannes Brahms' späten Intermezzi,” in *Aimez-vous Brahms 'the progressive'?*, *Musik-Konzepte* 65 (Munich: Text+Kritik, 1989), 24–40, and Dorothea Redepenning, “‘... vermissen wir das logische Denken’? Zu Bruckners Kunst des Übergangs,” *Die Musikforschung* 58 (2005): 33–47.



13. The foundational articles are Leon Botstein's "Brahms and Nineteenth Century Painting," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 14 (1990): 154–68, and Margaret Notley's "Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth Century Vienna," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 17 (1993): 107–23, which has recently appeared in a somewhat revised version as "Brahms as Liberal, Bruckner as Other," chapter 1 of *Lateness and Brahms: Music and Culture in the Twilight of Viennese Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 15–35. Also see Botstein, "Music and Its Public"; Botstein, "Brahms and His Audience: The Late Viennese Years, 1875–1897," in *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, ed. Michael Musgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 51–75, and Botstein, "Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms's Vienna," in *Brahms and His World*, ed. Walter Frisch (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 3–22, now in *Brahms and His World*, rev. ed., ed. Walter Frisch and Kevin C. Karnes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 3–25; as well as Notley, "Volksconcerte in Vienna and Late Nineteenth-Century Ideology of the Symphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 50 (1997): 421–53, which also appears in *Lateness and Brahms*, 144–68; and Notley, "Musical Culture in Vienna at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern: A Companion to the Second Viennese School*, ed. Bryan R. Symms (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 37–71. Work by other scholars that has discussed Viennese musical culture in these basic terms includes Sandra McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896–97: Critically Moving Forms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) and McColl, "Karl Kraus and Music Criticism: The Case of Max Kalbeck," *Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 279–308; Kevin C. Karnes, "Another Look at Critical Partisanship in the Viennese Fin-de-Siècle: Schenker's Reviews of Brahms' Vocal Music, 1891–92," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 26 (2002): 73–93; Karnes, "Schenker's Brahms: Composer, Critic, and the Problem of Creativity in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna," *Journal of Musicological Research* 24 (2005): 145–76; and David Brodbeck, "Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna: Language Ordinances, National Property, and the Rhetoric of *Deutschtum*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007): 71–132.
14. Botstein, "Brahms and Nineteenth-Century Painting," 157–58.
15. Botstein, "Brahms and Nineteenth-Century Painting," 159.
16. Notley, "Brahms as Liberal," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 17, 115, and 108.
17. See Otto Biba, "Brahms, Wagner und Parteigungen in Wien: Texte und Beobachtungen," *Musica* 37 (1983): 18–22.
18. Theodor Helm in the *Wiener Salonblatt*, 2 April 1882; repr. in "Kritiken zu zeitgenössischen Aufführungen der ersten Symphonie von Johannes Brahms (Auswahl)," in *Brahms-Kongreß, Wien 1983: Kongreßbericht*, ed. Susanne Antonicek and Otto Biba (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1988), 503–4.
19. See Josef Schalk's articles "Anton Bruckner," *Bayreuther Blätter* 7 (October 1884): 3–5, and "Anton Bruckner und die moderne Musikwelt. Vortrag, gehalten in Wiener akademischen Wagner-Verein," *Deutsche Worte* (December 1885): 1–8, as well as Thomas Leibnitz's discussion of them in "Anton Bruckner and 'German Music': Josef Schalk and the Establishment of Bruckner as a National Composer," in *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, ed. Crawford Howie, Paul Hawkshaw, and Timothy Jackson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 328–40.



20. "Bruckner ist Armeebefehl geworden und 'der zweite Beethoven' ein Glaubensartikel der Wagner-Gemeinde." Eduard Hanslick, "Feuilleton," *Neue Freie Presse*, 30 March 1886.
21. Richard Heuberger, in the *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 October 1896, quoted in Manfred Wagner, "Die Nekrologe von 1896: Rezeptionstiftend?—oder Wie Klischees von Anton Bruckner entstanden," in *Anton Bruckner*, ed. Ulrich Tadday, *Musik-Konzepte* 23/24 (Munich: Text+Kritik, 1982), 130; for Brahms's and Hanslick's reactions to this obituary, see Heuberger, *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), 114 and 170. Schuster's obituary appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, 5 November 1896, 2; quoted in Manfred Wagner, "Bruckner in Wien," in *Bruckner in Wien: Eine kritische Studie zu seiner Persönlichkeit*, ed. Manfred Wagner, *Anton Bruckner Dokumente und Studien* 2 (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1980), 39.
22. Schuster, quoted in Manfred Wagner, "Bruckner in Wien," 39. "Die bekenntnislose Seele des Liberalismus," Decsey in *Bruckner: Versuch eines Lebens*, 98.
23. "dessengeniale Begabung in das Format des Simroc'schen Verlagsessichnichtfügen-äßt." —o. —, "Ein Opfer der Wiener Musikritiker," *Das Vaterland*, 27 March 1890; the article is reproduced in Franz Grasberger, "Das Bruckner-Bild der Zeitung 'Das Vaterland' in den Jahren 1870–1900," *Festschrift Hans Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Rudolf Elvers and Ernst Vögel (Munich: Vögel, 1981), 125.  
In the Third Reich, where party-line thinking was taken to the extreme, all aspects of Bruckner's life and music were, as is now well established, widely interpreted in patently ideological terms that grotesquely magnified the *völkisch* strain of fin-de-siècle Bruckner promotion. See Bryan Gilliam, "The Annexation of Anton Bruckner: Nazi Revisionism and the Politics of Appropriation," *Musical Quarterly* 78 (1994): 584–604; Benjamin Korstvedt, "Anton Bruckner in the Third Reich and After: An Essay on Ideology and Bruckner Reception," *Musical Quarterly* 80 (1996): 132–60; Morten Solvik, "The International Bruckner Society and the N.S.D.A.P.: A Case Study of Robert Haas and the Critical Edition," *Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 362–82; and Christa Brüstle, *Anton Bruckner und die Nachwelt: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte des Komponisten in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1998).
24. "Die Musik wurde mit der Politik vermengt, und Dunkelmänner aus verschiedenen Parteilagern hatten die Hände dabei im Spiele." Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1912), 3:402. Kalbeck's words are quoted, incidentally, to help set the stage on the opening pages of both Notley, "Brahms as Liberal," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 17, 107, and Brodbeck, "Dvořák's Reception in Liberal Vienna," 71.
25. "Die gegen Brahms zum Heerbann aufgebotenen Truppen erhielten Verstärkung von den Ultras verschiedener rückschrittlicher, religiöser, politischer und gesellschaftlicher Kongregationen. . . . Studenten, Akademiker und Konservatoristen, die von der Bedeutung eines Künstlers wie Brahms keine Ahnung hatten, schlossen einen agitationslustigen Bund von Radaubrüdern und suchten vom dichtgedrängten Stehparterre der Musikvereinssäle aus das Publikum aufzureizen und zu terrorisieren. Sie empfangen ihre *ordre de bataille* und wurden von den im Saale verteilten Rädelsführern als Konterclaque geschickt dirigiert. Die schlechteren Elemente der Öffentlichkeit, die Vergnügen an der 'Hetz' fanden, ließen die tumultuarischen Demonstranten mit behaglichem Schmunzeln gewähren, wenn sie nicht gar mit der 'munteren Jugend' gemeinschaftliche Sache machten, und es kam bei Premieren von Bruckner und Brahms mehr als einmal zu widerwärtigen Skandalszenen

und turbulenten Renkontres zwischen sonst friedliebenden und ruhig denkenden Zuhörern." Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 3:404–5. According to Kalbeck, the first unsuccessful effort of this "Wagnerian-Brucknerian *ecclesias militans*" was at the Viennese premiere of Brahms's Third Symphony on 3 December 1883. "Bei der Premiere der F-dur-Symphonie, die am 2. Dezember 1883 in den Wiener Philharmonischen Konzerten stattfand, wagte die im Stehparterre des Musikvereinsaaes postierte Truppe der Wagner-Brucknerschen *ecclesia militans* den ersten öffentlichen Vorstoß gegen Brahms," Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 3:412.

26. Heather Platt recently characterized "Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna," as "among the most frequently cited recent articles on Brahms"; *Johannes Brahms: A Guide to Research* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 118.

27. See, for example, Notley's review of statements by Brahms that "we would consider to be in poor taste, if not outright anti-Semitic" in *Lateness and Brahms*, 20–21, as well as Jan Swafford's in *Johannes Brahms: A Biography* (New York, Knopf, 1997), 426–27, and Daniel Beller-McKenna's discussion of Brahms's sympathy for Prussian nationalism and militarism in "The *Triumphlied*, Op. 55, and the Apocalyptic Moment," in his *Brahms and the German Spirit* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 98–132.

28. Botstein pointed this out in "Music and Its Public," 428–29. On the anti-Wagnerian tendencies of Heyse and Speidel, see Helm, *Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Musikleben*, 213 and 192, respectively. Also see Elaine Brody, "The Jewish Wagnerians," *Opera Quarterly* 1 (1983): 66–83, as well as Laurence Dreyfus's thoughtful study of the most complicated case of a Jewish Wagnerian, "Hermann Levi's Shame and Parsifal's Guilt: A Critique of Essentialism in Biography and Criticism," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1994): 125–45. Also see William J. McGrath's important discussion of the Pernerstorfer circle, a group of young artists and intellectuals that cut across these ideological and religious lines, in *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974).

29. Harten concluded that thirty-three of these critics were more positive than negative and that, of the reviewers active during the 1880s, when Bruckner's reputation was being forged, the truly negatively disposed critics in fact comprised only Hanslick, Kalbeck, and Dömpke. (Heuberger's attitude was similar but he was active only from 1890.) Nor did Harten find clear correspondence between sympathy for Wagner and for Bruckner. All of this suggests that, in their musical opinions, critics did not directly channel individual political orientation or the politics of the newspapers for which they wrote. Harten's study is reported in "Round Table: Bruckner und die österreichische Presse," in *Bruckner-Symposium: Bruckner-Rezeption 1991*, ed. Othmar Wessely (Linz: Kommisionsverlag, 1994), 93–98. McColl's detailed summary of the social and political profiles of the various Viennese newspapers in *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896–97* is also relevant here.

Examples of unsympathetic responses to Bruckner in German nationalist papers can also be found, including Frank Gehring's complaint in the *Deutsche Zeitung* that the Fourth Symphony was "nothing but decorative music to which the form of the classical symphony was applied in a rough and ready way"; quoted by Andrea Harrandt in "Bruckner in Vienna," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 32.

30. I refer to Cook's *The Schenker Project: Culture, Race, and Music Theory in Fin-de-siècle Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) and Kevin C. Karnes's *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), as well as Notley's *Lateness and Brahms*, and Botstein's writings on Brahms and his milieu, including "Time and Memory: Concert Life, Science, and Music in Brahms's Vienna," and "Brahms and His Audience: The Late Viennese Years, 1875–1897."
31. James H. Kavanaugh, "Ideology," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 310–11.
32. Leon Botstein, "Music in History: The Perils of Method in Reception History," *Musical Quarterly* 89 (2006): 1–16.
33. Dominick LaCapra, "Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case?: Transference and the 'Culture' Concept," in *History and Criticism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1985), 81–82.
34. See Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980), xxvii, as well as his "Grace and the Word: Austria's Two Cultures and Their Modern Fate," *Austrian History Yearbook* 22 (1991): 21–34; repr. in Schorske, *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 125–40.
35. James Shedel, "*Fin de Siècle* or *Jahrhundertwende*: The Question of an Austrian Sonderweg," in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. Stephen Beller (New York: Berghahn, 2000), 82.
36. Shedel, "*Fin de Siècle* or *Jahrhundertwende*," 83.
37. John Boyer, "Review: Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*," *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980): 725.
38. Boyer, "Review: Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*," 727.
39. Schorske coined the phrase the liberals' "extrusion from political power" in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, xxvii. This unusual term was discussed by both Scott Spector, in "Marginalization: Politics and Culture beyond 'Fin-de-Siècle Vienna,'" in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, 13, and Boyer, "Review: Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*," 725.
40. This is Shedel's central point in "*Fin de Siècle* or *Jahrhundertwende*."
41. The literature is quite vast. Some of the most useful sources for me have been the following: Pieter Judson, "Rethinking the Liberal Legacy," in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, 57–79, as well as his *Exclusive Revolutionaries: Liberal Politics, Social Experience, and National Identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848–1914* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); Shedel, "*Fin de Siècle* or *Jahrhundertwende*"; Boyer, "Review: Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*"; Harry Ritter's useful but slightly idiosyncratic "Austro-German Liberalism and the Modern Liberal Tradition," *German Studies Review* 7 (1984): 227–48; Allan Janik, "Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems," *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 1–27; Michael P. Steinberg, "'Fin-de-siècle Vienna' Ten Years Later: 'Viel Traum, Wenig Wirklichkeit,'" *Austrian History Yearbook* 22 (1991): 151–62; Scott Spector, "Marginalization: Politics and Culture beyond 'Fin-de-Siècle Vienna'"; Karl F. Baum, "Beyond the Bourgeoisie: Rethinking Nation, Culture, and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Austrian History Yearbook* 29

(1998): 19–35; Michael S. Roth, “Performing History: Modernist Contextualization in Carl Schorske’s *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*,” *American History Review* 99 (1994): 729–45; Marion Gluck, “Beyond Vienna 1900: Rethinking Culture in Central Europe,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 217–22, and Gluck, “Afterthoughts about ‘Fin-de-Siècle Vienna’: The Problem of Aesthetic Culture in Central Europe,” in *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, 264–70; and finally, LaCapra, “Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case?” and LaCapra, “Reading Exemplars: Wittgenstein’s Vienna and Wittgenstein’s Tractatus,” in *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 84–17.

42. Boyer, “Review: Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*,” 727; also see Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 18–22, and Wolf Wuchterpfennig, “The ‘Young Viennese’ and Their Fathers: Decadence and the Generation Conflict around 1890,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 17 (1982): 21–49, both of which offer views of the situation that do not fully mesh with more conventional ones.

43. Judson, “Rethinking the Liberal Legacy,” 62 and 63, respectively.

44. Shedel, “*Fin de Siècle* or *Jahrhundertwende*,” 98; also see Carl Schorske, “Grace and the Word.”

45. Judson, “Rethinking the Liberal Legacy,” 76.

46. Cook’s both *The Schenker Project* and Karnes’s *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History* seem to be inspired by a somewhat similar impulse.

47. Geoffrey C. Howe, “The Politics of Rhetoric in Some Recent Austrian Essays,” *New German Critique* 93 (2004): 43.

48. Hirschfeld, “Musikalische Kritik in der Wiener Zeitung,” *Jubiläumsnummer der Wiener Zeitung, 1703–1903* (8 August 1903): 60. This phrase, which obviously plays off of Hanslick’s musical ideal of “tönend bewegten Formen,” was chosen by Sandra McColl as the title of her book, *Critically Moving Forms*.

49. Manfred Wagner, *Geschichte der Österreichischen Musikkritik in Beispielen* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1974), 662–63.

50. The classic essay on this dynamic is Carl Schorske, “Generational Tension and Cultural Change: Reflections on the Case of Vienna,” *Daedalus* 107 (1978): 111–12; also see Wolf Wuchterpfennig, “The ‘Young Viennese’ and their Fathers,” and McColl, *Music Criticism in Vienna 1896–97*, 30–31.

51. “Ihre gelassene Liebenswürdigkeit, die lächeln und immer lächeln kann, hinter deren freundlich entgegenkommender Miene sich viel Heimtücke birgt, ist immer geneigt, aus Dingen, die dem anderen ernst sind, eine Hetze und schliesslich eine Hetze zu machen—und die Wiener Feuerbachhetze reiht sich würdig all den anderen an, durch die Wien eine so traurige Berühmtheit erlangt hat: der Waldmüllerhetze, der Brucknerhetze, der Hugo-Wolf-Hetze, der Klimthetze, der Mahlerhetze. . . es scheint, dass diese Stadt, in der die spanischen Habsburger blutige Spuren hinterlassen haben und die viel für das spanische Hofzeremoniell übrig hatte, findet ihren Ersatz für die Stierkämpfe des Südens in der Corrida gegen grosse Künstler. . . Und daß in der Augen der Nachwelt die Toreros als Toros dastehen, kümmert sie wenig.” Richard Specht, *Johannes Brahms: Leben und Werk eines deutschen Meisters* (Hellerau: Avalun-Verlag, 1928), 329. Thanks to Heather Platt, who first pointed this passage out to me.



Peter Vergo similarly identified a "certain delight in the persecution of the great, the kind of popular scandal that is expressed by the specifically Viennese word *Hetz* (a hunt or chase)." *Art in Vienna, 1898–1918*, 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1981), 16.

52. The most prominent of these journals were German, including the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, founded by Robert Schumann in 1834 and the *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* founded by A. B. Marx in 1824. During the era of Bruckner and Brahms, Vienna had several such journals, including *Deutsche Kunst- und Musikzeitung* (1874–1902), *Musikalische Rundschau* (1885–94), *Österreichische Musik- und Theater-Zeitung* (1888–1905), *Neue Musikalische Presse* (1892–1909).

53. Martina Nussbaumer, *Musikstadt Wien: Die Konstruktion eines Images* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2007), 82.

54. This topic has been discussed in detail by Leon Botstein in "Music and Its Public" and "Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 16 (1992): 129–45.

55. Hanns-Werner Heister, *Das Konzert: Theorie einer Kulturform*, vol. 1 (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1983), 42.

56. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 27; also see Habermas, "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)," *New German Critique* 3 (1974): 49–55; Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 298, and Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Building a National Literature: The Case of Germany, 1830–1870*, trans. Renate Baron Francisco (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 48.

57. See, for example, Nancy Fraser's "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), 109–42, esp. 111–17. Also see Notley's comments in *Lateness and Brahms*, 158–59.

58. Hohendahl, *Building a National Literature*, 54; also see Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures," 300.

59. Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures," 309.

60. The classic study of this phenomenon in the wider European context is Arno Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

61. Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures," 304.

62. Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, "Musikalische Elite in Wien um 1900: Praktiken, Prägungen und Repräsentationen," in *Identität.Kultur.Raum: Kulturelle Praktiken und die Ausbildung von Imagined Communities in Nordamerika und Zentraleuropa*, ed. Susan Ingram, Markus Reisenleitner, and Cornelia Szabó-Knotik (Vienna: Turia+ Kant, 2001), 44–45.

63. Stefan Zweig, *The World of Yesterday* (New York: Viking Press, 1943), 110. Steed is quoted in Timms, *Apocalyptic Satirist*, 32. Also see Johannes-Leopold Mayer's

comments on the large circulation of the *Neue Freie Presse* in “Musik als gesellschaftliches Ärgernis—oder: Anton Bruckner, der Anti-Bürger. Das Phänomen Bruckner als historisches Problem,” in *Bruckner in Wien*, 136.

64. “Bruckner verdankt seinen Ruhm ausschließlich mir, und ohne mich hätte kein Hahn nach ihm gekräht, aber dies geschah sehr gegen meinen Willen.” Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 3:409.

65. See, for example, Wolf’s feuilleton of 22 March 1885, in *Hugo Wolfs Kritiken im Wiener Salonblatt*, 1:94–96, and *The Music Criticism of Hugo Wolf*, 126–28. Also see Benjamin Korstvedt, “Music Criticism as Cultural Text: The Case of Hugo Wolf,” *Musicologica Austriaca* 26 (2007): 53–65, and Klaus Kropfing, “Wagner und Brahms,” *Musica* 37 (1983): 11–17, esp. 13–15.

66. Max Graf, “Brahms-Studie,” in *Wagner-Probleme und Andere Studien* (Vienna: Wiener Verlag, 1900), 101–8. As late as 1922, Adolf Weissmann held that Brahms’s “amazing success was due in the main to the unanimous support of the critics and musical producers, backed up by a basis of traditional musical culture widespread in Germany.” Weissmann, *The Problems of Modern Music*, trans. M. M. Bozman (London and Toronto: Dent, 1925), 40.

67. These lines are from an essay Kraus wrote just after the outbreak of the First World War, entitled “In dieser grossen Zeit,” *Die Fackel* 404, December 1914, quoted in Walter Benjamin, “Karl Kraus,” in *Selected Writings*, vol. 2: 1927–34, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 440. A different translation may be found in Kraus, *In These Great Times*, 75–76.

68. Benjamin, “Karl Kraus,” 439–40, and “Some Motifs in Baudelaire,” in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 159.

69. Scheu is quoted in Benjamin, “Karl Kraus,” 438.

70. Benjamin, “Karl Kraus,” 438.

71. Peter J. Rabinowitz considers that “what you hear and experience is largely dependent upon the presuppositions with which you approach it, and . . . those presuppositions are to a generally unrecognized degree verbal in origin.” “Chord and Discourse: Listening Through the Written Word,” in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 39. Or, as Carolyn Abbate has it: “Our experience of the musical works is, of course, conditioned by verbal codes . . . so that any attempt to separate writing about music from music itself is futile.” *Unsung Voices* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 18.

72. Harry Haskell, *The Attentive Listener: Three Centuries of Music Criticism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1995), xii.

73. Also, despite what we might assume, reviews were not invariably based upon actual reportage. Kalbeck’s review of Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony was not in fact a report on the concert, which the critic did not attend because of illness. Rather, his strongly negative review, which appeared thirteen days after the event, was not directly stimulated by the performance but by Hanslick’s urgent request, made on the day that Gutmann’s flyer was published, that Kalbeck not fail to add his voice to the discussion of the “wild Bruckner concert.” “In dem wilden ‘Bruckner’-Concert darf Ihre Stimme nicht fehlen!”; quoted in Franz Scheder, *Anton Bruckner Chronologie: Textband*

(Tutzing: Schneider, 1996), 499. Reading between the lines of Kalbeck's review, it does seem to have been based on a reading of the score and, presumably, of other reviews.

74. Edward T. Cone, "The Authority of Music Criticism," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 8.

75. For a classic statement of this position, see T. S. Eliot, "The Function of Criticism," in *Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot*, ed. and with an introduction by Frank Kermode (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 68; also see Mahling, *Musikkritik: Eine Studie* (Munich: Helios, 1929), 33, and Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, *Glanz und Elend der Musikkritik: Der Verfall des musikalischen Geschmacks* (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1957), 11–12.

76. Peter Wapnewski, "Eduard Hanslick als Kritiker der Musik seiner Zeit," in Hanslick, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Rezensenten*, 334.

77. "Der Musikhistoriker darf sich nicht wie der Tageskritiker in das Gewirre labiler Wertbemessungen hineinzerren lassen." Guido Adler, *Methode der Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919), 52. Also see Suzanne Marchand, "Professionalizing the Senses: Art and Music History in Vienna, 1890–1920," *Austrian History Yearbook* 21 (1985): 44–45. The legacy of Hanslick's approach to music history and aesthetics, and Adler's response to it, has most recently been discussed by Kevin C. Karnes in *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History*, which unfortunately was published only after the present article was essentially conceived and written.

78. Judson, "Rethinking the Liberal Legacy," 61.

79. Judson, "Rethinking the Liberal Legacy," 61–62.

80. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 76–77.

81. To take this position, I might add, is to return to something that was inherent in Carl Schorske's original formulation of the crisis of fin-de-siècle Vienna, which has been lost in some later appropriations. Schorske's first great essay on the topic, "Politics and the Psyche: Schnitzler and Hofmannstahl," which was published as early as 1961 and was later used as the first chapter of his famous book, clearly constructs the essential cultural dynamic as a crisis of liberal Viennese culture in which competing forces were played out not so much politically, but within a social class and even within the psyche of the individual.

82. For a classic statement, see Tibor Kneif, "Brahms—ein bürgerlicher Künstler," in *Johannes Brahms: Leben und Werk*, ed. Christiane Jacobsen (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1983), 9–19. Also see Arnold Schering's comments on the role played by Brahms's music in the *geistliche Leben* of the German *Bürgertum* in "Johannes Brahms und seine Stellung in der Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 1932 (Leipzig: Peters, 1933); repr. in Schering, *Von grossen Meistern der Musik* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1940), 153–84.

83. Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 409.

84. Brahms refers to the "zweite Nachschrift" of Nietzsche's *Der Fall Wagner: Ein Musikanten-Problem*, in *Werke in drei Bänden*, vol. 3, ed. Rolf Toman (Frankfurt: Könnemann, 1994), 272–74. An English version is in *The Birth of Tragedy and the Case of Wagner*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967), 185–89.

The term “antipope” had already been in occasional circulation in Viennese music criticism; the earliest relevant use of the terms I have located is in an unsigned review of the First Symphony published in the *Wiener Abendpost* on 30 December 1876: “Es gibt eine nichts weniger als geringfügige Gemeinde, die an eine Mission dieses Mannes glaubt und—sei es aus Ueberzeugung, sei es, weil man wider Päpste auch in Musik am bequemsten mit Gegenpäpste spielt—den Geruch einer besonderen Kunsttheiligkeit um ihn verbereitet. Für sie ist eine neue Notenreihe von seiner Hand gleichbedeutend mit einer neuen Offenbarung, ein Gegenstand visionärer Ahnungen und brünstiger Verehrung,” quoted in “Kritiken zu zeitgenössischen Aufführungen der ersten Symphonie von Johannes Brahms,” in *Brahms-Kongreß, Wien 1983*, 495. In an 1891 review of Brahms’s *Alto Rhapsody*, Ludwig Speidel recalled that the art historian Thausing, who had died in 1884, once managed to say to Brahms, “You are only the vice-Meister; when the Meister (namely Richard Wagner) is dead, then *you* shall be the Meister” (“plegte zu Brahms zu sagen: ‘Sie sind nur der Vizemeister; wenn der Meister (nämlich Richard Wagner) einmal todt ist, dann sind Sie der Meister’”); quoted in Charlotte Pinter, “Ludwig Speidel als Musikkritiker” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna, 1949), 576.

85. Manfred Wagner has described Bruckner as a “social climber” who ascended through “the institutions of *bürgerliche* Vienna”; see his *Bruckner* (Mainz: Schott, 1983), 82–86 and *passim*, as well as Andrea Harrandt, “Vom oberösterreichischen Tanzboden zum Wiener Parkett: Bruckner der Unangepaßte,” in *Vom Ruf zum Nachruf: Landesausstellung Oberösterreich 1996* (Linz: Landesverlag, 1996), 222–23. The social circumstances of Brahms’s family have been subject to some recent debate; see Jan Swafford, “Did the Young Brahms Play Piano in Waterfront Bars?,” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 24 (2001): 276–89; Styra Avins, “The Young Brahms: Biographical Data Reexamined,” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 24 (2001): 276–89; and Boman Desai, “The Boy Brahms,” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 27 (2003): 132–36.

86. Brodbeck, “Dvořák’s Reception in Liberal Vienna.”

87. My juxtaposition of liberalism and “others” echoes Notley’s title, “Brahms as Liberal, Bruckner as Other.” It also reflects Szabó-Knotik’s apparently unrelated discussion of what she terms the “successful othering” of Bruckner by which the “respective standing” of Brahms and Bruckner “in the culturally trend-setting Viennese society of their day has shaped the image of them that has been handed down to this very day” since “the mechanism of inclusion and exclusion . . . shapes the historical narrative meant to describe aesthetic qualities on which the canonization as a master of the musical universe seems to be based. This means that while Anton Bruckner has in the meantime received his place in the musical museum . . . his social marginalization is still relevant whenever biographical details come into play.” See Szabó-Knotik, “The Universe of Master Composers: Strategies of Networking and Gendering in *Ringstrassenzeit* Vienna’s/Western Music Life,” *spacesofidentity.net*, vol. 4, no. 1 (April 2004), [http://www.yorku.ca/soi/\\_Vol\\_4\\_1/\\_HTML/Szabo-Knotik.html](http://www.yorku.ca/soi/_Vol_4_1/_HTML/Szabo-Knotik.html) (12 April 2007).

88. The classic statement of the psychology of conflicts that devolve on small differences occurs in Freud’s 1917 paper “The Taboo of Virginity,” in which he argues that it is precisely “the small differences” among the otherwise similar “that cause feelings of strangeness and animosity between them” (“dass gerade die kleinen Unterschiede bei sonstiger Ähnlichkeit die Gefühle von Fremdheit und Feindseligkeit zwischen ihnen



begründen"). "Das Tabu der Virginität," in *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 12: *Werke aus den Jahren 1917–1920* (London: Imago, 1940; repr. Frankfurt: Fischer, 1999), 169.

89. Kalbeck, Dömpke, and Brahms were all German-born, while Hanslick was a native of Prague.

90. Theodor Adorno, "Vienna," in *Quasi una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 1998), 205.

91. Adorno contrasts this with a distinctive Viennese approach that did not play by the rules of that musical rationality in which "nothing is left to chance and everything unfolds according to fixed laws," but instead had a rather more "playful" attitude to the rules and also retained something of a "pre-rational music" that, in Adorno's phrase, "had not yet submitted to the dominance of abstract numerical relations." See Adorno, "Vienna," 205, 210, and 212.

92. See *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Standard Edition, trans. and ed. James Strachey, with an introduction by Peter Gay (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 72.

93. An influential expression of this tendency is the list of German and non-German antinomies Ernst Hanisch culled from Wagner's writings and identified as "dichotomies typical of his age, which formed the ideological basis of the German Sonderweg and were admirably suited for exploitation in 1914 and again in 1933"; see "The Political Influence and Appropriation of Wagner," in *The Wagner Handbook*, ed. Ulrich Müller and Peter Wapnewski, trans. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 190–91. This list was adapted by Notley in her discussion of the politics of "Bruckner and Viennese Wagnerism," in *Bruckner Studies*, ed. Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy L. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 62–63, and by Nicholas Cook in his consideration of some of Schenker's core concepts in *The Schenker Project*, 163–67.

94. The most well-known of these was published at a relatively late date by Hugo von Hofmannsthal as "Preuße und Österreicher: Ein Schema," in *Vossische Zeitung*, 25 December 1917; repr. in *Gesammelte Werke in zehn Einzelbänden. Reden und Aufsätze II (1914–1924)*, ed. Bernd Schoeller with Rudolf Hirsch (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1979), 459–61. This text plainly traffics in well-known stereotypes (the systematic, worldly, dialectical, striving Prussian against the pious, ironic, private, intuitive Austrian), yet does encapsulate common opinions. I would like to thank Rüdiger Zill for alerting me to this text. The tensions between Protestantism and Catholicism in German-speaking Central Europe were strong and multivalent. In Bismarck's empire, anti-Catholic sentiment was politically mobilized for nationalistic purposes during the *Kulturkampf*. In Vienna, anti-Protestant sentiment was often associated with anti-Liberal and anti-Semitic attitudes as well.

95. "Weißt, Anton, wir zwei sind feurige Naturen und Katholiken. Brahms ist für kalte Naturen und Protestanten!" Göllerich and Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1936), vol. 4, pt. 2, 135.

96. Perhaps the crucial relationship was between Bruckner and Hanslick and, by extension, Brahms, who was closely allied with the critic, both personally and professionally. The relationship of these men was permanently shadowed by Bruckner's appointment to the faculty of the University in 1875, which was actively opposed by Hanslick, who Bruckner believed was henceforth his "enemy"; see his letter to Hans

Sittard, 24 March 1886, in Bruckner, *Briefe 1852–1886*, 293. Many have observed that residual ill will continued to inflect Hanslick's attitude toward Bruckner and color his reaction to his music. Floros offers a concise summation in *Anton Bruckner: Persönlichkeit und Werk*, 51–58. Also see Korstvedt, "The Critics and the Quintet: A Study in Musical Representation," in *Anton Bruckners Wiener Jahre: Analysen – Fakten – Perspektiven*, Wiener Bruckner-Studien 1, ed. Renate Grasberger, Elisabeth Maier, and Erich Wolfgang Partsch (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2009), 145–66.

97. See Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 3:409. Also see Göllicher and Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 230–48.

98. Recall Brahms's famous declaration to Hermann Levi in the early 1870s that "I will never compose a symphony! You have no idea of how it feels for one of us always to hear a giant tramping from behind!" ("Ich werde nie eine Symphonie komponieren! Du hast keinen Begriff davon, wie es unsereinen zu Mute ist, wenn er immer so einen Riesen hinter sich marschieren hört"); quoted in Stefan Kunze, "Johannes Brahms oder: Das schwere Werk der Symphonie," in *Johannes Brahms: Leben und Werk*, 111.

99. "Lassen wir Dvořák als Talent gelten, so ist er eben die bestätigende Ausnahme: Brahms aber hat ganz genau gewußt, daß ihm Dvořák niemals gefährlich werden könne!" Göllicher and Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 236, and "wie beispielloos hochherziger Weise er Anton Dvořák, der ihm ein weit gefährlicherer Nebenbuhler scheinen mußte als Bruckner, zu fördern suchte." Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, 3:406.

100. Göllicher and Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 240.

101. The *Neue Zeitschrift* review is reproduced in full by Mahling in "Der Zeiten Wandel zeigte sich," 142–48. On Marxsen's response, see Hans Sittard's letter to Bruckner from February 1886 in Bruckner, *Briefe 1852–1886*, 289. Reviews of the Brahms Symphony by Speidel, Wolf, and Hanslick are presented in English in Kenneth Hull, ed., *Johannes Brahms: Symphony No. 4 in E Minor, Op. 98*, Norton Critical Scores (New York: Norton, 2000), 170–77.

102. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), ix–x.

103. On this point, see Peter Breiner, *Max Weber and Democratic Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), esp. ch. 1: "Social Science and the Interpretation of Means-Ends Rationality," as well as Herbert Marcuse, "Industrialization and Capitalism in the Work of Max Weber," in *Negations: Essay in Critical Theory*, trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1968), 201–26.

104. Judson, "Rethinking the Liberal Legacy," 63.

105. This theme was strongly emphasized in reviews of Bruckner's Quintet in 1885 by Hanslick, Kalbeck, and Dömpke. See Notley's discussion of the criticism of the Quintet in *Lateness and Brahms*, 25–27 and 186–90, as well as Korstvedt, "The Critics and the Quintet: A Study in Musical Representation."

106. Vergo, *Art in Vienna: 1898–1918*, 10–11.

107. Zweig, *The World of Yesterday*, 2.

108. Robert Musil's brilliantly ironic take on Kakania, his term for the Habsburg state in its final phases, in *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, captures this uneasiness vividly indeed.
109. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958).
110. These words are from Kalbeck's reviews of Bruckner's Quintet ("Bruckner ist bei weitem der Gefährlichste unter den musikalischen Neueren des Tages") in *Die Presse*, 28 January 1885, and Hanslick ("im Moment des Komponierends zum Anarchisten wird, der umbarmherzig alles opfert, was Logik und Klarheit der Entwicklung, Einheit der Form und der Tonalität heißt") in *Neue Freie Presse*, 26 February 1885.
111. Hermann Broch, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal and His Time: The European Imagination, 1860–1920*, trans., ed. and with an introduction by Michael P. Steinberg (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 35.
112. Mayer, "Musik als gesellschaftliches Ärgernis—oder: Anton Bruckner der anti-Bürger" and Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 271. Also see Redepenning, "... vermissen wir das logische Denken'?"
113. Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, 1:299.
114. Broch, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal and His Time*, 35.
115. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 182–83 and passim. Also see Marcuse's comments on "the antithesis of reason and sensuality" in "On Hedonism," in *Negations*, 170–71.
116. Nietzsche, *Human All Too Human*, trans. Marion Faber and Stephen Lehmann (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), no. 217, 129–30.
117. See Theodor Adorno, "On the Fetish-Character in Music and the Regression of Listening," in *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (New York: Continuum, 1982), 270–99; and Fredrick Jameson, "Pleasure: A Political Issue (1983)," in *The Syntax of History*, vol. 2 of *The Ideologies of Theory, Essays, 1971–1986* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 61–74; and, more broadly, Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *The Ascetic Imperative in Culture and Criticism* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988). In the context of Viennese cultural criticism, a pertinent text is Schorske's "Grace and the Word."
118. Adorno, "Vienna," 213. As early as 1879, Nietzsche wrote that "the spirit of the Counter-Reformation is the spirit of modern music," *Human All Too Human*, no. 219, 131.
119. Nowhere was this difference of opinion—or rather conflict of cultural *mentalité*—more succinctly expressed than in Schenker's outrage at Bruckner's music and at his maxim, which Schenker heard as a student in his harmony course at the conservatory: "That is the rule, gentlemen. Of course, I don't compose that way." Heinrich Schenker, *Harmony*, ed. Oswald Jonas, trans. Elisabeth Mann Borgese (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 177–78.

Bruckner's attitude to musical rules is simply not compatible with a position, like that of the mature Schenker, that considers musical syntax and structure to be governed by the force of infallible natural law. The significance of the repeated assertions by Hanslick and his allies that Bruckner's music was "unnatural" becomes clearer when

seen from this angle, too, for an appeal to the authority of nature was inherent in the conservative view that the rules of counterpoint and harmonic progression encode natural law, as was a historicist bent that preferred that which was traditional, or even epigonal (to invoke a fraught term from the time), to that which was deliberately progressive, let alone radical or revolutionary. See Broch, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal and His Time*, 34–35.

120. August Halm, *Harmonielehre* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1905), 122–23; Heinrich Schenker, *Harmonielehre* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1906), 273–74 and 422; and Ernst Kurth, *Die Voraussetzungen der theoretischen Harmonik und der tonalen Darstellungssysteme* (Bern: Drechsel, 1913; repr., Munich: Katzbachler, 1973), 28–30. The relevant portions of Schenker are not included in the English translation of the book.

121. Schenker, *Harmonielehre*, 422.

122. “Am Ende des ersten Abschnittes sucht uns der Komponist durch eine besonders kühne Kombination zu erschüttern. Er mischt Baßtuben mit Hörnern und läßt sie möglichst schaurige, chromatisch, divergierende Gänge ausführen. Wirklich, schauern wir vor dem Modergeruch, der aus den Mißklängen verwesungssüchtigen Kontrapunktes in unsere Nasen dringt.” Gustav Dömpke, *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Morgenblatt, 30 April 1886. The text of this review is reproduced in full in Friedrich Klose, *Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner: Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1927), 242–47; this quotation is from 246–47. The review is reproduced in a somewhat freely condensed version in Göllicherich and Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 438–40.

123. Robert Simpson, *The Essence of Bruckner: An Essay towards the Understanding of His Music*, rev. ed. (London: Gollancz, 1992), 170–78; Wolfram Steinbeck, “Schema als Form bei Anton Bruckner: Zum Adagio der VII. Symphonie,” in *Analysen: Festschrift für Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Werner Breig, Reinhold Brinkmann, and Elmar Budde (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984), 304–23; and Stephen Parkany, “Kurth’s Bruckner and the Adagio of the Seventh Symphony,” *Nineteenth-Century Music* 11 (1988): 262–81.

124. “Unbeschreiblich ist die Klangwirkung der Tuben in Bruckner’s Adagio, manchmal überrieselt es Einen dabei wie Schauer der Gespensterfurcht, zum Beispiel in den wie Seufzer aus dem Grabe klingenden vier Tacten vor Eintritt des Gesangsperiode in Fis-dur.” Theodor Helm, *Deutsche Zeitung*, 25 March 1886; quoted in Göllicherich and Auer, *Anton Bruckner: Ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 459.

125. “Geheimnißvoll leitet der erste Horn, *pianissimo* von den vier Tuben und der in dunkelste Tiefe absteigenden Contrabaßtuba begleitet, von dem Hauptsatze in den Seitensatz über.” *Wiener Abendpost*, 27 March 1886, 3.

126. Bruckner’s use of Wagner tubas is discussed in fine detail by William Melton in “Greetings from Heaven, or Demonic Noise? A History of the Wagner Tuba, part 5: The Disciple,” *Horn Call* 33, no. 2 (February 2003): 55–67.

127. This F-sharp-major theme group is one of the few passages in Bruckner that Adorno specifically commented on. In his Mahler monograph, Adorno identifies it as one of the rare examples of a “fulfillment passage” in music before Mahler. Adorno proposes “fulfillment” as one of Mahler’s paradigmatic musical gestures, characterized by



the “unfettering” achieved when “accumulated power is unleashed.” See *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 41–44.

128. Also see the discussion of these harmonic designs in Benjamin Korstvedt, “Between Formlessness and Formality: Aspects of Bruckner’s Approach to Symphonic Form,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, 184.

129. One might also recall Hanslick’s remarkable claim that Tchaikovsky’s Violin Concerto had actually raised the “gruesome idea” that a musical composition could “stink to the ear.” (“Tschaikowskys Violinkonzert bringt uns zum ersten Mal auf die schauerliche Idee, ob es nicht auch Musikstücke geben könnte, die man stinken hört.”) See Hanslick, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Rezensenten*, 30.

130. Kalbeck, “Dichter und Symphoniker.”

131. Hanslick commented several times about the healthiness of Brahms’s music. For example, he suggested that Brahms’s Third Symphony recalls the “full healthy vigor” of middle-period Beethoven (“gesunde Vollkraft der zweitens Beethovenschen Periode”), *Neue Freie Presse*, 5 December 1883; repr. in Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870–1885* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1886), 362. He called the Violin Sonata, op. 99, and the Cello Sonata, op. 100, two children of “the same manly, strong, healthy spirit” (“desselben männlich, starken, gesunden Geist”), *Neue Freie Presse*, 7 December 1886; repr. in *Aus dem Tagebuche eines Musikers: Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1892), 210. And he found the strength of the String Quintet, op. 111, to be its “expression of healthy, relatively simple feelings” (“Ausdruck gesunder, verhältnismäßig einfacher Gefühle”), *Neue Freie Presse*, 18 November 1890; repr. in *Aus dem Tagebuche eines Musikers*, 316.

132. Kalbeck, “Dichter und Symphoniker.”

133. Ann Laura Stoller, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 32. The internal quotations are from Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, ca. 1848–1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 237.

134. Guido Adler, “Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885): 5–20; also available in English as Erica Mugglestone, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology’ (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1–21. Also see Karnes, *Music, Criticism, and the Challenge of History*, 38–47.

135. Marchand, “Professionalizing the Senses,” 36.

136. Ian Biddle, “On the Radical in Musicology,” *Radical Musicology* 1 (2006), <http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk/2006/Biddle.htm>, paragraph 2 (accessed 2 February 2008). Emphasis in the original.

137. Letter to Hermann Levi, 7 September 1885, in Bruckner, *Briefe 1852–1886*, 273.

138. See the discussion of Bruckner in, for example, Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Norton Introduction to Music History Series (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 435–40, and Donald J. Grout, Peter

J. Burkholder, and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 8th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009), 738–40.

139. Joseph Kerman, “A Few Canonic Variations,” *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983): 107–25.

140. Biddle coins the phrase “enjoyment of the other” in “On the Radical in Musicology,” paragraph 2.

141. Consider the brilliant, almost Sisyphean, struggles to account for Bruckner’s procedures in the Ninth Symphony by Edward Laufer in “Some Aspects of Prolongation Procedures in the Ninth Symphony (Scherzo and Adagio),” in *Bruckner Studies*, 209–15, and by Derrick Puffett in “Bruckner’s Way: The Adagio of the Ninth Symphony,” *Music Analysis* 18 (1999): 5–99.

142. Judson, “Rethinking the Liberal Legacy,” 76.

# Valentina Konen's Early Years in America: An Excerpt from "100 Years of Musical Impressions"<sup>1</sup>

Zinaïda Kartasheva

Valentina Dzhozefovna Konen (1909–91) was one of the most distinguished and wide-ranging Russian musicologists of the twentieth century, whose bibliography of nearly 150 items includes books, articles, and monographs on subjects ranging from Purcell, Schütz, and Vaughan Williams to American jazz and rock.<sup>2</sup> Although this introduction concerns itself primarily with Konen's scholarship about American music, a few words about her historical approach and her legacy are in order. Konen approached musicology by combining theoretical and aesthetic analyses of music with a careful consideration of its cultural history. Her independent philosophy, her scholarly principles, and her contemporary way of thinking did more than establish Konen's reputation as a musicologist: they enhanced the prestige of the discipline in Russia and inspired many young Soviet and Russian musicologists to build on her example. Her *Istoriya zarubezhnoy muziki*, vol. 3: *Germaniya, Avstriya, Italiya, Frantsiya, Pol'sha s 1789 goda do seredinı XIX veka* (A History of Foreign Music, vol. 3: Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and Poland, from 1789 to the Mid-Nineteenth Century, 1958) went through seven editions, the last in 1989.

Even though the excerpt of her memoirs presented here is but a fragment of the whole, it captures our attention not only because of Konen's scholarly stature, but also because of the sharpness (meant in both ways here) of her observations about American society and culture, which are enriched by her sensitivity to the musical life of the time. Further, the memoirs lay the groundwork for understanding how Konen's years in New York left their imprint on the rest of her career. What Konen's place will be in the new scholarship on the impact of cultural diplomacy during the Cold War remains to be seen, but there is no

doubt that the roots of her contributions to Soviet understanding about American music began in Niagara Falls, New York.

Born in Baku, Azerbaijan, Konen (Figure 1) spent an early childhood shaped and reshaped by the political turmoil surrounding the Russian Revolution. To avoid arrest as a revolutionary, her father fled Baku just before World War I, leaving his family behind. Around 1920, the family eventually reunited in Western Europe, living in Vienna and Paris for about one year. And then, like so many other Jewish families emigrating from Eastern Europe and Russia during the early 1900s, they relied upon relatives across an ocean to help them get a new start in life in the United States, to which they moved in 1921. Our excerpt from Konen's memoirs, here translated into English for the first time, begins with her impressions of New York City's skyscrapers.

Sometime in the 1920s she and her family moved from their initial home in upstate New York to the city. In 1925, when she was sixteen years old, her remarkable talent gained her entrance as a piano student at The Juilliard School. Further studies included classes with Charles Seeger, known today as an ethnomusicologist and social theorist but then a composer and theorist of modernist music. The memoir includes some observations about Seeger's stimulating teaching.

Konen was in New York during the formative years of left-wing activism among artists and intellectuals at the onset of the Great Depression, and the memoirs describe her own developing political consciousness. We can supplement her comments with statements from a youthful article published when she was nineteen. Her critique of the economic plight of her fellow conservatory students in the article "Are Musicians Workers?" appeared in the radical magazine *The New Masses* in 1928. Critical of what she considered the narrow-mindedness of conservatory life, Konen wrote about the lack of connection between training and making a living as a musician:

Among musicians there still remains an idiotic tradition that art is something removed from the ugly struggle for daily bread. Our conservatory directors would sooner forgive the students' racial or religious "errors" than any mention of financial difficulties. They object most strenuously to students earning their own money. This is called "commercializing your art." Our school makes no effort to prepare its students for some definite work. The majority of these students are lost!<sup>3</sup>

Even then Konen displayed the courageous candor and tendency to question authority that characterized her later scholarship (Figure 1).





Figure 1. Valentina Konen, August 1927. From the collection of Zinaïda Kartasheva.

Our excerpt from her memoirs ends in 1931, when Konen and her family returned to the Soviet Union. We can only briefly sketch here the outlines of the rest of her life, in which she navigated the dangerous waters of intellectual politics in her homeland. The formative experiences of her life in New York endured. Retaining professional ties to the United States, she served as the accredited correspondent for the *Musical Courier* from 1931 through 1936. Konen had become so assimilated into U.S. culture that when in 1932 she married the scientist Eugeny Feinberg he had to help her relearn her native language. During their life together, Feinberg's own professional success as a physicist (he later became a full member of the Russian Academy of Science) sustained her when the Soviet government sharply curtailed her professional activities.

Konen's studies in the Soviet Union included diplomas from the Moscow Conservatory in 1938 and a doctoral dissertation in 1946 entitled "Ocherki poistorii amerikanskoy muziki" ("Essays on the History of American Music").<sup>4</sup> Even before settling on that dissertation topic, she published a brief foreshadowing of her interests in an article "O 'sovershennoletii' amerikanskoi musiki" ("About the 'Majority' of American Music").<sup>5</sup>

Konen's career languished, indeed was stifled, during the 1940s. As the third part of her memoirs (not presented here) relates, adding to the burden of her unusual interest in American music were her gender, her Jewish background, and the imprisonment of her father, branded as an "old [Leninist] Communist," in a gulag, where he died in 1942.<sup>6</sup> None of this made for an easy life. Konen was unable to publish her dissertation as a book, and in 1949 she was dismissed from her position at the Moscow Conservatory, where she was Senior Lecturer, and from the Gnesin Institute for Musical Education, where she also taught. For the next eleven years—and here we can only summarize the details later in the memoirs—she was persona non grata, obtaining only occasional invitations to lecture, in the Urals at the Conservatory of Sverdlovsk. Denied the opportunity to teach, she worked assiduously as an independent scholar.

American music remained an important interest for Konen throughout the 1950s and 1960s, when she published work about George Gershwin and jazz.<sup>7</sup> She was the author of the first scholarly article on jazz in the Soviet Union ("Legenda i pravda o dzhaze"/"The Legend and the Truth about Jazz"),<sup>8</sup> which was written at a time when the status of jazz was in flux, sometimes denounced and other times tacitly tolerated. Clearly, Konen's youthful experiences in the United

States, as described in the following excerpt, were formative to her own development as an intellectual for the rest of her life.

My father was a student of Valentina Konen in Sverdlovsk, and I was introduced to her in the mid-1960s. For twenty-five years I was her friend and a frequent visitor to her home in Moscow. A volume of her unpublished letters, her memoirs, a complete list of her writings, and analyses and appreciations of her work is to be published in Moscow in celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of her birth. Her extraordinary strength of character, the breadth and insight of her scholarship, and the clarity of her writing style commend her and her work to a wider Western audience.

### **Valentina Konen's Memories of America, 1921–31**

Translated by Zinaïda Kartasheva, with Anna Shevel

After several years in Bessarabia and one year in Europe (Romania, Austria, France), the question of what to do next arose. My mother did not want to go to America, although all our relatives—close and distant—had moved there back in the 1860s and 1880s because of the pogroms against Jews. . . . But it seemed only natural for us to go to America, especially since my mother had lived there as a child.

I understand why she had not enjoyed being in America that first time. My own first impression of New York was that of a city of box-like skyscrapers with only two truly beautiful and memorable contemporary buildings. The people were different, there was no music in the streets, everything was at odds with what I had been familiar with. We did not have to wait for entry visas since we were not Russian immigrants but counted as citizens of Turkey.

When we arrived in America I immediately felt the difference from the life I had known in Europe. We lived in a small town called Niagara Falls, right near the Niagara waterfalls which made a great impression on me, comparable only to two other experiences: the first time I saw the ocean . . . and my first encounter with a symphony orchestra in concert.

Niagara Falls was a tourist town and a good example of the “private” America . . . [where] the majority of Americans spent their lives, or large parts of it, in two-story cottages in suburban areas. This is in fact where American culture is rooted and this is what bohemians and intellectuals try to leave behind when they move to New York. It is certainly reflected in their literature: novels, from Mark Twain to Updike, Faulkner, or other more modern writers, are all set in small towns. Small-town America is at the basis of the overall image we have of the nation. New York City does not represent America; it is

a cosmopolitan center—"the center of the world"—whereas American "home" culture was created in small towns (which were no longer really small when we arrived). Just look at Tom Sawyer and his friends, or the adult characters in this novel! They are well aware of what one can and cannot have in one's life—all that is the real America, at least the real America of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The town of Niagara Falls was not far from the waterfalls and since it was a cultural destination point it had a tourist center located directly across from the falls. Surprisingly, not one of our relatives went to see the waterfalls in the months we lived there.

Somehow our relatives had ended up in a typically American, Protestant town. Our relatives included representatives from all different social strata: bourgeoisie, doctors, lawyers, intelligentsia, as well as a great number of merchants and office workers. They even included a millionaire—he had invented a refrigerator car for the train which allowed for one-day transport of fruit up north. I don't remember if there were members of the proletariat among them but I don't think so. For the most part, my relatives were solidly middle class.

We bonded immediately with our relatives and soon and quite easily became friendly with our cousins. Everything was simple, but also a little unusual, at least when compared to our life in Baku or in Europe. . . . Life in Niagara Falls turned out to be very different from what we had known but we integrated without much trouble. It was all rather modest, but then again, we had been tourists in Vienna or Paris.

We stayed in Niagara Falls for quite some time and developed close relationships with the families of my mother's two brothers. One was a very successful doctor and his wife was a real American. We never saw her in casual-wear or a bathrobe (she changed her outfit several times a day, for breakfast, lunch, and dinner), and we never caught her without make-up. And they did not have a servant! She did everything herself and everything sparkled; this was considered "perfectly normal." She dedicated the first half of her day to cleaning and cooking and then sat down at the piano, playing salon pieces while waiting for her husband to arrive. It seemed to be a ritual. Our presence embarrassed her. My mother and her brother would spend hours reminiscing about their childhood, about an old lifestyle that did not fit the life Aunt Sarah had imagined for herself. Even so, she always was tactful and showed self-respect. Their life was boring and monotonous. She was not friendly with her neighbors, as this simply wasn't done. Once every ten days, they hosted a couple in their home and they would dance, play cards, drink tea, but then everybody went their separate ways again. Their house had many rooms, including a library with countless



books—a collection of world classics—all beautifully bound in red Moroccan leather. They seemed to serve decorative purposes only, but I made sure to take advantage of them.

The music I heard in my family's company all fell in the category of "salon" music. The albums in my uncle's house were the same ones I would encounter later in other American homes: collections of waltzes from Tchaikovsky's *Children's Album* and Weber's *Freischütz*, for example, Moszkowski's *Moonlight over the Lakes* and pieces by completely unknown composers. I was not receiving a musical education at the time and could not read notes well, but I somehow managed to learn to play a few songs. Some of them had completely ridiculous titles such as "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star," which I remember to this day.

The life of my mother's other brother was very different. He lived with his family in a suburb of Niagara Falls, a small place called Echota, its original Native American name. It was not even a town, just large meadows and little forests dotted with wooden cottages. We liked this place very much and spent a great deal of time there with our cousins, picking flowers and playing games. No wealthy people lived in Echota; the population consisted mainly of poor people. If music was played here, it was guaranteed to be a hymn. What I remember from Echota are hymns.

After some time, my father left for New York City. We initially had planned to move to California, where most of our relatives lived. However, for that we needed money, and money was something we did not have. I had been extremely ill with pleurisy around the time of our departure from Austria and my parents had spent a lot of money on my cure. Our relatives helped us out of course, but we were a family of five. So my father began to work as a dental technician. He caught on to the technical details quickly and before long was one of the best specialists in Niagara Falls. But now he had to find a job in New York City. My mother, who disliked burdening our relatives further, wanted to join my father in New York City as soon as possible, but we had nowhere to live. Until my father was able to rent a room from the charity organization HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society; it exists to this day), we boarded for two or three weeks. . . . I don't know when this movement first started, but HIAS existed throughout the twentieth century. Every Jew without a place to stay or relatives in the States was able to stay at a HIAS home so as not to die of cold or hunger. The move represented a drastic downfall in my life: I went from the very top, from beautiful Europe and the pleasures of life in a single-story American home, to hit rock bottom in New York City, where we were completely surrounded by immigrants. Officially, though, we were not considered immigrants: not only had a lot of time passed since we had been granted

visas, we also had relatives living in the States. But HIAS helped us since we had no place to live in New York.

The HIAS apartments were located in downtown Manhattan, on Bleecker Street, where the organization rented a couple of floors in an office building. The rooms were very clean and orderly, with three beds in one large room. The bedding was changed every day and everything was sparkling clean. The place had a bath and shower, but residents were only allowed to use them at night. Apart from beds, the room had only a table at which we ate our meals. I was greatly impressed by the immigrants living there, though we could not communicate with them. They were Jewish refugees from Petliura's Ukraine for the most part and spoke Yiddish, a language we did not know and which our parents did not want us to study.<sup>9</sup> My sisters and I were never bored. I remember wandering around the building and finding a piano in a large hall. I would spend a lot of time there, playing and composing while my younger sister watched. That was also a time during which I invented a series of stories. I always felt a great need to write. You're never bored when you are immersed in words.

Some very difficult memories are tied to this time, however. Among the refugees from Petliura's rule were some children—preteens—without parents. Orphans with relatives in America had been brought to the States in large numbers. There were many difficult moments, moments I still remember very clearly although I understood very little at the time. We would sit at the dinner table and someone would yell, "Is Berta Baytriss here?" "That's me!" "Your brother has come for you." This message could be for a very young girl who had never heard of a brother and was now meeting him for the first time! I remember the children's fear. They would turn pale, get up, and leave the table immediately—yet another person had come to take away a child. I am sure their lives in their new homes turned out fine, but it was a terrifying moment nevertheless. Having lost their loved ones—and themselves in the process—these children had to overcome yet another change bringing an unknown future.

As far as I can recall, no one was especially observant of religion. If I remember correctly, there was a synagogue nearby that some of the people visited, but there was nothing of the sort in the HIAS building itself.

For a time after HIAS, we lived in cheap rented rooms while my father looked for a job. Our neighbors were not aware that he did not have a job; father would walk the city all day till returning in the evening. My father finally found work and rented an apartment for us. . . . The move made me very happy, a completely different feeling from

what I'd experienced until then. The area in Brooklyn we moved to was called Bath Beach (I don't know if it still exists today), near an elegant neighborhood called Bensonhurst. (My school was in Bensonhurst.) Bath Beach had been a fancy seaside resort half a century earlier but now it was in a slow decline. Its wooden houses, built in a traditionally American style in the 1870s, held up beautifully, however. (The mirror and chest that we still have at home are from about that period. My mother bought them in an antique furniture shop.)

These great, tall houses with their empty balconies and terraces reminded me of the atmospheric world of Edgar Allen Poe. The spirit of the past was preserved right down to the smallest details; it was even apparent in the posts for the horses. There was even a lovely pavilion by the seaside, reminiscent of descriptions by the Russian writer Goncharov,<sup>10</sup> with a view of white sand and a sailboat with three masts in the distance. . . . Before leaving America, I went back once more to the place that had brought me so much joy. It was unchanged.

I was very fond of our new house. The owner had named it "Villa Ida" in honor of his wife. The people living in this area were completely different from those in Niagara Falls. For the most part, they were unsuccessful, lodgers of furnished rooms who didn't stay around for long. Like them, we did not stay long either, something I regretted very much. There is no view as beautiful as that of a sparkling ocean visible from your own window. All the two-story houses in Bensonhurst were unique. The entire neighborhood resembled a toyland surrounded by green meadows. You didn't feel the vanity of New York there.

By that time, I had begun to read a lot. My father paid close attention to our studies and at some point "took control." The first thing he did was to throw out all our dolls. . . . The second thing was to put a stop to the reading of fairy tales and "children's" literature. He suggested that we concentrate on the classics. Whether we liked it or not, we had to get used to Dickens, George Eliot, and other, rather challenging authors. We were completely cut off from what we had previously known as childhood.

It is quite possible to feel that you still belong to your country of origin, even though you've lived in another country for ten, fifteen, twenty years and are completely fluent in that country's language. I was able to adjust to American life thanks in large part to the schools I attended. America has its own system of education. During the first eight years, from ages 6 to 14, classes are taught by one teacher. This is the so-called lower school. And during the first six years, there is no homework assigned except for spelling, which is considered the main subject: we had to memorize several words every day. That was how



spelling was implanted into our heads. Then they would add basic geography, which was mainly European and North American geography. Along with it came basic history, again limited to Anglo-American history. Well . . . mostly just American.

Every state had its own educational system, with New York still following the system in place in France under Napoleon. After eight years we had to choose a high school. Typically, parents were in charge of this decision.

In my time, there were only about thirty high schools in all of New York City (I would imagine that there are a great deal more now and that they are also probably completely different). Among those, there were about two for girls only and two for boys only (all others were co-ed). I insisted on going to a girls' high school. . . . My parents did not protest since the school I liked also happened to be one of the best. It was the second-best school in the United States. In addition to customary exams, we also had to pass some tests specific to New York State. For the most part, the system at my high school resembled the school system in England. The teachers were from old English families: the idea was to preserve English manners and the country's general essence. The language was not "Americanized" like everywhere else and the school had a code of behavior (defined by good manners) to be followed. Protestant beliefs dominated, even though the school itself had no particular religious denomination. Students came from different national and religious backgrounds: there were Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. (The only religion not represented was Islam. At the time, Muslims were not yet allowed to immigrate to America because of their polygamy, which was illegal.) Catholic children had Catholic holidays off, and Jewish children Jewish holidays. However, every Monday the entire school—close to a thousand people—would assemble in the auditorium to sing Protestant hymns and listen to an invited guest, who never seemed particularly religious but who would read a sermon. It was a very clever idea to invite distinguished people of various professions to tell students of their experiences. When there was no guest, we would discuss political events. All in all, assemblies did resemble a Protestant service, and when I went to church with my Protestant girlfriends, I knew all of the hymns by heart. We had our own orchestra and choir at school and everyone sang hymns. Having already learned to play the piano, I would accompany the choir—a significant step in my development as a musician. We heard hymns all the time, just as we heard English and African American folk songs. Essentially, we were surrounded by an amalgamation of sound. We also read a section from the Bible every day before class.



Let us return . . . to my story, which I consider to be an English story. I didn't feel a bond with Alexander Nevsky or Ivan the Terrible but, rather, with Cromwell and King John and his introduction of the Magna Carta. It wasn't until later, until my return to the U.S.S.R. as an adult, that I fell in love with Russian literature, and with Pushkin in particular (though by then I could not read Russian as well as I used to). Nonetheless, the literature I was familiar with and knew well was literature we studied at school, such as English folk ballads. Later in life, when I studied rock music, I recognized the distinct style and intonations in Bob Dylan's lyrics as related to those ballads. The same holds true for Shakespeare. We studied one play per semester, all except *Romeo and Juliet*, which was considered immoral and very nearly erotic literature. It is quite possible that I was not actually capable of appreciating and understanding Shakespeare at the time, but the individual phrases, the construction of the dialogues, the make-up of his thoughts still ring in my ear—I appropriated all of it.

I was immediately drawn to literature. Every student in my high school had to choose a "profile" subject, but we were all required to take literature, English language, and history. I didn't think of them as mandatory subjects. They made me who I was. I was an excellent student and seem to have proven myself early on as a writer—my stories were always read aloud in class. This of course gave me more incentive to write, but I didn't really need an outside stimulus: I kept a diary and wrote stories that were then published in the school magazine *Blue and Gold*. There is no doubt that our school was very conservative (even then, the schools in the United States were very diverse—some even were very liberal, courageous, and avant-garde). For example, we weren't allowed to say the word "jazz" in school, since jazz was considered immoral. Regardless, what I learned there influences me to this day. The only thing comparable to the happiness I felt in high school (this excludes the times I was called to the blackboard in math class—I think the last time I cried was when I failed geometry) was my experiences during my first few years at the Moscow Conservatory.

From that time on, I thought of myself as an American, even though many others had lived in the States longer and spoke the language better than I did. What separated us was their understanding of history and literature, which remained bound to their native country and thus prevented them from becoming fully American.

The children in our family had no religious education whatsoever (although I personally had had religious inclinations ever since I was little). In the West, children devote one day a week to the study of religion: they go to school five days, rest on one, and go to Sunday school

on the seventh. In France, primarily a Catholic country, that day is Thursday; in America, it is Saturday or Sunday. . . . The children would attend the Sunday school associated with their family's religious belief system, but our parents were adamant atheists (there were many of them among the intelligentsia-revolutionary community), and for us, Sunday school was strictly forbidden. Our parents insisted that we attend class and study during Jewish holidays, which all the Jewish girls had off. The religious aspect of social life completely passed us by. . . . My parents and my grandparents both went to great lengths to escape a life that they believed to be patronizing. They sought to forget life in the Jewish ghettos, which for the most part was seen as a time of disgrace. . . . I was very interested in religion at one point, though. At age 18 and living in Brooklyn, I would visit the churches of different faiths. The only one I did not attend for some reason was the Orthodox Church. These visits were very interesting. The Catholic service was a magical show and left a great impression on me. I didn't particularly like being in a synagogue however. The set-up and its atmosphere seemed gloomy. The Protestant church service, on the other hand, was instantly recognizable and became close to my heart. The inside of the church was rather ordinary, without a single icon, and the people meditated and sang—it was all so simple and wonderful! It was not only that the Protestant doctrine appealed to me; the atmosphere was real and pleasing.

Let me turn to my musical education and my path to becoming a musicologist. At the time of our stay in America, everyone studied music. Tape players did not yet exist in the 1920s, and the radio had only recently been invented. Records were of very poor quality, and the music recorded at the beginning of the century was generally of the cheapest sort, with the most parochial lyrics. The sound quality was atrocious. I simply couldn't stand it and hated it! I did not like the radio for many years either. I still think that the sound cannot compare to that of live music, and I listen to it only when forced. I am also convinced that television destroys all love for music. Look what it does to classical music! It is just background noise, with not a single word said on screen without musical accompaniment in the background. The musical masterpieces, the great ideas of the mind—they become mere fragments in an ephemeral kaleidoscope and you never get the chance to examine them in detail.

There is another reason for our country's [the Soviet Union] aversion to classical music (I am finally getting to my own musical story): the rapid decline in the number of people who know how to play a musical instrument, a reality that can't be helped by frequent attendance at concerts. You have to start playing an instrument in childhood.

The ability to play music was once common in all of Russia and continues in the West to this day. When I was growing up, people gathered on a regular basis to play music, with everyone bringing his or her instrument, be it violin, flute, or cello—and we played with great joy. We created music! Just one example: the American physicist Weisskopf.<sup>11</sup> Renowned the world over in his field and an excellent musician, he plays in a quartet every Sunday (three amateurs passionate about music and one professional from the Boston Symphony Orchestra); the group has played the entire repertoire for quartet, including the most contemporary pieces. Not all amateurs are good performers—they know this themselves—but they feel the music deeply, and that explains why they hear it differently. I discussed this with a professor, the director of a music school. Comparing our Russian educational system to the American, she pointed out the unique professional orientation of our system, the tendency to emphasize the perfecting and polishing of a piece, in contrast to the American system, which is oriented toward the appreciation of music. After all, music schools in the States are not designed to prepare children for a conservatory (those who choose that path take a completely different approach in their studies); rather, they educate individuals to a degree that enables them to gather and play music together.

When I was growing up, every school in America had an orchestra. Of course, they did not necessarily play well, but they were taught to play real music.

Now to my own studies. At the time, all children were expected to learn to play the piano. In cases where a child decided to pursue music professionally, she would look for a pedagogical system that worked best for her and that was designed to prepare her for the entrance exams at specialized institutions. My father took our (all three daughters') musical studies very seriously. This was a luxury and unbelievably expensive in America. It may still be so to this day.

Music became a very important aspect of our life. In music school, I was particularly interested in music theory, as opposed to my piano classes. It was a subject that I enjoyed so much that I even convinced my father that I needed to continue my courses during summer vacation. One of our music teachers agreed to help me prepare for The Juilliard School.

Juilliard was the best music school worldwide until the late 1920s and early 1930s, when that honor went to the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia, where some of the world's best virtuosi taught. At the time I studied at Juilliard, the level was already much lower. And, I must say, Juilliard was a rather boring institution. It seemed to be an



exact copy of the Leipzig Conservatory: even the director was of German origin (the son of the famous conductor Leopold Damrosch, who had moved to America at the end of the nineteenth century), and I wouldn't call him a particularly interesting person.<sup>12</sup> But Juilliard had something of great importance to me: Charles Seeger, who taught a course with the rather odd title "General Musicianship" and who would have a great influence on me.<sup>13</sup> He had us play through the entire musical literature, conducting us while we played works from the pre-Bach era to modern times on two pianos, eight hands. He was the first person in the United States to be interested in the dodecaphonic technique and studied it in great depth. Years later, in the 1930s, he, like many intellectuals of his time, became active in the Communist movement and began to compose masses under the pseudonym Carl Sands (the initials remained the same). I am not familiar with those pieces. (His son, Pete Seeger, became a well-known singer and later came to the U.S.S.R. to perform). He (Charles) later founded and became president of the first American musical society. That is the last I heard of him. I was so impressed by him that I continued my studies at Juilliard simply for the joy I felt from knowing that I would see and speak to him.

For application to The Juilliard School you had to have completed high school. On rare occasions they would make an exception, as in my case and my sisters'. I attended Juilliard and high school at the same time, a feat that was often quite challenging. Some courses taught at Juilliard did not exist at my school. For example, there were courses on the history of mythology or on the history of voice (as an art), which I found quite interesting. For the most part I have very pleasant memories of my relationships with the students and the professors. I came to love the building with its stained-glass windows, although there was very little worth being proud of regarding the institute itself. For example, guests were not allowed in the individual practice rooms; you had to meet them in a special hall remote from everything else.

As I mentioned earlier, the musical experience that made the greatest impression on me was my first encounter with a symphony orchestra. The orchestral sound surpassed everything else I had heard so far. I didn't even relate it to the music I had learned to play on the piano. The only word to describe it adequately is "divine." After that symphonic music became my great passion. I would wake up at night hearing a particular part or melody, some phrase in my head—I knew then that I wouldn't be able to live without it. I heard Toscanini, Furtwängler, Klemperer, Mengelberg, Walter, and Koussevitzky: many outstanding musicians came to New York then. They performed



Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony more frequently than any other piece. It is really too bad that in addition to my photographs I also lost my journal; it would be interesting to read my notes from those days.

The concert repertoire was rather conservative—everyone concentrated on the most traditional of classical music. After all, the performers wanted to please an audience that found it very difficult to accept newer music. There were even arguments about Wagner and Debussy! But the works that these conductors did take on were performed incredibly well. This music was real!

We rarely went to the opera, though I remember Nemirovich-Danchenko coming to town with his opera group. It was certainly interesting, but by no means as exciting as symphonic music. I can't say that I ever grew to love opera.<sup>14</sup>

I played the piano very decently. At some point during my studies at the conservatory (after I was accepted at the Moscow Conservatory), I entered classes in piano at a high level (a course designed specifically for musicologists and today called general piano). I later studied with the famous pianist Maria Yudina, who decided after just one year of working with me that I was ready to graduate from the conservatory.<sup>15</sup> All this was interrupted by the war, but at that point I no longer wanted to be a pianist and didn't need it anymore. Instead, I wanted to be able to give lectures and perform the musical examples myself. . . . Before working with Yudina, I studied with Sherman, one of Blumenfeld's unknown students. He did the most in training my hands.<sup>16</sup>

I learned to read music back at Juilliard and had little trouble reading scores once I was at the Moscow Conservatory. However, I did initially have difficulty reading music, a weakness noticed by the admissions committee at Juilliard. My teacher—a mediocre woman of little interest to anyone—recommended (or better yet, advised) that I play pieces from a book of popular music for fifteen minutes every day, pieces fashionable among amateurs who played music at home. It was a horrible exercise, but I did it nonetheless. I played all those waltzes and arrangements from operas etc. with clenched teeth. Then a miracle happened—one of the many miracles in my life: I started off as one of the weakest sight-readers and yet finished at the top, as one of the best in my graduating class. Very few of the students in my department at the conservatory were able to read scores as well as I did. . . . Besides, I enjoyed the task. Reading scores was always very important to me.

I now would like to turn to the part of my life that resulted in my return to Russia. How did it happen? Before continuing, I want to state that except for a couple of incidences, I did not meet any Russians while in America. My sister and I once met two young Russian-speaking

women at a symphony concert. They were your typical White Guard aristocrat émigrés, and they moved away from us as soon as they heard us speaking Russian. The others were the daughters of our janitor or superintendent. He was Slavic, neither of Russian nor Polish descent. His profession made no difference—an example of American democratic values. His daughters played the violin (they later became dancers) and they regularly came to our house to play music. My father would sometimes visit this man to chat. He met a former czarist general during one of those visits and, if I remember correctly, this was the first time my father had met someone from Russia since leaving the Soviet Union. This general was a White Guard, while my father was a Communist. Then again, there was little that I understood about such differentiations, since politics was never discussed at home. I was completely cut off from politics as a child. There are, however, a few memories of my early childhood that have recently come back to me. The first memory is of a poster from the Volga region depicting the famine. It shows a horrific scene of a mother throwing her children into the water and sighing, “Mother Volga! Take them!” The second is of a caricature (I couldn’t read newspapers then and only remember pictures) that portrays an old woman, thin like a skeleton and wearing a bridal gown, walking to the altar with a young man. The young man was supposed to be England, the first nation to recognize the Soviet Union. The third memory refers to an event widely discussed at the time: the death of Petliura (the leader of the anticommunist government in Ukraine), which was a rather dramatic event. Petliura was sitting with some friends in a restaurant in Paris when a man came up to him, asking, “Are you Petliura?” When he answered in the affirmative, the man took out a revolver and shot Petliura point-blank. At his trial, the man justified himself by saying that Petliura’s soldiers had killed his entire family. He was found innocent.

That is all I can recall of any matters related to Russia. The circumstances under which I returned to Russia are therefore the result of incidents that took place in America. You can also consider my return the result of a propaganda campaign launched by the Soviet Union.

In America, children work during the summer regardless of class—you can find the children of millionaires working as sales clerks in a store, as waiters in a café, or as farm hands (I was completely shocked to find that students don’t work during the summer when I returned to Russia). When I was sixteen or seventeen years old, I worked like everyone else. I had a job at a summer camp for children from the slums. Today people say that slums don’t exist in America, but they did at the time. The children I worked with were from the so-called Brooklyn

Bridge Slums (near the Brooklyn Bridge), where the poorest members of the Irish and Italian communities and of the African American working class lived—the poorest people of the entire city.

Those of us with a musical education and able to play the piano had the special opportunity of teaching these kids to play during the summer (that is, if you could hold up). A large number of them were insufficiently supervised, which resulted in many of them getting hit and killed by cars. Our task was to pick the children up at their homes and give them something to do so that they wouldn't aimlessly wander the streets from morning to night. The lessons took place in a giant schoolyard. I found this new group of people quite shocking, since I had only been in well-to-do, "civilized" circles up till then. Now all of a sudden I encountered a quite different world. I was not able to understand how several people managed to live in just one room, how people survived without jobs (there was no such thing as unemployment benefits at the time), or how an orphan girl could live in a family not her own because she could not find work. (I later wrote a story about this, the first story I ever published.) Jack London wrote *How the Other Half Lives*.<sup>17</sup> To write that book, he had to lower himself to the "lowest point" to depict the lives of the "other half" of mankind. Though I had not read the book at the time I was nevertheless able to understand what was meant. The children were great and I grew to love them. One of them, a seven-year-old Irish boy named Johnny O'Hara, even asked me to marry him. (I had a photo of the occasion in the journal I lost.) I promised that I would marry him when he got older, but as you can see, I lied.

The world I encountered there forced me to call in question my belief in the "perfect" American system (I didn't know then that it was a capitalist system) and, more generally, the American way of life. All this coincided with the beginning of the Great Depression—one of the most chilling events in American history. The clearest indication of what was to come immediately followed Black Tuesday: the beginning of massive unemployment (which also included musicians). Ruin could come at any given moment: you may have lived on Fifth Avenue yesterday, but today you were living in the slums. Parenthetically, Americans constantly change their residence; it seems to be a national custom. Ordinarily, people moved from one good neighborhood to the next while others moved from one slum to another, or possibly to some other poor neighborhood (neighborhoods in New York differ greatly). Now people no longer simply moved from one neighborhood to the next. Having lost their jobs, they were ready to take any job or work available: selling sausages outside, washing windows, and so on.



Our family was not really affected by this crisis simply because we didn't have any assets and so didn't really lose anything. My father had his business. He was one of the best dental technicians in all of New York. Our family was provided for. However, because of everything going on around me I began to think about some of the defining aspects of the socialist system. Some of the ideas now began to make sense to me. I took an interest in sociology and read Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Thomas Moore—anything I could get my hands on.<sup>18</sup> I did not read Marx though and struggled to make my way through Lenin's writings, which I didn't understand. Personally, I think it is impossible to understand him, due to his exceedingly primitive ways. Lev Abramovich Mazel represented Stalin's words in a curious way: "The people are shameless. The capitalists are shameless. Why are they shameless? Because they have no conscience."<sup>19</sup> That is compelling logic! I managed to understand some of the basic tenets of socialism as constructed by Lenin. At least, I found out through my reading that a country existed in which socialism was realized. But regardless of how fascinated I was, I continued to live my old intellectual and comfortable life. I, like many Western intellectuals, was influenced rather deeply, by a very effective propaganda campaign disguised as art that the Soviet Union launched in the mid-1920s. Films had an especially great effect on the masses: Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* was followed by *October*, and then came some paintings by Pudovkin.<sup>20</sup> I heard Eisenstein speak in America in 1929 and I remember being fascinated by the incredible liberty, both intellectually and emotionally, with which he spoke. Inspiration infused each word. I remember that he mentioned studying Loyola to learn how to represent a grieving person with more depth. He wanted to show suffering and the world of emotions with greater accuracy. He was simply delightful and unexpectedly charming in the way he shared his free-flowing thoughts. I saw him again in the late 1930s in the Soviet Union, after he had completed *Alexander Nevsky* and was screening the finished product. He was a totally different person then, very uneasy and rarely displaying joy; when he did, it was done nervously. It was clear that he was weighing every word.

Mayakovsky and the MAT (Moscow Art Theatre) toured the States and art exhibitions were organized.<sup>21</sup> We could not believe that quality of life in the Soviet Union could be low—the quality of art was so much higher than in America. A Westerner simply was not able to comprehend that reality. We thought that Russia was America's equivalent, but without its flaws, and we therefore were very curious about the country. All of this combined pulled me gently in the direction of Communism, and in the end I joined the Communist Party.



It must be said that the American Communist Party was nothing like its Soviet counterpart. In America, two very different groups of people were drawn to the party, and I ended up associating with both. The first was the intelligentsia, people who were captivated by the ideology of the Communist Revolution. There were many such individuals throughout Europe (but mostly in Germany). Many left to move to the Soviet Union—some died while there, others survived and returned (I belonged to neither of those). As a rule, these people were fascinating and interesting, and I continued to correspond with some of them, even during the time I worked in Moscow for *Moscow News*.

The second group consisted of members of the working class, a group I had not encountered before. It was with this group that we did intense and often dangerous work, such as handing out leaflets to sailors in the navy. Such tasks were specifically assigned to the youngest members, those who looked as though they were straight out of school (I was graduating from high school around that time). The party thought that in all likelihood we would either not be arrested at all or, if caught, would not be charged for our actions because of our age. But I won't lie: it was a little scary. We also worked on the docks. Dock workers were constantly on strike and our work consisted of bringing them food and handing out leaflets that stated the claims of the day. These neighborhoods looked nothing like the part of Brooklyn that I lived in. Although located near Brooklyn, this area seemed like an entirely different city and, in fact, looked a lot like the children's summer camp I had worked at (which was actually nearby). The contrast between these desolate areas and the Brooklyn Bridge, a bridge I find extremely beautiful, was enormous. There is probably nothing left of those horrible buildings and courtyards. We also went to factories where workers were on strike. There was a famous and long-lasting strike in Connecticut and I was sent to Danbury (the city where the composer Charles Ives was born) as a reporter for the Communist paper *The Daily Worker* to interview the local inspector of the department of workmen's protection. Well, he did not understand what was going on around him! The factory was processing felt according to a method illegal even in czarist Russia! The workers would turn blue, go bald, and die of some horrible poison after only a few months of work.<sup>22</sup> I wrote an article about the situation, which, half a century later, was read by V. Kissin (a Russian musicologist and one of Mikhail Druskin's graduate students) when he was studying Ives and reviewing materials related to Danbury.<sup>23</sup> I received a response to my article from the other side of the globe half a century after it was written!

My circle of acquaintances continued to grow. I would meet with working-class people in great need or with European expatriates, among them some famous Austrian social democrats, interesting and determined fighters who almost upset the entire social structure in Austria. Arthur Koestler's book (I forgot the title) recounts the events of those years in great detail. The book was translated into Russian but had been banned. We had no idea to what lengths the Soviet Union went to support the American Communist Party and its growth. In fact, this extended to the leadership of the organization. I met the American leader of the Communist movement, who was the editor of the *Daily Worker*.<sup>24</sup> I also met Foster, the secretary of the Communist Party. These people differed from anyone I was used to, but they were definitely important figures.<sup>25</sup>

The draw of the Communist movement was so intense that it pushed my other interests aside. I wouldn't say that it completely overtook them, but it definitely weakened my interest in other things. However, I never gave up music. I continued to play, but I did not attend concerts as often as before, and I was less concerned with that aspect of my life. I still loved American literature, but it was replaced to a degree, and somewhat unexpectedly, with a fondness for journalism. I was translating French articles and Russian Communist publications into English. I became a real journalist. Journalism was something I was really captivated by, probably due to the constant need I felt for writing. I wrote reviews of books, films, and theater productions and reported on political gatherings for Communist and "leftist" publications. When I arrived in the Soviet Union, I was carrying the title of reporter for the *Daily Worker*.

I realized that I wanted to see the world outside America and I thought a great deal about going to Russia, as well as to France or Germany. The fact that I ended up in Russia and stayed there is the result of a string of coincidences. Amtorg (a Soviet trade agency for which many of my father's longtime friends worked) already existed at the time.<sup>26</sup> For my father, this was one way of returning to everything he had known. His friends never tried to dissuade us from returning to Russia, they never said directly, "We do not advise you to come," but they clearly did not support my father's idea. He became very excited, remembering that he was a Russian, and we followed suit and gladly supported his decision. But we weren't just returning to our motherland, we were returning to Communist Russia! And we were not the only ones—a great number of Americans traveled to the Soviet Union to visit for short periods of time. When we were packing our suitcases, we did not think that our sojourn in Russia would last forever. Westerners cannot

conceive of leaving and knowing that they will never return. We believed like them that we would check out Soviet Russia, live there for some time, and then decide what to do. My father and our entire family had spent their lives traveling to different cities and countries, never knowing a "permanent place." It simply seemed to us that we had ended up staying in America for much longer than originally intended.

My father was the first to leave. It was initially rather difficult for him to obtain an entry visa, but he had connections and that helped. (Among his friends were quite influential individuals, all of whom were killed in 1937.) He took a look around and decided that we should come too. My sisters weren't tied down to anything in particular at the time. One of them was a secretary at Amtorg, and the other, a mere sixteen years old, also worked as some sort of secretary in an international American telephone-telegraph company. The work was not interesting and barely brought in any money. I did not earn much as a journalist either. My income was mostly from music lessons, but teaching was not something I enjoyed doing. I loved children (and they were drawn to me for some reason), but I did not like to teach them. I did not have the patience for it, and so everything they did irritated me. I even would scream and push them, and I definitely did not get joy out of knowing that they were learning to play. For the most part they didn't learn anything. Generally, their musical talents or abilities were below average. When I had a talented child, I made sure to set her up in a system that would train her properly. Once upon a time, people were willing to pay good money for music lessons, even during the financial crisis.

Shortly after the clock struck twelve, in early 1931 (I still remember the exact date, March 13, because 13 is an unlucky number), we set off on our journey across the ocean to the Soviet Union.

## NOTES

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1. This excerpt is taken from "Sto let muzykal'nykh vpechatlenii (memuary)" ("A Hundred Years of Musical Impressions"), published after Konen's death in 1991. The section concerning her early years in the United States (1921–31) appeared both in *Muzykal'naia Akademiia* (*The Musical Academy*) (3/1995): 159–65; and *Muzykal'naia Akademiia* (2/1996): 178–92. The section about the later part of her life appeared in *Muzykal'naia Akademiia* (1/1998): 114–25.
2. Viktor Varunts, "Konen, Valentina Dzhozefovna [Konin, Valentine Victoria]," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 2010.
3. Konen, "Are Musicians Workers?," *New Masses*, October 1928, 12.
4. Konen's work is mentioned in Marshall Stearns, *The Story of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).
5. *Sovetskaia muzyka* (3/1941): 103–5.
6. Konen's father was arrested in November 1940, and he died sometime during his transfer from Saratov prison to the Siberia camps, probably in August 1942.
7. A selection of these articles include "Porgi i Bess" ("Porgy and Bess"), *Sovetskaia muzyka* (3/1956): 118–22; "Edward MacDowell," *Sovetskaia muzyka* (9/1958): 81–86; "Dzhordzh Gershvin i ego opera" ("George Gershwin and His Opera"), *Sovetskaia muzyka* (3/1959): 166–73; *Puti amerikanskoi muzyki* (*Highways of American Music*), 3rd ed. (1961; repr. Moscow: n.p., 1977); and "Porgi i Bess i traditsii 'menestrelei'" ("Porgy and Bess and 'Minstrel Traditions'") in Konen's *Etiudy o zarubezhnoi muzyke* (Moscow: n.p., 1968), 242–65.
8. "Legenda i pravda o dzhaze" ("The Legend and the Truth about Jazz"), *Sovetskaia muzyka* (9/1955): 22–31.
9. Symon Vasylyovych Petliura was the leader of Ukraine's struggle for independence from Russia after the 1917 Revolution. He served as the head of state from 1919 to 1920, during the pogroms that killed tens of thousands of Jews. After the establishment of the U.S.S.R. in 1922, he left Ukraine and ultimately settled in Paris, where he was assassinated in 1926.
10. Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov (1812–91), Russian novelist, author of *Oblomov* (1859).
11. Victor Frederick Weisskopf (1908–2002), Vienna-born American Jewish theoretical physicist, worked on the Manhattan Project.
12. Frank Damrosch (1859–1937), brother of conductor Walter Damrosch. He was the director of the New York Institute of Musical Art, founded in 1905, which in 1926 merged with the Juilliard Graduate School to become The Juilliard School of Music in 1946.
13. Seeger taught at the Institute of Musical Art from 1921 to 1933.
14. Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko (1858–1943) founded the Moscow Art Theater with Konstantin Stanislavsky in 1898 and its Musical Theater in 1919.
15. Maria Veniaminovna Yudina (1899–1970), noted Russian pianist, taught at the Moscow Conservatory from 1936 to 1951.



16. Felix Mikhailovich Blumenfeld (1863–1931) taught at the Moscow Conservatory from 1922 until his death.
17. Konen conflates two books: *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (1890) by Jacob Riis and Jack London's *The People of the Abyss* (1903) about the slums of London's East End.
18. David Ricardo (1772–1823), English classical economist.
19. Lev Mazel, a Russian musicologist and theorist, taught at the Moscow Conservatory from 1931 to 1967. Konen was one of the contributors to a festschrift for Mazel, *Ot Liulli do nashikh dnei* (*From Lully to Our Day*), published in Moscow in 1967.
20. Vsevolod Illarionovich Pudovkin (1893–1953), filmmaker, contemporary of Sergei Eisenstein.
21. Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovsky (1893–1930), poet and playwright.
22. Felt production (predominately for hats) used to involve the use of a compound of mercury, a substance only banned in the early 1940s. Mercury poisoning causes disorientation (among many other symptoms), giving rise to the expression “mad as a hatter.”
23. Mikhail Semyonovich Druskin (1905–91), Russian pianist and musicologist.
24. Possibly C. E. Ruthenberg (1882–1927), the founder and Executive Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.
25. William Z. Foster (1881–1961) was General Secretary of the CPUSA from 1929 to 1932.
26. Amtorg Trading Corporation, the first Soviet trade mission in the United States, founded in 1924 by Arm and Hammer.

# A Most Unsuccessful Project: Nadia Boulanger, Igor Stravinsky, and the Symphony in C, 1939–45

Kimberly Francis

Nadia Boulanger's love of Igor Stravinsky's music began upon hearing the opening notes to his *Oiseau de feu* during the ballet's premiere in 1910.<sup>1</sup> Nearly two decades later, Boulanger had cultivated a commanding international reputation as an authority on modern music, formed primarily by her encyclopedic knowledge of music in general and Stravinsky's works in particular. Her intimate familiarity with Stravinsky's oeuvre, however, was based almost exclusively on private study; Boulanger was but a cordial acquaintance of Stravinsky's until he sought her out to supervise his younger son's musical education in 1929. Concurrent to Soulima Stravinsky's tutelage, his father and Boulanger engaged in a sort of professional courtship which resulted in the latter assuming full responsibility for the editorial revision of the piano/vocal reduction for Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms* in 1931.<sup>2</sup> This collaboration allowed the two musicians to establish a creative dialogue based on a love of the neoclassical aesthetic and an appreciation of disciplined artistry. It was also during these early years that Boulanger grew close to Stravinsky's immediate family, forming strong bonds with his two sons, Theodore and Soulima, and to a lesser degree, with his wife, Catherine.

After the *Symphony of Psalms* project, Stravinsky's and Boulanger's careers became increasingly entwined as Boulanger attempted to mobilize her powerful professional network to aid the composer and his family. In 1935, this resulted in Boulanger negotiating a contract with the administration of the École Normale de Musique in Paris, which authorized Stravinsky to coteach a composition course with her the following academic year.<sup>3</sup> And in 1937, when Stravinsky began toying with the notion of a new symphony project, Boulanger attempted to secure it a commission. During her American tours from 1937 to 1939, Boulanger worked assiduously to tease out a financial backer for the Symphony in C

amongst the rich socialites whom she had befriended in the United States.<sup>4</sup> But negotiations eventually fell through, and what Boulanger mistakenly assumed would be an easy task instead became the most drawn-out project she and Stravinsky ever engaged in.

Moreover, as Stravinsky made his transition from European to American soils, communication between him and Boulanger ceased. It was only after France surrendered to Germany on 22 June 1940, and Boulanger herself fled to the United States, that she and Stravinsky resumed correspondence, using the *Symphony in C* as the main mediating element. It was then that Boulanger and Stravinsky turned to copy-editing his symphonic masterpiece. The surviving documents, especially Boulanger's letters to Stravinsky, located in the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, Switzerland, reveal in unprecedented detail both Boulanger's efforts to endure the pain of separation from home and her woefully unsuccessful methods for correcting Stravinsky's score.

Engaging the dialogue Boulanger and Stravinsky shared from 1939 to 1945 sheds new light on how the work's composition, reception, and publication were connected to Boulanger's professional trajectory during the wartime period. Moreover, the surviving archival documents—letters, diaries, and musical scores—present compelling and emotional testimony to both musicians' experiences of economic frustrations in the later years of the Great Depression, personal tragedy endured alongside the mounting tensions of prewar Europe, and dislocation during their respective transatlantic emigrations. Weaving together the materials left behind by Boulanger and Stravinsky, I argue that there is a hitherto unacknowledged link between the development of the *Symphony in C* and Boulanger's experiences of the Great Depression, war, and exile.

### **Funding the *Symphony in C*: Boulanger and the American Patronesses**

On 3 March 1937, Stravinsky produced the first sketches for what would eventually become his *Symphony in C*. (For the *Symphony*'s compositional timeline, see Table 1.) The catalyst for the work is unclear; no commission existed to motivate the composer to begin this work in the late winter of 1937. Stravinsky may have, as Stephen Walsh suggests, wanted to offer his symphony to the New York Philharmonic, an ensemble whose musical prowess had impressed him earlier in his tour. Or, if one can invoke autobiographical elements when discussing Stravinsky's works, the news of the birth of his first grandchild on 18 January, Catherine (Kitty) Stravinsky, may have caused Stravinsky to

Table 1. Compositional Timeline for the Symphony in C

3 March 1937:	Stravinsky begins sketching the Symphony in C
19 April 1939:	First movement finished
May–July 1939:	Composes second movement
July 1939:	Stravinsky visits Boulanger at Gargenville
23 September 1939:	Stravinsky emigrates to the United States
Winter 1940 (post-January):	Composition of third movement
11 April 1940:	Begins work on final movement
17 August 1940:	Symphony in C completed
7 November 1940:	Premiere with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Stravinsky conducts
6 December 1940:	Boulanger emigrates to the United States

put pen to paper.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the reason behind it, the Symphony in C started to take shape in 1937, and in the following months Boulanger's own professional activities lent themselves nicely to finding it a financial backer.

In 1937, Boulanger returned to the United States for the first time since 1925. Hers was a lecture and concert tour, hosted primarily by postsecondary institutions along the Eastern seaboard, many of which were now staffed or directed by her former pupils. In between being feted and granting expensive private lessons, Boulanger took it upon herself to inquire as to any possible interest in a Stravinsky commission. She met with success when she approached the wealthy patrons Mr. and Mrs. Woods Bliss, who requested a work from Stravinsky for their thirtieth wedding anniversary. Stravinsky accepted the commission and the piece—what Mildred Bliss named the *Dumbarton Oaks Concerto* after her and her husband's Georgetown home—received its highly successful premiere under Boulanger's direction on 8 May 1938.<sup>6</sup> The Blisses were extraordinarily thankful to Boulanger for her efforts and paid her handsomely. It was via these events that Boulanger laid the groundwork for discussing an even larger commission: that for the Symphony in C.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the final months of 1938 proved tremendously difficult for the Stravinsky family. Catherine Stravinsky's case of tuberculosis worsened, as did that of the composer's elder daughter, Lyudmilla (Mika). Beginning in January 1938, Lyudmilla returned to the Sancellemoz sanatorium in eastern France where her mother had also been receiving treatment as of September 1937. Spliced in between hospital visits, excursions with his mistress, Vera Sudeikina, and concert tours, Stravinsky attempted to compose his Symphony, but on 28 November 1938, Lyudmilla died.<sup>7</sup> Boulanger had been in Nantes,



France, on business until 1 December, but upon her return she learned of Mika Stravinsky's death and went directly to the family's home.<sup>8</sup> A little over a month later, on 2 January 1939, the pedagogue left for another American tour still haunted by these events and well aware of the emotional pain Stravinsky faced in the wake of the previous months as well as the financial strain doctors' bills were starting to have on him. Stravinsky sent along a parting message to Boulanger from Sancellemoz, where he was watching over his convalescing wife:

Dear Nadia,

How can I thank you for your kind thoughts? Victor and Sam also left on the *Ile de France* on the 11. [Victor] saw an American woman to whom Miss [sic] Bliss sent the letters and a copy of your cable to find out what can be done about the American premiere of my symphony next season. Do you believe this will be possible? My God, to whom I would be so thankful if these inquiries of yours actually brought about the result for which we are hoping . . .

[P.S.] If this plan does materialize, I truly wish to give my manuscript (of the *Symphony*) to Mrs. Bliss.<sup>9</sup>

With these parting words of hope and desperation, Stravinsky charged Boulanger with the task of aiding him once again. Armed with nothing more than an acquaintance with the symphony's first movement, Boulanger returned to the United States, adding to her already overwhelming schedule (Table 2) the task of finding the work a patron.

Upon arriving in America, Boulanger renewed talks with Mrs. Woods Bliss about funding the *Symphony in C*, only to find herself now negotiating with a triad of American socialites. Added to the ranks of Mildred Bliss were Mrs. John Alden Carpenter and Mrs. George Horace Lorimer.<sup>10</sup>

The first negotiations took place in February and March, in between Boulanger's conducting engagements with the New York Philharmonic, the Philadelphia Orchestra, and a Harvard production of *Oedipus Rex*.<sup>11</sup> Her enthusing about the "importance" of Stravinsky's new symphony proved effective, and an optimistic though obviously exhausted Boulanger soon wrote to Stravinsky:

Dear Friend,

I think of you every day that I have news, but the implausibly busy life I live here doesn't really permit me to write to you. Don't think I've been inactive, though. I've seen the Blisses, the Carpenters, and Mrs. Lorimer, and things seem to finally be taking form this week. I'm hoping for a

Table 2. Schedule of Nadia Boulanger's Activities, 1939 Tour, February to March<sup>1</sup>

February	March
7 Cambridge, MA, Longy School of Music (Course)	1 Radcliffe College (Lecture)
8 NYC, Rehearsal (10–12:30) (3–4:30)	2 Wellesley College (Lecture and Concert),
9 NYC, Juilliard School (Lecture)	3–5 Rehearsals
11 Rehearsal (10–12:30), Concert (Evening), post-concert,	6 Harvard Glee Club, Memorial Concert
Wellesley Club	7 Longy School of Music (Lecture)
13 Wellesley College (Lecture)	8 Radcliffe College (Lecture)
14 Cambridge, Longy School of Music (Lecture)	9 NYC, Juilliard (Lecture)
15 Cambridge, Radcliffe College (Lecture)	10 (morning) Diller-Quaile (Lecture), (afternoon) Sarah
16 NYC, Juilliard School (Lecture), Diller-Quaile School of	Lawrence, Bronxville, NY
Music (Lecture)	12 Cambridge, Hartford School of Music (Lecture)
17 NYC, Diller-Quaile School of Music (Lecture)	13, 20 Wellesley College (Lecture)
19 Exeter, NH (Lecture with singers)	21 Longy School of Music (Lecture)
20 Wellesley College (Lecture)	22 Radcliffe College (Lecture), (evening) Bowdoin College
21 Cambridge, Longy School of Music (Lecture)	(Rehearsal)
22 Philadelphia, PA, Shipley School (Lecture), Bryn Mawr	23 NYC, Juilliard (Lecture)
(evening)	25 Cambridge
23 Philadelphia, Shipley School (Inspection), NYC, Juilliard	26 Gardner Museum (Concert), Wellesley College (Rehearsal)
(Lecture)	27 Wellesley College (Lecture)
24 NYC, Diller-Quaile (morning)	28 Longy School of Music (Lecture)
26 Southborough, MA, St. Mark's School (Lecture)	29 Radcliffe College (Lecture)
27 Wellesley College (Lecture)	30 Juilliard (Lecture)

<sup>1</sup>It is unclear what Boulanger did during the month of January, seeing as she left for her trip at the beginning of January and the schedule she forwarded along to Stravinsky only begins in February.

letter from Mrs. Lorimer this Friday in Washington, where I will be at the Bliss's, and if these equivocations finally cease, I will be able to give you precise details. How much patience one needs! The Carpenters and the Blisses *want* to act, everything depends though on Mrs. Lorimer, because without her, the sum is incomplete.<sup>12</sup> This is to say that a beautiful letter will be sent to you, and you know, don't you, that I dwell constantly on thoughts of your worries, your hopes, and your work . . .  
Nadia<sup>13</sup>

Boulanger's words were encouraging. The Carpenters and the Blisses wanted very much to support Stravinsky and commission the piece. Ultimately, the success of the entire project rested with Alma Lorimer whose willingness to contribute to the venture vacillated unpredictably. Before anything concrete developed out of these negotiations, however, news arrived on 2 March 1939 that Catherine Stravinsky had died. Boulanger's letters betray that she was beside herself with sadness and concern for the family to whom she had grown so close over the past decade. She cabled Stravinsky as quickly as she could:

OVERWHELMED BY TERRIBLE NEWS AM DEEPLY TROUBLED  
TO BE SO FAR FROM YOU KNOW THAT I AM WITH YOU  
WITH ALL MY HEART  
YOUR  
NADIA<sup>14</sup>

The death of Stravinsky's wife fell just prior to the day Boulanger set aside annually for grieving for her sister, Lili, and mother, Raïssa: 15 March. In 1939, Boulanger marked this day not only with her usual memorial mass, but also by sending along messages to each member of the Stravinsky family to tell them they were included in her prayers.<sup>15</sup> Along with these notes, she broke her rule of evading business on her day of mourning and wrote once again to the composer about the Symphony negotiations:

My Dear Friend . . .

I received a telegram from Mildred Bliss. Everything is finished concerning the Symphony, finally. What she and Ellen Carpenter have been, I *could never* tell you. Everything was complicated by the fact that so many possibilities were presented, but none offered you enough of a guarantee in our opinion. Anyway, Mildred Bliss is going to write to you with the details, the manuscript goes to the Library of Congress, and the premiere has been reserved for Chicago under your direction (a condition that I maintained was non-negotiable).

I just received the news, and I don't know how to explain the situation to you—such as it is, it represents the result of a truly admirable effort, you would say—and I am quite in agreement that it is a pleasure to facilitate the production of the work of such a man as yourself. But, finding oneself involved with material questions, everything has been so difficult, unfortunately. And the persistence, the will to succeed, that the Blisses and the Carpenters displayed, was tremendously moving.

Do I have to tell you that I think of you *ceaselessly*? But I'm suffering from a terrible cold, and a foolish work schedule—I literally do not have a minute to myself. It's too cruel at a moment when I wish I could do nothing but think of you, of Catherine, of Mika...

My love to you,

Your,

Nadia<sup>16</sup>

Boulanger's optimism suggested that all efforts to commission the symphony had borne fruit, and Stravinsky would indeed receive remuneration for a work that lacked a single completed movement.

Unfortunately, Boulanger's triumph was soon to unravel. The resolution reached by the Blisses, Carpenters, and Alma Lorimer began to dissolve in the late spring months of 1939, and by 11 May, Boulanger informed the composer of the project's imminent collapse.<sup>17</sup> Boulanger's letters no longer reference Lorimer as involved with the project, and it is probable that she had abandoned the Blisses and the Carpenters to fund the commission on their own. According to Boulanger, conditions then forced Ellen Carpenter into an untenable financial situation, and she backed out of her part of the contract. In the end, only the Blisses remained, and it was to them that Boulanger paid one last desperate visit prior to returning to France in early July. In her letters to Stravinsky, Boulanger reported that her one hope in the face of all else was to have something materialize for him after he had suffered so much personal loss. But being bounced around between the upper echelons of American society for the majority of her tour did little to expose Boulanger to the realities of the country's dire financial situation at the end of the Great Depression. Fueled by her unwavering idealism, she was rather unaware of the near impossibility of what she sought. Boulanger's optimism was finally deflated in June, just a month before her tour ended. As she prepared for her last trip to Chicago, she wrote to Stravinsky on 4 June 1939:



My dear friend,

... I'm stopping in Chicago Wednesday to try to resolve the ... situation—I can somewhat understand these hesitations, these uncertainties, but they are so difficult to tolerate at this point. And what can you do? Each person knows the importance of the awaited decision, but each one is so preoccupied with fiscal measures that no one dares to budge.

All my love, and I am with all my heart,

Your

NB

[P.S.] Will be in Paris the 2 or 3 of July and will do everything I can to see you as soon as possible.<sup>18</sup>

By 2 July, Boulanger returned to Paris with the situation unchanged. Though there was the positive news that Harvard had offered Stravinsky the position of the Charles Eliot Norton Chair of Poetry the following fall, Boulanger had nothing good to report about the commission of his latest composition.<sup>19</sup> From that June forward, the Symphony in C seemed destined to disappoint Boulanger.

### Into Exile

Despite this upsetting result, the two musicians spent much of the summer of 1939 together. The Conservatoire at Fontainebleau, where Boulanger taught during the summer since 1921, had been closed because of the threat of war, and all foreign students were urged to return home.<sup>20</sup> Shortly thereafter, on 7 June, Stravinsky's mother, Anna, died.<sup>21</sup> Suffering this final blow, Stravinsky retreated to Boulanger's summer cottage in Gargenville and took up residence there in July.

Somehow, in spite of the brewing political tensions around her, Boulanger turned her home into a center for cultural discussion that summer, and both Paul Valéry and Edward Forbes visited to meet with her and Stravinsky.<sup>22</sup> It was in these waning months of peacetime that Stravinsky read his Harvard lectures, tentatively entitled "Poétique musicale," for Boulanger and Paul Valéry.<sup>23</sup> On 1 September 1939, Hitler's army invaded Poland, and the United Kingdom and France declared war on Germany. By the end of the month, Stravinsky had resolved to relocate permanently to the United States. On 23 September, seven days after Soviet forces began their attack on Poland, Stravinsky sailed from Le Havre to America. He did so accompanied by Boulanger's student, Katharine Wolff, who wrote to Boulanger saying:

Dear Nadia,

[Stravinsky and I] are installed on the boat waiting for it to sail. Nobody knows when that will be—perhaps tonight, perhaps tomorrow. I have drawn a deep breath and decided the worst is over. The journey was not *too bad* and the formalities of getting on board, even though tiresome and long drawn out are over thank goodness!!!

Last night we had *no baggage*—nothing—as we had registered it all at Bordeaux. This morning it all arrived. No one is being given any preference. The boat is full to overflowing, but everyone is good humored and accepting the situation as they should. Six people to a large stateroom and three to a small is the rule. Toscanini [*sic*] is on board and sat up all night in the corridor. A charming young boy of 14 years has the bed next to Igor and is waiting on him hand and foot. Igor is wonderful, accepting all inconveniences with good humor and patience.

The weather this morning is perfect and I am hoping it is a good omen and that it will remain so throughout the voyage. I am sure everything will work out for the best. We have had no news since we left Bordeaux yesterday morning—no papers this morning, and no broadcast . . .

Goodbye, dear friend,

Ever devotedly,

Katharine<sup>24</sup>

Stravinsky and Wolff docked safely in New York the following Saturday after a lengthy but uneventful voyage.<sup>25</sup> Stravinsky emigrated to America in a state of financial uncertainty and emotional depression, having lost three family members in the span of under a year, and having failed to find his symphony a patron. He was met there by his friend and then-manager, Alexis Kall. Concerned, Wolff wrote to Boulanger that Kall reminded her “of a big St. Bernard dog” who did not provide Stravinsky with the “right stimulation.”<sup>26</sup> This veiled allusion to Stravinsky and Kall’s drunken exploits was also reported to Boulanger by Edward Forbes, who reached out to her to help him corral the composer into fulfilling his Norton Lecture duties as planned.<sup>27</sup> Eventually, matters settled themselves, and Stravinsky presented his lectures as scheduled, wearing no less than a tuxedo with tails and a white bowtie.<sup>28</sup> With the arrival of Vera Sudeikina from France, he began to acclimate to his new American life, and by March, the Blisses had become involved with helping Stravinsky with visa issues, concert funding, and finding social engagements.<sup>29</sup>

Between September 1939 and March 1940, not a single letter or telegram was exchanged between Stravinsky and Boulanger. Students and friends reported to the French pedagogue at various intervals, and

so Boulanger remained aware of events, but surprisingly, no contact was made on Stravinsky's part, nor was any extended from Boulanger.<sup>30</sup> It was not until March 1940, just after Stravinsky and Vera Sudeikina were married, that the composer broke his extended silence, writing:

Dearest Nadia

I have an irresistible urge to write to you, even if it's only a few lines. I hope that someone has let you know the news of my marriage to Vera (for the moment civil, caused by the long Orthodox Lent) about which I cabled Paris, but I wanted also to announce it to you personally. We had to celebrate earlier than I originally predicted, but the indiscretion of the press since the arrival of Vera in America and my terrible solitude (despite numerous occupations) finally made me decide to have her come from Charleston (where she is staying with friends) to Boston so that we could get married—which happened in Bedford on 9 March, 30 km from here at the country home of Russian friends (a professor at Harvard) . . .

We are very troubled by current events though full of confidence in the outcome of this enormous war with evil. I truly wish to hear of your news, dear friend, *directly* from you. Sister Edward, who I saw in Chicago had heard some, and *me none!* . . . A word from you would bring me great joy.

Your

I. Str.<sup>31</sup>

It took Boulanger a month to respond to Stravinsky's letter of 18 March 1940 that she was not keeping silent out of spite, but because she was tremendously busy organizing her own war-relief efforts and deciding whether or not to leave for America herself.<sup>32</sup> At the time, she awaited confirmation of a teaching contract at an American school—a necessity to secure herself a proper visa.<sup>33</sup> Simultaneously, she occupied herself by running war-relief concerts in France wherever possible and visiting with friends, including Stravinsky's children.<sup>34</sup> By 22 June, France had surrendered to Germany, and by July, Boulanger had accepted a teaching post at the Longy School of Music in Cambridge, Massachusetts. On 6 December 1940, with Axis forces occupying much of the Continent, and the prospect of crossing the North Atlantic made even more dangerous by naval warfare, Nadia Boulanger fled Paris into exile.

Once in the United States, both musicians used different coping strategies to negotiate their positions as émigrés. By the time Stravinsky relocated to America, he was adept at manipulating his "Russian-ness." Ties to his homeland were vague beyond a sort of imaginary Eurasian construction of its pre-Revolutionary state.<sup>35</sup> From a compositional perspective, by embracing the neoclassical aesthetic after 1919, and

attempting to strip away immediate references to Russian folk music, such as those found in his early ballets, *Mavra*, and *Les Noces*, he moved toward a more flexible, and arguably neutral, nationalist persona. Though he became a French citizen in 1934, he remained an *étranger* in France, even requiring Boulanger's backing to ensure himself a teaching position at the École Normale.<sup>36</sup> He was geographically distanced from his immediate family; he conducted business (and pleasure) in many languages; and his religious beliefs, though in practice linked to the Russian Orthodox church, overtly incorporated aspects of Roman Catholicism, witnessed in the texts of his religious compositions, the discussions he had with Boulanger on the matter, and his own encouragement that his first grandson be baptized Catholic.<sup>37</sup> In the wake of the 1917 Russian revolution, and in light of the escalating global tensions seen after 1933, Stravinsky was well aware of the efficacy of cultural and aesthetic flexibility and the benefits of deracination.<sup>38</sup>

In lieu of identifying with a particular national identity, Stravinsky embraced an identity politics that resonates with what Homi Bhabha has termed "vernacular cosmopolitanism," an orientation characterized by "a sense of mutuality in conditions of mutability" where one "lives tenaciously in terrains of historic and cultural transition."<sup>39</sup> Stravinsky asserted an identity that allowed him to belong partially to Russia, but, more importantly, also to the universal spirit of humankind. This mutable identity corresponds with Bruce Robbins's concept of "actually existing cosmopolitanism" or "a reality of (re)attachment, multiple attachments, or attachment at a distance." In her work, Brigid Cohen argues persuasively that this type of cosmopolitan identity formation was common to many modernist communities that were subject to "displacement, events of war, demographic upheaval, national loss, and aspirations for cultural reconstruction."<sup>40</sup> From a nationalistic perspective, Stravinsky became inherently transitional without becoming completely isolated from his Russian background. It became possible for him to choose when and what to emphasize about his nationality, allowing him to extend a nationalistic fluidity coupled with, when so desired, isolation brought about by his foreignness. To use Lydia Goehr's description of the cosmopolitan condition, "the cosmopolitan wants to be both estranged and at home in the modern metropolis," and so did Stravinsky.<sup>41</sup> He belonged to his adopted homelands and was set apart; he was both a foreigner and one who could participate culturally. And so, when Stravinsky arrived in America at the age of fifty-seven, the notion of exile, or, perhaps "re-exile" in his case, was laced for him with both a complexity and a familiarity. Though Stephen Walsh argues that this second exile "was profoundly, even disturbingly, different from the first,"



owing to the language barrier and Stravinsky's heightened sense of cultural isolation, the composer arrived with a set of coping mechanisms; he knew, at least in part, what to expect and how to negotiate what he encountered.<sup>42</sup>

Boulanger's experience was quite different. Initially, one would think her as prepared for relocation to the United States as Stravinsky. Boulanger, too, had toured America extensively, spoke English, was familiar with the country's cultural institutions, and had many friends and professional contacts there. But moving to the United States for an indeterminate period of time was distinctly different from touring. Previously, the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean between Boulanger and her students had imbued her with a degree of allure and mystique. When people came to her to study, or when she came to them, great distances were traveled and a good deal of money invested. Furthermore, when students came to France, they anticipated the cultural gap and necessary adaptation that their travels would require. They were visitors. When Boulanger came to America on tour, she did so as a foreign celebrity whose idiosyncrasies and mannerisms could be tolerated. She had been a guest.

As an *émigré*, it was Boulanger who needed to change and adapt, not her students. She suddenly found herself to be the outsider. This power imbalance disrupted the network by which she operated; she no longer had access to the sympathetic publishers, administrators, or bureaucratic officials and procedures of Europe. She was acutely aware of the—to borrow a parallel description penned by Reinhold Brinkmann—"multivalent [experience of exile] . . . the act of expulsion, the process both of leave-taking and of arrival in the new land,"<sup>43</sup> and of her new immigrant status.

Boulanger represents a demographic not commonly found in the exile literature on musicians, which has instead focused primarily, as Brigid Cohen argues, on the experiences of Jewish composers and performers who fled Nazi-era Germany and Austria.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, because of her gender, nationality, profession, and religious background, Boulanger falls well outside of the models used in musicology to discuss experiences of exile. She was, however, no less affected by a sense of separation, and no less challenged to create coping mechanisms in her new home.

One of the major themes Boulanger grappled with while an *émigré* was a sense of isolation. Exacerbating her guilt was the fact that she had entered America voluntarily. She had not fled France because of religious or political persecution; she came to the United States as an *émigré*. Once in America, however, she realized it would be immensely difficult and dangerous to return to France, and the permanence of her new status began to stretch out before her. Boulanger perceived her

exile as doubly painful because it had been self-imposed. Only after arriving did Boulanger begin to realize, to borrow Edward Said's words, that "exile is a solitude felt outside the group."<sup>45</sup>

On a professional level, Boulanger struggled as well. She was similar to those musicians described by Reinhold Brinkmann for whom "the anxiety of losing their identity was stronger [because] an intact self represented a secure [musical] tradition."<sup>46</sup> Fracturing herself to belong to America and to France also meant fracturing her internal artistic orientation—something which proved highly traumatic for someone as fixated on the musical object as Boulanger. The problem for her did not lie in the mundane tasks of finding a new job, living comfortably, or even securing professional distractions in her new home, but in reconciling this activity with her sense of guilt at having left France. She suffered immensely from a fear of forgetting. Boulanger did not wish to adapt to American life and by doing so betray what it meant to be French; simultaneously, she needed to rebuild her professional contacts, and to accomplish this required a certain amount of assimilation on her part.

This internal duel that Boulanger fought resonates with Lydia Goehr's concept of "doubleness." Goehr writes: "doubleness exists in practices of thought and activity that invoke two-sided, mediating, or conflicting ideals, productions, and conditions. In particular, doubleness has been expressed in, for example . . . strategies of adaptation and resistance, [and] articulations of insider and outsider positions."<sup>47</sup> Boulanger experienced this doubleness in unique ways. She struggled to find a balance between her American persona and her French identity; between being the authority figure/Master Teacher, and needing to be a peer or a friend; balancing her desires to be both modernist and traditionalist; and being a woman navigating the male-dominated professional spheres of the United States. These identity politics invoked in many, to borrow Goehr's words again, "extreme emotions: melancholy mixed with relief in leaving, happiness mixed with guilt for surviving, excitement mixed with trepidation for the new life to be lived."<sup>48</sup> And for Boulanger, there was no way to reconcile these various desires smoothly. She struggled with them for her entire period of exile in profound and deeply moving ways. For Boulanger, to concede compromise was to admit defeat and again abandon the people she loved and the country to which she was indelibly linked. Instead, she chose a continuous, agonizing struggle that would take its toll on her both mentally and physically. It was this internal battle, waged between Boulanger and herself, that reflected greatly in her professional life while in America and directly affected Stravinsky's *Symphony in C* between 1940 and 1944.

### Editing the *Symphony in C*: 1940–44

Once together in America, the *Symphony* helped the two musicians reconstruct their professional dialogue. It was also at this point that Boulanger and Stravinsky reluctantly resolved to establish themselves more permanently in American artistic spheres, and they used the *Symphony* as part of their means to do so. During the time that they were separated, Stravinsky had written the final two movements of his *symphony*, and the premiere was held in celebration of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra's fiftieth anniversary on 7 November 1940. Boulanger arrived in New York only to learn that she had missed the concert. By 4 December, Stravinsky was in contact with Boulanger concerning subsequent performances. He wrote to her that he was experiencing difficulties with American ensembles, particularly those overseen by their mutual friend, Sergei Koussevitzky.<sup>49</sup> Because he had previously been treated to a certain degree as a celebrity in America, Stravinsky had not anticipated the bureaucratic hiccups he encountered while working with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The composer believed this was not Koussevitzky's doing, but more likely the impertinence of the conductor's administrative team.

For her part, Boulanger had arranged a foray of eight events in as many weeks for herself and the Stravinskys while she was in transit to America. In an effort to stretch her professional legs and, arguably, to ensure that she still commanded some sort of authority over her American network, Boulanger organized a variety of dinners, concerts, and parties between December 1940 and January 1941 focused on promoting her composer friend. She insisted the *Symphony in C* be performed in Boston, stating that surely "something would be arranged." She then organized dinner events in New York on the evening of 22 and 23 December for the Stravinskys and a "small company" of her choosing. Of the concerts already planned for Baltimore and Washington on 6 and 7 January, Boulanger wrote to ask exactly what the program would be and if Stravinsky would allow her to give preconcert lectures. She also suggested that the Stravinskys attend a dinner with her on 4 January with the conservator of the Walters Art Gallery and several of the "most remarkable gentlemen you could ever meet." This, she promised, would remain a small party and would feature "excellent food." Finally, preceding concerts arranged for 14 and 15 January, Boulanger requested the Stravinskys dine with her and her students, all of whom "would dearly like to see him." She requested this along with access to Stravinsky's score, in order to properly prepare her preconcert talks.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps wishing to pacify Boulanger's anxieties, and perhaps aware of the possibility of benefiting

professionally by keeping in her good graces, the Stravinskys agreed to each of Boulanger's engagements, writing that they were as excited to see her as she was to see them.

Outside of these events, Boulanger quickly began to redefine herself professionally in America. The French half of the Conservatoire Américain—the institution that had served as the central node of Boulanger's transnational network for nearly two decades—had been disbanded, and by January the Fontainebleau school was reestablished under the direction of Robert Casadesus in Rhode Island. While based in America, Casadesus wished to dedicate the school primarily to instructing pianists, and Boulanger refused to participate.<sup>51</sup> Instead, the French pedagogue remained based in Boston, teaching regular classes at the Longy School, while also making frequent trips to Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore.<sup>52</sup> Her diaries list a visit with Stravinsky in Cambridge during 13–16 January where they perused scores and shared stories (Figure 1). By February 1941, Stravinsky began to gain an increasing number of concert engagements that took him as far as San Diego and Mexico City, and he and Vera were moving forward with efforts to relocate permanently to California.<sup>53</sup> With their lives seeming to have settled into a sort of rhythm, Boulanger and Stravinsky turned to the question of editing his *Symphony in C* so that it could be



*Figure 1.* Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky in Gerry's Landing, Cambridge, Massachusetts, date unknown (possibly January 1941). Property of the Centre internationale Nadia et Lili Boulanger. Used with permission.



properly distributed by his new publishing company, the American Music Publishers.<sup>54</sup>

### Editing the *Symphony in C*

At some point after Boulanger used the autograph manuscript to prepare lectures for the *Symphony*, the pair began considering the need to revise the composition. The score Stravinsky had been using to conduct from was in a state of disarray—parts needed to be recopied, and adjustments written in by hand had to be formally changed. Boulanger and Stravinsky began to discuss officially the editorial project on 3 March 1941, when the composer wrote to Boulanger about it from Hollywood:

My dear Nadia,

It has almost been a month since we've heard news from you. Would you be so kind as to send us something as small as a postcard . . . Concerning [the *Symphony*]: I've spoken about it to Mr. Ernest R. Voigt (Associated Music Publishers, Inc. 25 West 45th Street, New York City) and he promised me (as soon as he receives the material from here) to send you parts for each instrument and the orchestral score. The individual parts are the originals, which is to say, full of errors, and the orchestral score is the one you're already familiar with, the gray copy. If you are in need of mine (the black copy), I'll send it to you, but I'd prefer to keep it here (I may be in need of it) . . .

When will we see you again? Is it impossible to think that we'll see you here again this year?

Dear Nadia, I embrace you very affectionately,

Your,

I. Stravinsky<sup>55</sup>

Boulanger accepted the task, though this time she did so reluctantly. By spring 1941, she had grown increasingly demanding, and unpredictable. The secondary English literature, which primarily consists of the biography written by Léonie Rosenstiel, paints a picture of an increasingly dogmatic Boulanger who simply could not adjust to life as someone at the administrative mercy of former pupils.<sup>56</sup> In her position at the Longy School of Music, Boulanger apparently chafed under the "direction" of her former student, Melville Smith, and began to exhaust the support of other alumni residing in the United States, including Walter Piston at Harvard University. As Rosenstiel writes:

[Boulanger] became irascible. . . . She was thoroughly exhausted and had lost her ability to control both Melville Smith and Reginald Stewart. Losing control was one of Nadia's greatest fears. . . . It was equally clear that Stewart, like Melville Smith, was unwilling to supply all information to his "teacher" as though reciting a catechism or taking a test. Nor could he accede to her every wish. This created an impasse.<sup>57</sup>

Boulanger's letters concerning corrections for the *Symphony* reveal a more nuanced story, indicating that she was struggling with a profound sense of depression. On 17 March 1941, in response to Stravinsky's earlier letter, Boulanger wrote one of the most emotional texts found in their entire correspondence, and indeed, in anything she ever put to paper. To my knowledge, the only extant letters that articulate Boulanger's reactions to living in exile this poignantly are those she wrote to Stravinsky.<sup>58</sup> For this reason, her letter is worth quoting at length, allowing the expression of Boulanger's viewpoint, after more than sixty years of obscurity. From her apartment in Gerry's Landing, Boulanger wrote to Stravinsky:

My dear friend,

I am ashamed not to have written to you yet, but I am very busy, and I am also experiencing a severe emotional crisis. . . . The sense of shame that I have for leaving at such a time weighs very heavily on my soul. I should have known, but then again, what to do differently. To help them over there, I had to take on this other task. Anyway, as you can see, things aren't going very well . . .

I didn't know how much I loved France, how much I need her, and how much, in her weakness, I would feel her greatness. How we have served her poorly, we Frenchmen, whose flesh and spirit were formed by her, her traditions, her faith . . .

What have we done with this heritage that was our honor and for which we were responsible? To wake from this horrible nightmare, since that is what our national life has been, we understand all too suddenly, and there are not enough tears to offer to God. It has nothing to do with sentimentality, rather, it's an awakening of conscience—such a thing is worth experiencing a weighty crisis for. We are seen cruelly in a merciless reflection, the result is well worth the suffering . . .

Forgive me for all of this makes no sense except to me. But I am so alone with respect to this that I have to open my heart. And who would be able to understand like you? But there is no luck in being honored with such weighty confidences as this. This doesn't matter, it is well worth it, because how many men are beating their breast at this

moment?

As for the materials, I hope they don't come now, because we are giving a concert for the Polish on April 4th in New York with Schütz's *Resurrection*. . . . It was necessary to copy out all of the parts, because I have nothing here, and even though Barbara is making all the copies, it [still] took a lot of time. One wouldn't think that, in seeing this interminable and useless letter, that I have little time. But it is easier to say everything, in complete disorder, than to choose, eliminate, refuse, and give form . . .

Give my love to Vera, and don't worry, I'm done. I send my love. I miss you both terribly, and I want to hope that we will see each other soon . . . some day.

Yours,

Nadia<sup>59</sup>

Perceiving of herself as a true Gallic, but no longer certain what that entailed, this letter reveals that Boulanger's disquietude had begun to overwhelm her in 1941. Her ironclad professional identity, the one thing she chose to cling to, was beginning to come apart at the seams. The result was that her work and her focus suffered greatly, and she became unstable. Rather than being simply incapable of assuming a subordinate position while in America, the greater concern that preoccupied Boulanger's mind was her sense of shame at abandoning her country and what, in her absence, her country had become. This survivor's guilt manifested itself as anxiety and increased dogmatism. It was a mental state that Boulanger would struggle with her entire time in America, and indeed, that would stay with her even after she returned to France.

Fighting to retain the image of the "Master Teacher," and surrounded mainly by those who were either students, former students, or who had not lived in Europe long enough to empathize with her, Boulanger lacked someone to whom she could express her anxieties. Stravinsky had spent many years in France, and had himself a complex relationship with the political events occurring in Europe. Additionally, Boulanger had no reason to act his superior; Stravinsky had been a friend and peer for years. This was why she reached out to the composer to confess these overwhelming emotions.

Upon receiving this extraordinarily unconventional letter from Boulanger, a concerned Stravinsky began writing to friends, asking how to find her and if anyone knew if she was alright.<sup>60</sup> Boulanger's heavily peripatetic schedule made it difficult for anyone to pin her down at this time, especially considering her work took place on the opposite side of

the continent to Stravinsky. Instead, the composer decided to answer her letter briefly, echoing the words Boulanger used to console him after learning of his wife's death in 1939:

My dear Nadia,

I have been with you with all my heart this whole time. Your letter moved me greatly. I send you all my love,

Your,

Igor Stravinsky<sup>61</sup>

Though Stravinsky's letter is short, it should not be mistaken as cold-hearted. Stravinsky was not often verbose when it came to emotional matters, and this letter is no exception, and the support his few words extended was of great comfort to Boulanger.

It was at this time, in March 1941, that the corrections for the *Symphony in C* came to the pedagogue. Unlike her previous editorial projects with Stravinsky—such as the *Symphony of Psalms*, *Perséphone*, and the *Dumbarton Oaks Concerto*—where she had overseen all editorial markings herself, Boulanger now farmed the responsibility of creating proofs out to her students. She provided them with instructions about which corrections should take place in the score, and then expected them to copy these out and create fresh parts. This new editorial methodology emanated from Boulanger's distracting personal life and distinct lack of free time—a situation further complicated by her busy spring schedule shuttling between Cleveland, Washington, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.<sup>62</sup> Boulanger used her work to distract herself from the guilt and emotional pain she felt. She further rationalized this by sending much of the money she made from these events back to France or donating it to war relief efforts in the United States.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately though, her activities stalled the editorial project she had agreed to take on.

By 19 May 1941, Stravinsky had run out of patience with Boulanger, and wrote to her to request an update on the status of corrections to his score:

My dear Nadia,

Once again, I haven't received word from you for a long time. Are you always at Cambridge, are you on vacation (completely unbelievable)? It was eternities ago (17 March) that you sent me (unfortunately, tragic) news. Since then, the Associated Music Publishers, in their letter of 1 April, wrote to me to let me know that "the material of your symphony was sent to Miss Boulanger . . . she wrote us in the meantime that her corrections would be delayed as she is rather busy at this time." *Is this*



*time over?* I'm wondering this with a certain degree of concern for two reasons: (1.) My concert in Mexico, where I will be performing my *Symphony*, is approaching, and I wonder if I can count on your new corrected parts. (2.) If we send my conductor's score along with the original parts (in order to facilitate your corrections), I am very afraid that the Associated Music Publishers, before renting the corrected parts to the Mexican Philharmonic (one has to allow 10 to 14 days for the transfer from New York to Mexico) for my concerts (beginning in July) will feel themselves obliged to take it from you, thereby interrupting your precious work. At the least, you could continue it according to the corrections partly inscribed on the gray score, partially on pieces of paper. I am, as you can see, in complete ignorance of what's going on. Word from you would put my nerves at ease, assuming the word is reassuring.<sup>64</sup>

Boulanger had no choice but to respond that the project had run aground. The initial student charged to help her, for whom Boulanger provides no name, had become ill. Boulanger herself had fallen and hurt her arm terribly, making writing very painful. The pedagogue wrote to Stravinsky that the lack of a competent helper would delay the process entirely. Furthermore, all the individual parts needed to be redone, and she had nothing but the un-annotated score to work with. Boulanger was also no longer dealing with a sympathetic publishing agent like those in Europe. Instead, she had to negotiate with Ernest R. Voigt of the Associated Music Publishers, who gave her far less latitude with correction times and was proving difficult about getting her the materials she deemed necessary to complete the editorial process. The relocation of exile had eroded her authority in ways she would never have had to experience in France, and this led to the *Symphony* project floundering in its half-corrected state. Boulanger suggested to Stravinsky that he would have to wait for her to return from her summer teaching schedule in Wisconsin before she could improve matters at all.

By the end of August, Boulanger retreated to California, and stayed with her friends Georgette and Arthur Sachs at their Montecito Ranch. Georgette Sachs had been an early American pupil of Boulanger's, and the pair had since become close friends.<sup>65</sup> Her husband, Arthur Sachs, was an ex-banker, a member of the board of the New York Philharmonic, and a patron of the arts.<sup>66</sup> He had provided funding for Boulanger's tours in the late 1930s and was a continual donor to the Lili Boulanger Memorial Fund after its founding in March 1939.

The Sachses lived just over an hour and a half by car from Stravinsky's Hollywood home. In August, the composer was still

occupied with a tour to Mexico, but he wrote to Boulanger nonetheless to complain about the “idiots at the Associated Music Publishers who had expedited all the materials for his *Symphony* to London without having received [her] corrections!!!!!!”<sup>67</sup> The pair also exchanged views about Stravinsky’s son, Theodore, and their worries about his recent internment in a prisoner-of-war camp in Switzerland. Boulanger wrote to Stravinsky that she was haunted continually by the thought that she had abandoned everything, but that it was time to “settle the parts” for the *Symphony* in C “once and for all” while she was visiting in Santa Barbara.<sup>68</sup> Stravinsky’s reply, sent after his return to Hollywood, set the tone for his and Boulanger’s work there that summer:

My dear Nadia,

Am happy to learn you are so close. How this vacation with the kind Sachses will do you good, and how this little sojourn will renew your strength—and you’ll be in need of it, because you give of it so generously left and right.

The more you spend your energies, the stronger your troubled conscience becomes. I know that you have nothing to blame yourself for. These worries are a part of your nature and they will bother you less when the strength of your heart returns. May God come to you in aid.

Your,

I. Str.<sup>69</sup>

These overarching sentiments—Stravinsky’s that California bring Boulanger restoration, and Boulanger’s that her vacations there be a time for discussing music—set the tone for a tradition that would hold for the remainder of Boulanger’s time in America. Each summer, after finishing her teaching obligations on the East Coast and spending a short stint working with the Sinsinawa nuns in Madison, Wisconsin, Boulanger retired to Santa Barbara where she spent her vacation time with the Sachses and the Stravinskys. These months included regular meetings with the composer, during which they engaged in music making, score reading, and gossiping about family and friends. Her visits to Stravinsky’s home were usually short, but almost every composition Stravinsky composed from then on found its way into Boulanger’s collection, and bore some sort of annotation or dedication to Boulanger.<sup>70</sup> The first of these visits, made in 1941, centered on the *Symphony*, and though the visit restored Boulanger’s spirits, it did not result in the work’s correction.

### Alexei Haïeff and the Symphony in C

For nearly a year after this first visit to Santa Barbara, Boulanger and Stravinsky avoided the subject of the Symphony in C. Instead, Boulanger continued teaching at the Longy School of Music while also touring and lecturing along the east coast. The year 1941–42 was not good for Boulanger. In January 1942, the Conservatoire de Paris announced that Olivier Messiaen had been appointed as professor of harmony, a post that Boulanger had long desired.<sup>71</sup> On 10 January, a letter arrived from Paris to tell Boulanger that her cottage, Gargenville, was now occupied by the Nazis, a fact that greatly traumatized her. Notes left in her diaries suggest that news from family and friends was unfathomable to the isolated Boulanger and images in the newspapers documenting the atrocities of the German army only made Boulanger more critical of those French who she felt were blind to their collaboration with these events.<sup>72</sup> Her close friend, the Princesse de Polignac, had fled to England where she was living a penniless existence, and, on 13 March, Boulanger learned that the patroness had fallen and broken her arm.<sup>73</sup>

Avoiding discussions about the Symphony in C, Boulanger worked with Stravinsky to truncate his *Poétique musicale* for a lecture series in Chicago. She spent November to March of that academic year negotiating with Dumas Malone, then head of Harvard University Press, and Edward Forbes concerning the publication of Stravinsky's *Poétique*—an effort that Stravinsky thanked her for by sending her a hand-dedicated, first-edition copy of the book.<sup>74</sup> February 1942 was also when Stravinsky began working on his Barnum and Bailey's *Circus Polka* commission, a work that Boulanger would reference continuously later in life as an example of Stravinsky approaching even the most casual of commissions as serious intellectual activity.<sup>75</sup> And that summer, when she returned to Santa Barbara, Stravinsky began work on the Sonata for Two Pianos, a work written for, dedicated to, and premiered by Boulanger. Amongst all these projects, the Symphony in C did not seem to merit mention, and it was not until 28 November 1942 that Boulanger suggested to Stravinsky the pupil she had in mind to complete the editorial work.

Alexei Haïeff had been a student of Boulanger's in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in Paris from 1938 to 1939.<sup>76</sup> In November 1942, Boulanger chose Haïeff to be the recipient of the Lili Boulanger Memorial Award and began to consider him a possible candidate to complete what she and Stravinsky had started in editing the Symphony in C. By April 1943, Boulanger was arranging dinner meetings with Haïeff, Marcelle de Manziarly—a former pupil of Boulanger's and friend to both her and the composer—and Vera Stravinsky.<sup>77</sup> Coincidentally,

these meetings occurred at the same time that Haïeff required money for medical treatment, and part of the solution to these problems seemed quite obvious: pay Haïeff to complete writing out the revisions for the Symphony in C.<sup>78</sup>

Boulanger and Stravinsky spent the summer of 1943 at work in California where the composer wrote the Sonata for Two Pianos. In October, Boulanger helped him reorchestrate the "Danse sacrée" movement of *The Rite of Spring*.<sup>79</sup> In June, Haïeff wrote to Boulanger to say that he was "recopying the first movement of the symphony, which, he thought now is right with many changes in desposition [*sic*] and orchestration." Haïeff was staying with Marcelle de Manziarly in the hamlet of St. James, Long Island. He had moved in with de Manziarly on doctor's orders to get some fresh country air, and in his letter to Boulanger he reported that he was feeling "much stronger and healthier."<sup>80</sup> Another former pupil, Claudio Spies, wrote to Boulanger on 16 April 1944 that Haïeff had shown him the "photostat of the Symphony in C which he [was] copying."<sup>81</sup> All signs suggested that revising Stravinsky's masterpiece was finally seeing some progress.

Within another seven months, however, Haïeff's story had changed. On 17 November 1944, he wrote:

Dear Mademoiselle,

I do not know, even, how to begin.

I feel very guilty and terribly ashamed. First of all, I must confess: I have done very little work on the Stravinsky Symphony . . .

All this time my guilty conscience kept me from writing to you . . . I did not see clearly the difficulty of doing [these edits]. . . . This summer, to my shame, I copied only twenty pages . . .

All this autumn I was expecting a questioning letter from you or from Stravinsky, but had not the courage to write myself and tell the truth. . . . I know you will be disgusted with me for all this, but, please, only remember that I will always adore you,

Yours devotedly,

Alexei<sup>82</sup>

Boulanger intervened with Stravinsky on her former student's behalf, writing to him to "forgive Alexei," and excuse him because of his illness. She explained: "everything is his fault, and nothing is his fault. Primarily it's winter's fault, actually."<sup>83</sup> The composer was not angry with Boulanger—that summer, she had premiered his Sonata for Two Pianos in Indiana with her student Richard Johnston, and together



with Stravinsky, she had just performed the work in a recital at Mills College.<sup>84</sup> Twenty days prior to Haïeff's penitent letter, Stravinsky had also agreed to write an *Elegy* for solo viola, a commission Boulanger convinced him to take for only \$100.<sup>85</sup> The letters and annotated scores suggest that Stravinsky wanted to dwell in his current creative state rather than trifle over botched editorial efforts. Boulanger, on the other hand, had had enough. It was at this time that she abandoned efforts to correct the score. Six years after engaging with the project's financial situation and three years after starting the editorial process, attempts to revise the composition evaporated.

### Out of Exile

The *Symphony in C* was the longest and arguably least successful project in which Stravinsky and Boulanger ever engaged. In total, seven years passed between the time when Stravinsky began sketching the work and when Boulanger finally abandoned efforts to edit it. The piece was not published in its entirety until 1948. Despite these problems, the materials surrounding the work provide a stunning and thus far unknown picture of Stravinsky and Boulanger's interactions. Because of the blunders, the problems, and the many written negotiations, the pair furnished historians a path by which to explore the development of their relationship from 1939 to 1944. In particular, these documents provide for the first time Boulanger's own voice about dealing with patrons, marshaling public support for Stravinsky's music, and grappling with exile.

Though the project was to most degrees a failure, one cannot underestimate the importance that the visits and discussions it engendered had for the beleaguered musicians. In 1950, years after returning to Paris, Boulanger wrote to Vera Stravinsky of the precious memories of her time spent in California. As Boulanger's relationship with Stravinsky began to suffer the difficulties of their growing old apart, she wrote to them of her deep longing to return to Hollywood and begin the music all over again:

Just like when one is little, I tell myself stories, and I dream that I am arranging my cushions, at your home, so that I might sit on the couch. I see Igor's hand, his fingers, moving a marble in Chinese checkers. I see the table once again, its arrangement organized with such patience. . . . Everything is there, the smallest of details make me believe, when I enter into this game, that we are together, and the conversation will begin once again.

Why is this only a dream?<sup>86</sup>

And Boulanger was not alone in having experienced joy in their music making, Stravinsky too reveled in these meetings. Upon learning of the composer's death in 1971, Boulanger's long-time friend and once-student, Sister Ignatia Dourney, wrote from America to Boulanger to comfort her. Her letter recounts the one memory of time spent with Boulanger and Stravinsky in California that she thought would soothe the pedagogue best:

I recall so vividly in Santa Barbara how pleased [Stravinsky] would be as you pointed out the new or extraordinary structural facets of his compositions, and how happy you would be when he offered a new composition for [you] to read with him. I hope never to forget *Oedipus Rex* as you and he examined it together, he singing, you playing. What an experience!<sup>87</sup>

It was the dialogue she shared with Stravinsky and the ability to discuss music with him that sustained Boulanger throughout their joint exile. Together she shared with Stravinsky a sense of hope that the beauty of the world would not be destroyed, and that his music could return to Europe. This was what tempered Boulanger's feelings of solitude, guilt, and shame; together they survived, even if the symphony suffered.

Though this project provides a detailed account of the personal relationships developed during its evolution, the actual musical documents remain surprisingly incomplete. The score Alexei Haïeff used to make corrections from is not to be found in Boulanger's, Stravinsky's, or Haïeff's archives, and the autograph score for the final two movements of the symphony never made it into Boulanger's possession.<sup>88</sup> She never even purchased a copy of the published score, an extremely uncharacteristic choice for Boulanger. At the same time, archival materials relating to Boulanger and Stravinsky exist throughout Europe and North America. The archives of her students hold many items yet to be examined, and missing pieces of the *Symphony in C*—a work jostled back and forth from East to West Coast of the United States and back to Paris again—may rest hidden somewhere simply waiting to be found. No doubt locating them would help to flesh out the details of this extensive project.

Perhaps her intensely emotional connection to the symphony explains why Boulanger never purchased the published version and programmed it but twice in her teaching schedule in the years following.<sup>89</sup> She also performed her two-piano reductions for it on a single concert, just after returning to Paris from exile, but never after that.<sup>90</sup> Otherwise, the piece fell into relative obscurity in Boulanger's pantheon of Stravinsky works, compared to the perennial celebration some of his other compositions received.

The *Symphony in C*, along with the *Sonata for Two Pianos*, was also the last piece by Stravinsky that Boulanger agreed to correct. When she finally left America to return to Paris in January of 1946, she would never again copyedit one of Stravinsky's scores. At this time, Boulanger approached her sixtieth year, and her already poor eyesight was failing badly. Simultaneously, she had finally been appointed as a professor at the Conservatoire de Paris. She wanted to be a fundamental part of rebuilding the school at Fontainebleau, and there was a love of music—especially Stravinsky's music—to rekindle in Europe. She simply did not have the time to be his editorial advisor anymore.

Boulanger left America to reestablish a tradition of modern music in Europe as she imagined it to be, a project she had been forced to abandon by the onset of World War II, but to which she was no less committed after her six-year absence. Boulanger's experience in exile had only solidified her resolve to direct music along the "right path," a path whose direction was illuminated by the guiding light of Igor Stravinsky. Following this bittersweet departure—marked by excitement at returning home and extreme sadness at once again leaving friends behind—the echoes of the events from 1939 to 1945 remained with Boulanger and Stravinsky for the rest of their lives. Though Boulanger returned to Paris to renew her battle for new music, the intensely emotional connection she had with certain parts of her past, like the music for the *Symphony in C*, lingered painfully and so were omitted from her public efforts to guide European artistic tastes. Today, the *Symphony in C* is one of Stravinsky's celebrated late neoclassical compositions, considered an archetype of proportional clarity and harmonic invention, but from 1944 until her death in 1979, it remained for Boulanger the unfinished symphony.

### **Appendix 1: Letter from Boulanger to Stravinsky, 17 March 1941, SS, CH-Bps<sup>91</sup>**

Mon cher ami,

Quelle honte de ne pas vous avoir encore écrit, mais, si je suis très-occupée, je passe aussi par une crise morale assez dure . . . Le sentiment de honte que j'ai d'être partie dans untel[sic] moment, a pris dans mon esprit de douloureuses proportions. J'aurais du le savoir, mais d'autre part, que faire autrement. Pour les aider la-bas, il fallait bien remplir cet autre devoir. Enfin, comme vous voyez, cela ne va pas . . .

Mais je ne savais pas combien j'aimais la France, combien j'ai besoin d'elle, et combien, dans sa faiblesse, je la sens grande. Comme

nous l'avons mal servie, nous autres français dont la chair et l'esprit sont formes par elle, sestraditions, sa foi . . .

Qu'avions nous fait de ce patrimoine qui etait notre honneur et engageait notre responsabilite. A se reveiller d'un tel affreux cauchemar, car c'est-ce qu'a ete notre vie nationale, on comprend soudain, et on n'a pas assez de larmes pour offrir a Dieu. Il ne s'agit pas de sentimentalite, mais du reveil de la conscience-cela vaut bien de passer par une lourde crise. Si l'on s'est cruellement vu dans un impitoyable miroir, le resultat vaut bien la souffrance . . .

Pardon de tout ceci qui n'a aucun sens, sauf pour moi. Mais je suis si seule a cet egard, qu'il me faut bien ouvrir mon cœur. Et qui, comme vous peut comprendre? Mais pas de chance, que d'être honore d'une si ecrasanteconfiance. Cela ne fait rien, cela vaut bien quelque chose, car, quel est le nombre d'hommes qui en ce moment meme, se frappent la poitrine?

Pour le materiel, j'espere qu'il ne viendra pas maintenant, car nous donnons un concert pour les Polonais le 4 avril a New-York, avec la Resurrection de Schutz . . . il a fallu refaire tout un materiel, puisque je n'avais plus rien, et bien que Barbara fasse les copies, cela a pris beaucoup de temps. On ne dirait pas, a voir cette interminable et inutile lettre, que je manque de temps. Mais il est plus facile de dire toute, endesordre, que de choisir, eliminer, refuser, et donner forme . . .

Embrassez Vera, et, rassurez-vous j'ai fini. Je vous embrasse. Vous me manquez tous deux affreusement, et je veux esperer que nousnous [sic] reverrons . . . un jour

Votre

Nadia

## Notes

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1. Léonie Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger: A Life in Music* (New York and London: Norton, 1982), 90.
2. See Kimberly Francis, "Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky: Documents of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France," *Revue de musicologie* 95 (2009): 135–54; and also her "A Dialogue Begins: Nadia Boulanger, Igor Stravinsky, and the *Symphonie de Psalms*, 1930–1932," *Women and Music: A Journal of Gender and Culture* 14, no. 1 (2010): 22–44.
3. See Kimberly Francis, "Mediating Modern Music: Nadia Boulanger Constructs Igor Stravinsky" (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010), 125–28.
4. For documents concerning Boulanger's tours of the United States, see Nadia Boulanger, "Documents divers," Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France, (hereafter cited as *F-Pn*) Rés. Vm. Dos. 143–44, 1937–39. For more on women patrons of the United States, see Ralph Locke and Cyrilla Barr, eds., *Cultivating Music in America: Women Patrons and Activists since 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
5. Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky, The Second Exile: France and America, 1934–1971* (New York: Knopf, 2006), 60. Stravinsky's first grandchild, named Catherine (called "Kitty") was born on 18 January to his daughter Lyudmila and her husband Yury Mandelstam. Days earlier, Stravinsky's sister-in-law and cousin, Lyudmila Belyankin, suffered a stroke and died. News reached Stravinsky later, in Detroit. At the same time as responding to these letters, he also began sketches for what became the Symphony in C.
6. For correspondence concerning the *Dumbarton Oaks Concerto*, see Stravinsky to Boulanger, 6 April–20 June 1938, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (125–32); Boulanger to Stravinsky, 19 April–15 May 1938, Stravinsky Sammlung, Paul Sacher Stiftung (in the following cited as *SS*, *Ch-Bps*); Willy Strecker to Stravinsky, 30 April 1938, *SS*, *CH-Bps*; Strecker to Boulanger, 3 May 1938, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 109 (107). Letters N.L.a. 108 (125–30) also appear in Robert Craft's *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 237–38. Craft's edition, however, contains many translation errors and unmarked ellipses. Furthermore, he does not cite handwritten annotations, because they do not appear on the carbon copy retained by Stravinsky that served as Craft's reference point. See Mildred Bliss to Boulanger, after 8 May 1938, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 56 (240). This letter is also discussed by Jeanice Brooks, in "Mildred Bliss Tells Nadia Boulanger to Think of Herself for Once," in *Cultivating Music in America*, ed. Locke and Barr, 209–13.
7. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 69, 74–75, 88.
8. Boulanger, Agendas, 1–2 December 1938, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmf. Ms. 102 (4–5).
9. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 12 January 1939, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (134–35). "Chère Nadia, Comment vous remercier pour votre vœux si affectueux? Victor [Cherbourg] qui Sam également parti avec *Ile de France* (le 11). Il a vu une dame américaine à laquelle Mlle. Bliss envoyer des lettres et copie de votre cable (à Mme Bliss) pour lui faire savoir ce qu'il y avait à faire pour avoir la 1<sup>ère</sup> de ma Symphonie aux États-Unis la saison

prochaine. Croyez-vous à la possibilité de la réussite? Mon Dieu, de qui je vous serai reconnaissant si les demandes que vous avez entreprise agent le succès qu'on voudrait espérer . . . [P.S.] Si la chose se réalise je voudrais tellement *donner mon manuscrit* (de la *Symphonie*) à Mme Bliss." The Sam mentioned in this letter is Samuel Dushkin, the famous violinist and friend of Boulanger and Stravinsky. The Cherbourg mentioned here is most likely a reference to the port in northern France where ships often sailed from in the 1930s. It is unclear to whom Stravinsky is referring by the name of Victor here.

10. Ellen Carpenter (née Borden) and Boulanger were acquaintances through the former's husband, John Alden Carpenter. See John Alden Carpenter to Boulanger, 1937, F-Pn, N.L.a. 59 (223). Mrs. George Horace Lorimer (née Alma V. Ennis) was a Philadelphia socialite who chaired the Philadelphia Chapter of the Metropolitan Opera Association. She was the widow of George H. Lorimer, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* from 1899 to 1936. See "George H. Lorimer, Noted Editor, Dies," *New York Times*, 23 October 1937, 1; "Lorimer Gave Art and Park to Public," *New York Times*, 28 October 1937, 27; "Opera Leaders Plan Philadelphia Party," *New York Times*, 13 November 1938, 50; for a discussion of George H. Lorimer's career, see Jan Cohn, *Creating America: George Horace Lorimer and the "Saturday Evening Post"* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).

11. To reassure the composer, and to facilitate their communication during her trip, Boulanger sent him her schedule of events for the 1939 tour, as well as a list of addresses at which she could be reached. The list is seven pages long. Françoise Campbell to Stravinsky, 25 December 1938 (part of the Boulanger correspondence), SS, CH-Bps. The schedule, having been set long before Boulanger left Paris, saw many additions once she was actually present in the United States. She mentions some of her additional engagements when explaining the state of negotiations to Stravinsky, see Boulanger to Stravinsky, March 1939, SS, CH-Bps.

12. Boulanger never states exactly how much she and Stravinsky were hoping to collect for the work, or which orchestra the negotiations were centered upon. These details were perhaps worked out when Boulanger was at Stravinsky's home to help after the death of his daughter. (See n7.)

13. Boulanger to Stravinsky, March 1939, SS, CH-Bps. According to the timeline she sent the composer, Boulanger was somewhere in between New York and Cambridge when negotiations began. "Cher Ami, Je pense à vous chaque jour j'ai des nouvelles, mais la vie invraisemblable que je mène ne m'a réellement pas permis de vous écrire. Ne me croyez pourtant pas inactive. J'ai vu les Bliss, les Carpenter, Mme Lorimer, et les choses semblent enfin devoir prendre forme cette semaine. J'espère une lettre de Mme. Lorimer vendredi à Washington, où je serai chez les Bliss, et si enfin les tergiversations cessent, je pourrai vous donner des nouvelles précises. Que de patience il faut user. Les Carpenters et les Bliss *veulent* vraiment agir, tout dépend donc de Mme [Lorimer], car sans elle, la somme n'est pas complète. Dire que c'est une belle lettre qui va vers vous, mais vous savez, n'est-ce-pas, que je vis dans la pensée de vos angoisses, de vos espoirs, et de votre travail . . . Nadia."

14. "BOULEVERSEE PAR TERRIBLE NOUVELLE SUIS PROFONDEMENT MALHEUREUSE ETRE SI LOIN SENTEZ MOI DE TOUT CŒUR VOTRE NADIA." Boulanger to Stravinsky, 3 March 1939, SS, CH-Bps.

15. Boulanger sent six letters/telegrams to the Stravinsky family including two to Soulima, and one to "Mademoiselle et Messieurs Stravinsky." See Boulanger to Stravinskys, 4–15 March 1939, SS, CH-Bps.

16. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 15 March 1939, SS, CH-Bps. "Mon cher Ami, Je reçois un télégramme de Mildred Bliss—tout est fait pour la Symphonie, enfin. Ce qu'ont été, elle et Ellen Carpenter, je ne pourrai jamais vous le dire. Tout était compliqué par le fait que tant de possibilités étaient offertes, aucune ne vous offrent à notre avis assez de garantie. Ainsi, Mildred Bliss va vous écrire le détail, le manuscrit va à la Library of Congress, la 1<sup>ère</sup> audition est réservée à Chicago, sous votre direction, ce que j'ai suggéré être[*sic*] une condition absolue. Je viens de recevoir la dépêche et ne sais comment vous sera exposé la situation—telle qu'elle est, elle représente le résultat d'un effort vraiment admirable, vous me direz—et je suis bien d'accord que c'est un bonheur de faciliter la production d'une œuvre d'un homme tel que vous. Mais quand on s'est trouvé devant les questions matérielles tout a été si difficile hélas. Et la persistance, la volonté d'aboutir qu'ont montrée les Bliss et les Carpenter est vraiment émouvante. Je pense à vous *sans cesse*, dois je vous dire. Mais, je sors à peine d'une grippe sévère, avec un travail fou—et je n'ai littéralement [pas] une minute à moi. C'est très cruel dans un moment où je voudrais ne songer qu'à vous, qu'à Catherine, à Mica . . . Je vous embrasse, Votre Nadia." This was around the same time that Boulanger began to negotiate with Edward Forbes about inviting Stravinsky to be the Elliot Norton Chair of Poetry at Harvard in 1939 (see Walsh, *Second Exile*, 91).

17. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 11 May 1939, SS, CH-Bps.

18. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 4 June 1939, SS, CH-Bps. "Mon Cher Ami, . . . M'arrête à Chicago mercredi pour 'essayer' de fixer la question Chicago—ces hésitations, des difficultés s'expliquent peut-être, mais sont si difficiles à supporter. Et que faire? Chacun sait l'importance de la décision attendue, mais chacun est si préoccupé par les mesures fiscales qu'on n'ose plus bouger. Je vous embrasse, et suis de tout cœur, Votre NB [P.S.] Serai à Paris le 2 ou 3 juillet et ferai tout ce qui sera possible pour vous voir aussitôt que possible." She also writes at the end of this text that she was leaving for America just three weeks later on 28 June 1939 aboard the S. S. Normandy.

19. Though Boulanger helped lobby for Stravinsky to win the post at Harvard, she also suggested Forbes hire her friend, and acclaimed French poet, Paul Valéry. Forbes chose Stravinsky instead, but promised Boulanger that he would keep Valéry in mind. Letter from Edward Forbes to Boulanger, October 1939, SS, CH-Bps. See also Walsh, *Second Exile*, 91–92.

20. Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 312; and Jérôme Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger* (Lausanne: Payot, 1987), 104.

21. Upon learning about the tragedy from Stravinsky's agent, Richard Copley, Boulanger once again wrote directly to Stravinsky: Boulanger to Stravinsky, 4 July 1939, SS, CH-Bps.

22. Paul Valéry eventually wrote about this meeting to his friend and former Stravinsky collaborator, André Gide. In the letter, Valéry comments on the curious similarity between his own work and Stravinsky's "Poétique musicale." Valéry to Gide, 17 September 1939, SS, CH-Bps. This letter somehow made it into the Stravinsky collection afterwards. Edward Forbes also wrote to Boulanger while on the S. S. President returning to America after visiting her at Gargenville that summer. He remarked at

how lovely it was to meet Valéry and spend time with Stravinsky while there. Letter from Forbes to Boulanger, 9 September 1939, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 70 (193). Finally, in September, Louise Talma wrote of how excited she was to hear that Stravinsky was at Gargenville that summer. Talma to Boulanger, 21 September 1939, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 110 (83).

23. These lectures, like so much of Stravinsky's written output, were actually ghost-written. The original outlines were prepared in consultation with the composer by his friend, and fellow Russian expatriate, Pierre Souvtchinsky. These texts were then translated into French by Alexis Roland-Manuel. For further details, see Walsh, *Second Exile*, 91–97. See also Valerie Dufour's work on Stravinsky's coauthors and assistants up until the 1940s, *Stravinski et ses Exégètes* (Brussels: Université de Bruxelles, 2006).

24. Katharine Wolff to Boulanger, 23 September 1939, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 117 (185–86). (Original in English.)

25. Wolff to Boulanger, 7 October 1939, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 117 (187–188), *F-Pn*. (Original in English.)

26. Wolff to Boulanger, 8 January 1940, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 117 (192). (Original in English.)

27. Forbes to Boulanger, October 1939 and 11 December 1939, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 70 (195–202 and 203–4).

28. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 104. Many of Boulanger's ex-pupils also attended the lecture, including Walter Piston and Alexei Haïeff.

29. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 113–15.

30. There is some evidence to suggest that this silence may have been the result of a falling out between Stravinsky and Boulanger precipitated by a romantic connection between them or a disagreement concerning his remarriage to Sudeikina. The evidence is, however, mainly hearsay. Exploring questions of Boulanger's sexuality and how it related to her partnership with Stravinsky merits a great deal of care and falls outside the scope of this article, but I will be addressing it in a future study.

31. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 18 April 1940, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (137–38). "Très chère Nadia, J'éprouve un besoin irrésistible de vous écrire ne serait-ce que quelques lignes. J'espère qu'on vous a fait savoir la nouvelle de notre mariage avec Vera (pour le moment-civil, vue le grand carême orthodoxe) dont j'ai cablé à Paris, mais j'avais envie de vous l'annoncer personnellement. On a du le célébrer plus tôt qu'on me le projetait primitivement, mais l'indiscrétion de la presse depuis l'arrivée de Vera en Amérique et ma terrible solitude (malgré mes nombreuses occupations) m'ont décidé de la faire venir de Charleston (où elle s'installe chez des amis) à Boston pour nous marier—ce qui été fait le 9 mars à Bedford, à 30 km d'ici chez des amis russes (professeur à Harvard), à la campagne . . . Nous sommes très angoissé[sic] par les événements quoique pleins de confiance dans l'issue de cette gigantesque lutte avec le mal. J'ai tellement envie d'avoir de vous [sic] nouvelles, chère amie, des nouvelles directes. Sister Edward que j'ai vu à Chicago en avait et moi non! . . . Un mot de vous me comblerait de joie. Votre, I.Str."

32. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 5 April 1940, SS, CH-Bps.

33. Boulanger entered the United States on a visitor's permit which was only valid for the school year. Once in America, however, she realized how dangerous it would be



to return to Paris, and so had to convert to permanent residence status. See Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 320. For more on the limitations facing those wishing to travel from France to the United States after war broke out, see Walsh, *Second Exile*, 107 and 116. Boulanger's visa applications are available for consultation. See "Voyages aux États-Unis," *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm. Dos. 125.

34. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 19 November 1940, SS, CH-Bps. At this same time, prior students, such as Katharine Wolff, wrote to Boulanger to urge her to come to America. Wolff wrote: "I had hopes that you would come . . . at least in a teaching or lecturing capacity. So many French musicians are coming over constantly and I keep hoping that some day á boat will arrive with you on it." 31 December 1940, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 117 (195–96).

35. Richard Taruskin describes Stravinsky's Russian cultural orientation as "Eurasian," or a somewhat romanticized and artificial representation of Russian culture. See Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 17. See also Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 135.

36. Nadia Boulanger, "École Normale Documents," 1935–36, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm. Dos. 127.

37. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 30 December 1945, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (202).

38. Stravinsky, like Boulanger, oscillated between using a more diffuse cosmopolitan identity and asserting outright his Russian heritage. For him, it was a flexible nexus. Lydia Goehr engages critically with Stravinsky's use of this type of identity politics in her piece "Music and Musicians in Exile: The Romantic Legacy of a Double Life," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 77.

39. Homi Bhabha, "Introduction," in *Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 4.

40. Bruce Robbins, *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. Bruce Robbins and Pheng Cheah (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 3. Cohen, "Migrant Cosmopolitan Modern: Cultural Reconstruction in Stefan Wolpe's Musical Thought" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), 12.

41. Goehr, "Music and Musicians in Exile," 70.

42. Stephen Walsh, "Stravinsky, Igor," in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/52818pg8> (accessed 25 March 2009), and Walsh, *Second Exile*, 104–23. In his entry, Walsh argues that, like Boulanger, Stravinsky was unfamiliar with American customs and found it difficult to negotiate life in this new territory. Unlike Boulanger, however, Stravinsky had experienced exile before, and was better equipped to negotiate the territory than she. For a treatment of Stravinsky's experience of exile that contrasts Walsh's, see Claudia Maurer Zenck, "Challenges and Opportunities of Acculturation: Schoenberg, Krenek, and Stravinsky in Exile," in *Driven into Paradise*, 172–93.

43. Reinhold Brinkmann, "Introduction," in *Driven into Paradise*, 5.

44. Cohen, "Migrant Cosmopolitan Modern," 18.
45. Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 177.
46. Said, "Reflections on Exile," 9.
47. Goehr, "Music and Musicians in Exile," 67.
48. Goehr, "Music and Musicians in Exile," 67.
49. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 4 December 1940, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (139). One can also consult the carbon copy held at the Paul Sacher Stiftung or another translated version published in Craft, *Correspondence*, 38.
50. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 4 December 1940, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (139). What I believe were Boulanger's short-hand notes for her preconcert talks on the Symphony in C are held as part of the *fonds* Boulanger. See *F-Pn*, Rés. Ms. Vma. 1218 (1–3).
51. Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 319; Kendra Preston Leonard, *The Conservatoire Américain: A History* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 51–62.
52. Boulanger, "Diaries," February 1941, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmd. Ms. 53 (1).
53. The Stravinskys purchased their home at 1260 North Wetherly Drive in April 1941. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 125–37.
54. "Stravinsky Cambridge," Boulanger, Diaries, 13–16 January 1941, *F-Pn* Rés. Vmd. Ms. 53 (1).
55. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 3 March 1941, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (140). "Ma chère Nadia, Il y a à peu près un mois qu'on est sans nouvelles de vous. Vous serez bien gentille de nous envoyer ne serai-ce qu'une carte postale. . . . A propos de [ma symphonie]: j'en ai parlé à Mr. Ernest R. Voigt (Associated Music Publishers, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York City) et il m'a promis de vous envoyer (dès qu'il recevra le matériel d'ici) une partie de chaque instrument plus la partition d'orch. Les parties seront [sic] vierge c.a.d. plaines [sic] de fautes et la partition d'orch celle que vous connaissez, la grise. Si vous en aurez besoin de la mienne (la noire) je vous l'enverrai, mais je préfère de la garder ici (j'en aurai peut-être besoin) . . . Quand vous reverra-t-on? Est-ce tout à fait impossible de vous y revoir cette année encore ici? Chère Nadia, je vous embrasse très affectueusement. Votre, I Strawinsky." One can also consult the copy at the Paul Sacher Stiftung and in Craft, *Correspondence*, 238–39.
56. The Rosenstiel biography is particularly problematic because it lacks any citations for its findings and never received endorsement by the Boulanger estate prior to publication. For a particularly trenchant and accurate critique of the problems with the text, see Alexandra Laederich, ed., *Nadia Boulanger et Lili Boulanger: Témoignages et études* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2007), 7.
57. Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 324.
58. Boulanger's letters to Copland are of a very different tone than that of hers to Stravinsky. Annegret Fauser is currently in the process of editing their correspondence for publication. For selected letters from Boulanger to Poulenc, see Myriam Chimènes, ed., *Correspondance, 1910–1963, Francis Poulenc* (Paris: Fayard, 1994).

59. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 17 March 1941, SS, CH-Bps. I have included the complete text in its original French as Appendix 1.
60. Stravinsky sent another letter on 31 April 1941, searching for Boulanger to ensure she was alright. See Stravinsky to unknown recipient (possibly Arthur and Georgette Sachs), 31 April 1941, SS, CH-Bps. In addition to trying to ensure that Boulanger's health was improving, Stravinsky wanted to get in touch with her to see if she knew anyone who could help with his son Theodore's situation in Switzerland.
61. "J'avais été de cœur avec vous tout ce temps. Votre lettre m'a beaucoup émue. Vous embrasse très affectueusement. Votre I. Str." Stravinsky to Boulanger, 31 March 1941, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (141–42).
62. Boulanger, Diaries, April–May 1941, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmd. Ms. 53 (1). Additional duties during the 1940–41 school year included conducting a gala concert for Paderewski on 5 April and giving a lecture on the music of Stravinsky and J. S. Bach at the Phillips Memorial Gallery on 9 May. Concerning the concert at the Phillips Memorial Gallery, Boulanger requested that the entire main hall be re-arranged to better reflect her musical program. In a letter from Duncan Phillips to Boulanger, he delicately explains the impossibility of doing this. Duncan Phillips to Nadia Boulanger, 3 May 1941, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm. Dos. 148 (24). The concert itself is listed in: Boulanger, Diaries, 10 May 1941, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmd. Ms. 53 (1). The gala concert for Paderewski is discussed by Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 318; and Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger*, 109.
63. Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 317. It is unclear who exactly she sent money to, though most likely it would have been to Annette Dieudonné or friends of the family.
64. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 19 May 1941, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (143). The copy of this letter can also be consulted at the Paul Sacher Stiftung and in Craft, *Correspondence*, 239–40. "Ma chère Nadia, Il y a de nouveau longtemps que je n'entends plus parler de vous. Êtes-vous toujours à Cambridge, êtes-vous en vacances (plustot [*sic*] invraisemblable)? Il y a des éternités (le 17 mars) que vous m'aviez envoyé de vos (hélas tristes) nouvelles. Depuis l'ASSOCIATED MUSIC PUBLISHERS dans leur lettre de 1er avril me parlaient de vous en me faisant savoir que 'the material of your Symphony was sent to Miss Boulanger . . . she wrote us in the meantime that her corrections would be delayed as she is rather busy at this time.' Is *this time over*? C'est ce que je me demande avec une certaine inquiétude pour deux raison: 1.—Mon concert à Mexico, où je joue ma symphonie, s'approche et je me demande si je pourrai compter sur ce nouveau matériel corrigé par vous. 2.—Si on vous avait envoyé avec le matériel [*sic*] vierge aussi celui d'après lequel j'ai dirigé (afin de vous faciliter le travail de correction) j'ai bien peur que l'ASSOCIATED MUSIC PUBLISHERS devant livrer ce matériel corrigé à la Philharmonie de Mexico (il faut compter 10 a 14 jours, le transfert de New York à Mexico) pour mes concerts (commencement de juillet) se verra obligé de vous l'enlever, interrompant ainsi votre précieux travail. A moins que vous puissiez le continuer d'après les corrections inscrites en partie sur la partition grise, en partie sur des bouts de papier. Je suis comme vous voyez, dans l'ignorance complète de ce qui passe. Un mot de vous mettera [*sic*] en bon ordre mes nerfs, à condition que ce mot soit rassurant."
65. The entry for Georgette Sachs can be found in Boulanger, "Student Directory," *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm. Ms. 1198 (3).
66. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 147.

67. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 29 July 1941, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (144). A copy of this letter also exists at the Paul Sacher Stiftung and in Craft, *Correspondence*, 241.
68. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 5 August 1941, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (145). During this visit, Stravinsky also asked Boulanger to help him with his Harvard University Publishing contracts and with his Symphony. See Stravinsky to Boulanger, 13 October 1941, *F-Pn*, N.L.a. 108 (147).
69. Stravinsky to Boulanger, 5 August 1941 (see n77). At the end of this, he added a postscript that Robert Bliss had been operated on and he was waiting to hear from Mrs. Bliss about the details of his condition. "Ma chère Nadia, Heureux de vous savoir si près. Que ce séjour chez les bons Sachs vous fasse du bien et que ces courts [sic] vacances vous donnent des nouvelles forces—vous en avez besoin puisque vous les distribuez si généreusement à droite et à gauche. Plus vous les dépenserez [sic] plus forts devant vos troubles de conscience. Je sais que vous n'avez rien à vous reprocher. Ces troubles font partie de votre nature et ils vous tourmentèrent moins quand les forces de cœur vous reviendront, Que Dieu vous vienne en aide. Votre I Str."
70. Boulanger's archives hold the following annotated scores given to Boulanger by Stravinsky during 1941–45: *Four Norwegian Moods*, photostat of autograph orchestral score, 1942, Vmb. 4455; *Circus Polka*, photostat of autograph manuscript, 1942, Vmb. 4452; *Apollon Musagète*, photostat of "Stravinsky's personal copy," 1943, Vmb. 5461; "Danse Sacrale," *Sacre du Printemps*, autograph orchestral score, 1943, Ms. 17946; Symphony in Three Movements (*Symphonie Concertante*), copy of first movement sketches, 1945, Gr. Vma. 475; and "Gloria," Mass, photostat of the autograph, 1945, Vmg. 22923. Undated but likely also from this time period are her copy of the *Ave Maria*, autograph of the revised version, Rés. Vma. Ms. 980; *Oedipus Rex*, copy of the autograph orchestral score, Vma. 4006; Pastorale, incomplete autograph of the revised version, Rés. Vma. Ms. 981; *Pater noster*, new Latin version, Vmh. 8581; *Pater noster*, photostat of the autograph, Vmg. 22928; and *Scènes de Ballets*, autograph sketches for the "L'Étoile, Adantino" movement, Ms. 17942.
71. Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger*, 109.
72. Boulanger, Diaries, 10 January 1942, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmf. Ms. 109: "News from the Rue Ballu, Gargenville is occupied." "Nouvelles de la rue Ballu, de gargenville, occupé"; Ibid., 6 January 1942: "Pictures, terrible to leaf through, with the insidious German passage, but our blindness about the loss of our own greatness." (Illustrations, terribles à feuilleter, avec l'insidieuse page allemande—mais notre aveuglement à nous qui avons perdu notre grandeur.)
73. "Princesse de Polignac s'est cassé le bras." Boulanger, Diaries, 13 March 1942, *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmf. Ms. 109. For more on Boulanger's correspondence with the Princesse de Polignac during the war and their respective exiles in America and Britain, see Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winnaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 357–66.
74. Igor Stravinsky, *Poétique musicale*, 1942, *F-Pn*, Musc. Vmc. 9362.
75. See, for example, Boulanger's reference to the *Circus Polka* in her preconcert lecture on *The Rake's Progress*, given in Monte Carlo in 1954. Boulanger, "Conférence sur le *Rake's Progress*," 1954, *F-Pn*, SDCR 7154.



76. Haïeff met Stravinsky for the first time at Gargenville in 1939. He also attended the Norton Lectures at Harvard that same year. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 105. For Walsh's brief discussion of Haïeff's involvement with the Symphony in C, see Walsh, *Second Exile*, 146.
77. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 26 April 1943, SS, CH-Bps.
78. Alexei Haïeff to Boulanger, 18 May 1943, F-Pn, N.L.a. 74 (191–92).
79. Walsh writes that Stravinsky solicited Boulanger's help in reorchestrating the "Danse Sacrale" movement of *Le Sacre du printemps* beginning on 28 October 1943, Walsh, *Second Exile*, 151. He provides no details as to how they went about this. Some answers may lie in examining the autograph score that Stravinsky gave to Boulanger in 1943 as a thank-you gift that now resides as part of the *fonds* Boulanger at the Bibliothèque Nationale. See "Danse Sacrale," *Le Sacre du printemps*, autograph score, 1943, F-Pn, Ms 17946.
80. Haïeff to Boulanger, 23 July 1943, F-Pn, N.L.a. 74 (193). (Original in English.)
81. Claudio Spies to Boulanger, 20 May 1944, F-Pn, N.L.a. 107 (201–2). (Original in English.)
82. Haïeff to Boulanger, 17 November 1944, F-Pn, N.L.a. 74 (196–99). (Original in English.)
83. Boulanger to Stravinsky, 21 November 1944, SS, CH-Bps: "Tout est de sa faute, et pas de sa faute. (De la faute d'hiver d'abord.)"
84. The Sonata for Two Pianos had its unofficial premiere for the Sinsinawa nuns at the Santa Clara convent in Madison, Wisconsin on 6 August 1944. Boulanger and her pupil Richard Johnston played the pianos. The official premiere took place at the University of Indiana with Robert Tangeman and Boulanger performing. See Walsh, *Second Exile*, 161–62; Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 326–28. For more on the Mills College concert, see Rosenstiel, *Nadia Boulanger*, 328; Spycket, *Nadia Boulanger*, 114; Walsh, *Second Exile*, 162; "Mills Students Hear Stravinsky Recital," 26 October 1944, *Mills College Today & Tomorrow*, 14, Mills College, Department of Music Archives, Oakland, California. I am grateful to Dr. David Bernstein for his help with this collection.
85. Walsh, *Second Exile*, 162.
86. Boulanger to Vera Stravinsky, 14 September 1950, SS, CH-Bps. "Comme quand on est petit, je me raconte des histoires, je rêve que j'arrange mes coussins, chez vous, pour droppiez [?] sur le canapé. Je regarde la main, les doigts d'Igor, déplaçant la bille du Chinese Checkers. Je revois sa table, le cadre qu'il avait refait avec quelle patience . . . Tout et tout, ces petits détails me font croire quand j'entre bien dans le jeu, que nous sommes ensemble, et que la conversation va reprendre. Que n'est-ce qu'un rêve."
87. Sister Ignatia to Boulanger, 1 April 1971, F-Pn, N.L.a. 105 (404–6). (Original in English.)
88. Alexei Haïeff's archives are now part of the New York Public Library Collection.
89. On 29 August 1949, Boulanger included the slow movement of the Symphony in C in one of her lectures at the Bryanston Summer Music Camp. John Amis to Boulanger, 8 June 1949, F-Pn, Rés Vm Dos 153 (53). The piece was also included on

the syllabus for her 1956–57 Classes d'Analyses et de Chants along with *In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*, *Cantate*, *Symphonie en trois mouvements*, *Ode*, *Canticum Sacrum*, and *Variations Bach*. Boulanger, *Les cours de la Rue Ballu* ("les cours de mercredi"), 1956–57, F-Pn, Rés. Vm. Dos. 128.

90. This was a two-piano concert performed with Soulima Stravinsky. Also on the program were the *Four Norwegian Moods*, excerpts from *Mavra* (Air de Paracha); *Trois Histoires pour enfants* (Tilibom, Les canards, etc.); *Scherzo à la Russe*, Sonata for Two Pianos, *Circus Polka*; *Oedipus Rex* (Air de Créon); Andante and Scherzo from the Symphony in C, Concerto in E-flat (Finale); and *Perséphone* (Finale). The singers included Flore Wend, Gérard Souzay, and Hugues Cuénod, while Roger Cortet performed on flute. Edmonde Charles-Roux also participated. Nadia Boulanger, *Programmes*, 20 June 1946, Rés. F-Pn, Vm. Dos. 195 (756).

91. All typographical errors (missing accents, spaces, incorrect punctuation) have been left as they were in the original. Boulanger produced this letter with a typewriter.



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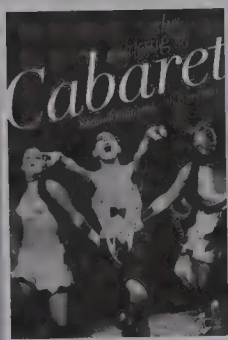
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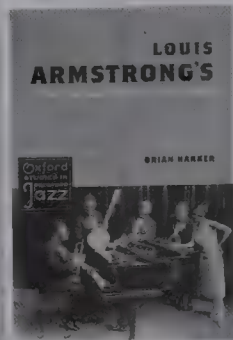
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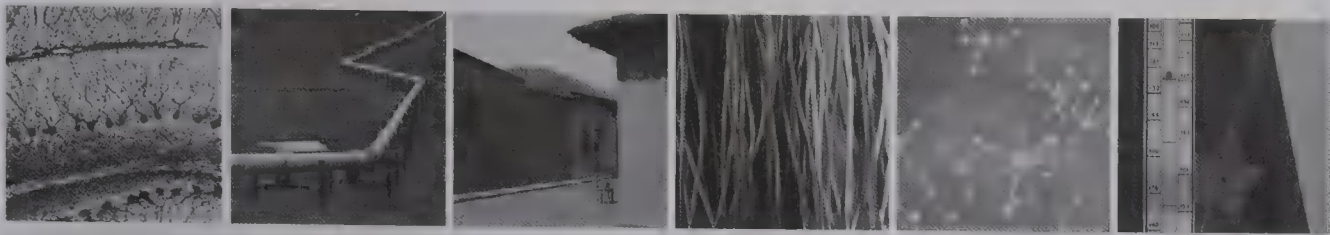
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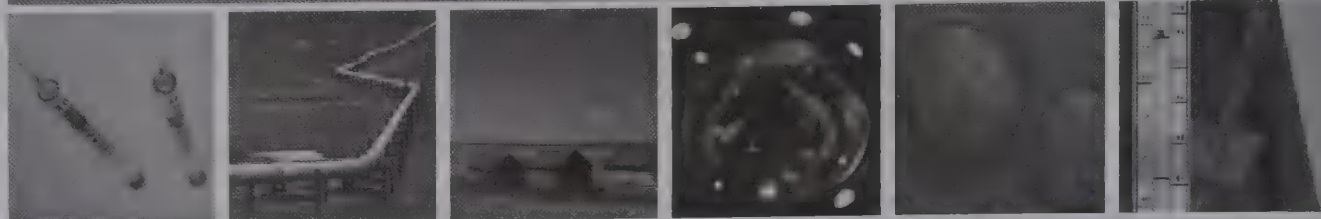
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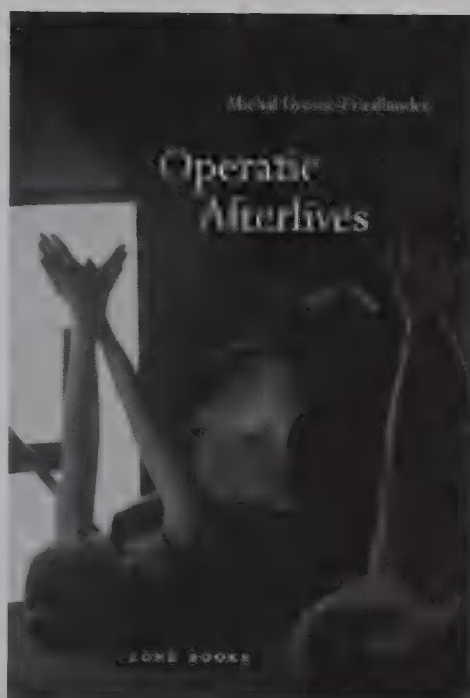


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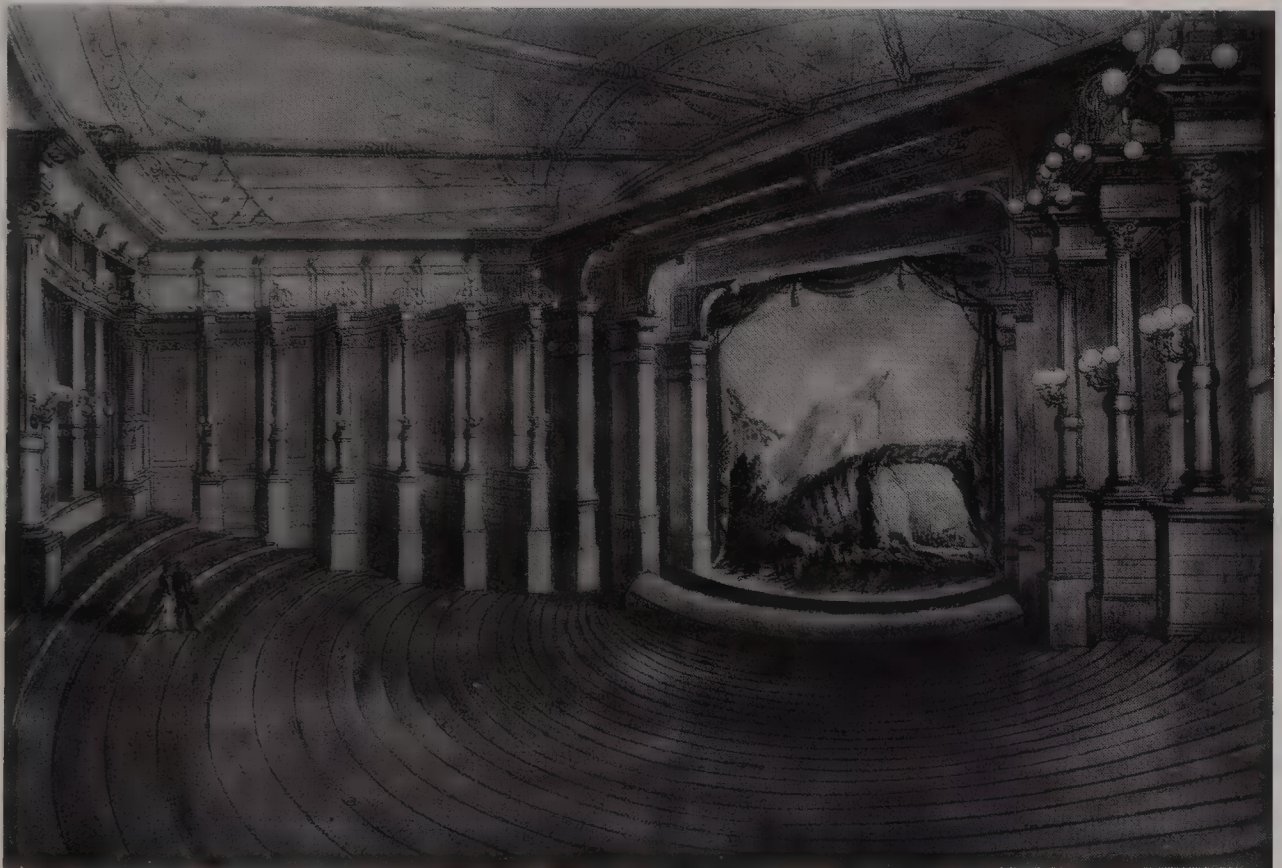
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# Sanctioned Daydreams: Music, Pictures, and Architecture

Leon Botstein

The experience of viewing any commercial motion picture, whether a film classic or forgettable recent release, can remind one of the historic links between the sound film—in fact all moving-image entertainment—and nineteenth-century concert life. That link rests in a habit of visual thinking and narrative imaging spurred by listening that lent concerts their popularity in the late nineteenth century. The popularity of going to the movies and movie and television watching since the mid-twentieth century are phenomena that emerged from the widespread success of the central public high art of the nineteenth century: concert music (inclusive of opera). Whatever popularity concert life enjoyed rested on the unintended uses to which the literate and largely prosperous urban public put listening. The sonic variety and range of the Wagnerian and post-Wagnerian orchestra (e.g., Mahler, Debussy, Strauss) and the prior development of rhetoric and symbolism within musical practices and forms evocative of conventional narrative—including the suggestion of interior rumination and description of external reality—lent themselves to a species of visual listening and daydreaming based on a complex pattern of correspondence between musical expression and experience.<sup>1</sup>

By the turn of the century, individuals with sufficient means and education flocked to concerts to experience something fantastic, psychologically potent, and therefore desirable: the opportunity to free themselves, albeit briefly, from the relentless quotidian routine mirrored in the conventional allocation and construct of time. The concert offered a temporal experience in which time was recalibrated beyond the clock. Music expanded and contracted time; it lent the elapse of time an intensity unavailable through speech and everyday life. Symphonic instrumental music—whether as brief as Mussorgsky's twelve-minute *Night on Bald Mountain* or as lengthy as Mahler's eighty-minute Sixth Symphony—created a space for a subjective experience of time defined by an internal stream of mental pictures or images crafted by each

listener. This sequence of images became crucial to musical meaning and memory. Sometimes suggestive of a plot line, sometimes a series of abstractions, these images could assume the character of a dream, but they were inspired and guided by the structured framework of musical sound. Therefore they did not have to mirror dreams and could be simple quasi-literary narratives or vague tableaux. Going to concerts opened for each listener the possibility of experiencing an internally generated script of images and perhaps a story. Nowhere was this assumption of visual listening more in evidence on the part of a composer than in the numerous piano fantasies that Franz Liszt based on operas. The space for recollection, daydreaming, and rumination was explicit.

The repertoire for concerts of orchestral music—and concerts of instrumental music in general—expanded dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century. By the end of the century, the pace of introducing the new had slowed somewhat as concerts began to favor repeated performances of works that were already familiar. The criteria of popularity for both unfamiliar and familiar works—whether a particular Beethoven symphony or a Strauss tone poem—rested on the success of the music in terms of generating in listeners internal visual landscapes and narratives. These frequently revealed patterns and consistencies. Once a work became familiar, a repetition of imagery and story line could reasonably be expected.

The artificiality and limits set by the specific terms within each particular work of music made the flight into internal visual fantasy attractive and significant for adults. It lent cultural legitimacy and social prestige to a journey of the imagination. It lent some relief from any guilt residually associated with listening as idleness. Listening to music was ennobled as an aspect of refined self-cultivation and an activity more substantive than mere daydreaming.

The ubiquity of this form of legitimated and socially prestigious daydreaming, as well as the individualized but yet public internal picture-making vital to it were reasonably well understood in their own time. For an elite concertgoer, however, this habit of constructing visual sequences while listening could be understood as violating the higher aesthetic potential of the experience of music, defined as locating value exclusively in apparently abstract sounding forms over a continuum of time. This fact accounts in part for the intensity of the debate between formalists—Brahmsians—and advocates of so-called program music, followers of Liszt and Wagner. The plain fact, however, may be that, apart from a rarefied group of connoisseurs and professionals, by 1900, the majority of listeners assumed that instrumental music possessed, by its very nature, the potential of sustaining or being compatible with an

implied program that could be generated and experienced visually by the imagination during the act of listening.

The impetus for this widespread habit and use of music was in part the transformation after the late eighteenth century of the cultivation of instrumental music from an aristocratic amateur participant art form to a public art form. The result was the spawning of two discrete classes: professional performers and spectators. This shift rested, in turn, on the rising demand for musical culture before 1848. This demand was spurred by the successful linking, through the construct of culture and education, of music—an apparently autonomous, independent formal art form entirely separate from any model in nature—to other forms of life, from literature and philosophy to the visual arts and social rituals. The spread of musical culture may have superficially broadened the mystique of music as a realm of endeavor and experience beyond language, but the broadening of the audience was actually based on rendering music less autonomous and increasingly more connected to image and narration—even to the extent of occasionally importing *tableaux vivants* into the public concert experience.

This pattern of development continued throughout the century. Consequently, the success of orchestral music as public entertainment in which the audience followed along with an internal imaginary visual accompaniment at the turn of the century laid a vital groundwork for the moving image. What remained in the minds of many listeners was more the memory of mental pictures. The implied visual experience of instrumental music was eventually realized externally on a screen. It is no surprise that Dvořák, during his sojourn in America, was approached about writing music to accompany a display of sequential visual images—a light show—recounting the voyage of Columbus. From the start of the moving picture, the so-called silent film was designed to be accompanied by music.

But the real historical legatee and beneficiary of long-form nineteenth-century instrumental music as a species of public entertainment was the sound picture, which came of age in the 1930s. It has been the motion picture, particularly with a sound track, that has presented the stiffest competition to symphonic and instrumental concert life for the attention of the public. The sound film freed listeners from the work of constructing their own visual sequences and stories from sound alone. Audiences could bask in a public but dark space (more so than in a concert hall), enveloped by sound and sight, and experience a fantastic distortion of time that exploited the many possible illusions of realism. If the conventions of the nineteenth-century narrative novel helped shape the emergence and character of film, so did the concert

culture of instrumental music. What the film industry has accumulated—audiences, patronage, agents, stars, and the interior dynamics of an art form marked by extreme visibility, fashion, and widespread aspiration—was initially bequeathed to it, almost ready-made, by late nineteenth-century concert life. Historically speaking, classical concert music in this limited sense represents the equivalent of the railroad system. Like the rail system—subsequently dwarfed by the automobile and air travel—concert music and concert-going have been eclipsed by film and television. The movies appropriated the leisure habits of literate urban populations—their use of time in public space—first cultivated as spectators in concert life.

This summary of a larger historical framework in which to understand the continuing discussion of a relative or perceived decline in the role now played by classical concert life in society and culture (a familiar claim that is itself misleading) suggests a further avenue of historical exploration. What connection might there be between the development of music as a public art form in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and a parallel phenomenon in history that is dependent on visual thinking: the history of architecture and urban development? The parallels between the histories of music and architecture in the nineteenth century are striking. The audience for public concerts grew apace with the demand for architecture, the development of cities, and the construction of public buildings and living spaces—from concert halls and opera houses to apartment houses, museums, libraries, and parks. The users of new urban public and private spaces (apart from tenement and slum housing) were the same people who sought out concerts. The aesthetics of music and those of design and architecture—their shared symbolisms—contain striking correspondences.

This overlap in terms of users and sites suggests the utility of looking more closely at the work and aesthetics of architects and composers whose lives and careers overlapped. Are there mutually instructive insights to be gleaned from comparing the ways in which architects from the 1820s to the 1920s engaged inherited traditions (e.g., classicism, ideas of harmony, and proportion) as they developed notions of form and function for a modern clientele in the context of new technologies and industries to the ways in which composers adapted and enlarged the rhetorical arsenal of musical discourse bequeathed from the late eighteenth century?

Indeed, categories of architectural history might fit music history and vice versa. And the comparative scrutiny of those categories might themselves lead to a better way of understanding the history of both architecture and music as aspects of social and cultural history. The



normative philosophical tradition of linking music and architecture that flourished after the 1859 publication of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling's 1801 and 1804 lectures on the philosophy of art, in which architecture is defined in part as "petrified" or "frozen" music, is well known. But the more alluring inquiry, yet to be pursued, is historical in nature. Can one better grasp the character and historical significance of both architecture and music—their reflection of and influence on the shaping of culture—through close comparative historical inspection? Is music of the mid- and late nineteenth century a transposition of the architectural into sound or, as Schelling suggests, is the architecture of that period visible as literally frozen music from the same era?

These questions lead one to specific and historically legitimate parallels. One could begin with a close comparison between Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) and Felix Mendelssohn (1809–47). Schinkel's aesthetic and political significance should not be underestimated. The Berlin in which Mendelssohn grew up was in the process of being shaped and defined in part by Schinkel's architecture, and the two actually collaborated during the 1828 Dürer celebrations in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> When one considers Mendelssohn's assumption of a public role in Berlin in the early 1840s as a composer in the service of the Prussian court, the parallels between the composer and Schinkel become more pointed. For both men, the notions of neoclassicism and historicism and the political implications of romanticism—understood in visual terms—come into play.

For an example from the later nineteenth century, one should be tempted to look at the music and career of Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) in a detailed way through the lens of the work of two Austrian architects—Otto Wagner (1841–1918) and Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867–1908). The Vienna Mahler first encountered as a student in the mid-1870s underwent a significant transformation, pioneered by Wagner from 1897 to 1911, an era during which Mahler's life and career were largely centered on Vienna. Likewise, Olbrich, who designed the well-known 1897 Secession Building, had a decisive impact on the Vienna of the 1890s. Like Mahler, Olbrich sought to integrate, particularly in his last period of work in Darmstadt, cultural fragments and markers of the rural with those of the contemporary urban in a manner quite suggestive for understanding Mahler's musical procedures and materials.

Leaving Central for Northern Europe, it can also be illuminating to explore the friendship and substantive connections between the Finns Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950) and Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) (the latter woke every morning to a picture by Saarinen on his bedroom wall). Both the architect and composer believed their respective work to be

uniquely connected to nature. True to modernity, the form their art took revealed a self-conscious organic ideology. Saarinen's and Sibelius's idiosyncratic resolutions of structural issues and their concepts of time, spatiality, and tradition reveal a shared ground. The similarities become even more striking when their work is set alongside that of their contemporary Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), who, like Saarinen, had a keen interest in music. All three enjoyed popularity and success in America at the same juncture in history, justifying a close study of the three together from the vantage point of the reception history of music and architecture.<sup>3</sup>

Then there is the case of France. Given Paul Valéry's mock-Socratic dialogue "Eupalinos, or The Architect" (1921) on the relationship between music and architecture one is tempted to look at the work of Le Corbusier (1887–1965), placing his early designs from the 1920s alongside the music of Stravinsky (1882–1971) from the same period.<sup>4</sup> Then one might consider the links between Le Corbusier, Iannis Xenakis (1922–2001), and Edgard Varèse (1883–1965) in the 1950s, a dimension of inquiry that emerges from their collaboration on the well-known 1958 Philips Pavilion at the Brussels World's Fair. Le Corbusier's use of specifically contemporary materials—concrete and glass—as central to realizing form as well as his ascetic approach to function and decoration should be scrutinized alongside the post-1945 modernism in European avant-garde compositions. These decisive commitments have their own distinct magnetism as means by which to understand the radical modernism of the 1950s and 1960s.

At stake in this avenue of historical exploration is the search for clues about the character and significance of culture and habits of mind and mores that lie beneath the surface of politics and social change in modern history and the veil of discrete divisions among art forms. Both music and architecture shared a common public. They helped define the public sphere and public space, as well as the experience of time, the use and content of symbols, and the place and character of individuality in society. These are reasons enough for musicologists to look at the history of visual thinking and, in particular, the history of architecture.

## Notes

1. Based on a Presidential Lecture in the Humanities and Arts at Stanford University, "Music Between Nature and Architecture," delivered in April 2011. For a helpful corrective regarding the place of concert life in nineteenth-century urban culture, see Leif Jerram, *Streetlife: The Untold Story of Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 173–246.

2. Leon Botstein, "Neoclassicism, Romanticism, and Emancipation: The Origins of Felix Mendelssohn's Aesthetic Outlook," in *The Mendelssohn Companion*, ed. Douglass Seaton (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 1–27.
3. See Leon Botstein, "Old Masters: Jean Sibelius and Richard Strauss in the Twentieth Century," in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, ed. Daniel M. Grimley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 281–96.
4. I thank Jann Pasler for suggesting the Valery text.

# Percy Grainger and Henry Cowell: Concurrences Between Two “Hyper-Moderns”

Suzanne Robinson

The fact can hardly be too often emphasized that it is largely the “hyper-modern” men who prove the most susceptible to the lure of “primitive” music.<sup>1</sup>

—Percy Grainger, 1916

As is commonly known, it was Percy Grainger who provided a job for Henry Cowell when Cowell was released from San Quentin prison in June 1940. Michael Hicks classes Grainger as “the most vociferous of Cowell’s defenders” when Cowell was in prison, concluding from their correspondence that Grainger saw Cowell as a case of “the State usurping the privileges of the Artist.”<sup>2</sup> But as tenable as this argument is, it seems insufficient to account for the magnanimity of Grainger’s offer to sponsor Cowell’s parole, provide him with a job, and invite him into his home for a year. In fact, so aware was Grainger of their myriad common interests that he envisaged collaboration with Cowell on research and fieldwork as well as the opportunity to facilitate Cowell’s compositions. Cowell, in response, marveled at their like-mindedness, writing to Grainger on 7 January 1939:

As far as I know the musical branches in which are you the most interested, it seems to me that they are surprisingly the same as those in which I have always been specially interested. It is surprising only because the alliance of these several interests seems to be rare. Yet there is without doubt a natural alliance between them: The music of peoples of the entire world, and with special interest in that of Ireland, Iceland, and certain South Sea Islands; ancient music, especially that of England (Ireland and Scotland), Nordic lands and some oriental countries; music now being created, and its creators, especially those who are re-vitalizing



a modern music which is at many points too artificial and bloodless; an interest in and appreciation of mechanical improvements in instruments (such as electrical instruments, etc.). These have been for a long time my main interest, and as far as I can find, you are interested in very much the same things, probably with many amplifications as yet unknown to me.<sup>3</sup>

Seen in this light, the many concurrences in the compositions by Grainger and Cowell of the later 1930s are unsurprising. Although in some cases they may be coincidental, and may reflect ideas or innovations adopted more generally, in others they reflect mutual exchange and observation conducted either in person or through correspondence. Below I explore through primary sources the confluences (and divergences) of their ventures, to investigate why and to what extent Grainger promoted Cowell's career, and to examine the conflicts and complexities of Cowell's response. My purpose is not to arrive at any determination of influence one way or another, but to demonstrate how each affirmed or reinforced the enterprises of the other, and to probe why it is that the extent and significance of their interactions have been overlooked.<sup>4</sup>

### **Becoming "Hyper-Modern": 1882–1931**

There are striking similarities in the early life of Grainger (b. 1882) and Cowell (b. 1897), among them, factors that predetermined their eccentricity and tendency for self-isolation. In childhood both were unusually close to their mothers, brought up in unconventional households and without much formal education. As children they both were naturally immersed in the music of immigrant communities as well as their own, Grainger in Melbourne and Cowell in San Francisco. Both developed international careers as piano soloists, interrupted during World War I when they became members of U.S. armed forces bands. Cowell in the 1920s acquired a kind of "freakish notoriety"<sup>5</sup> for his unusual treatment of the piano, but so did Grainger, who imposed idiosyncratic novelties as well as the standard warhorses on his audiences. From the date of Grainger's emigration to the United States in 1914, he was celebrated as the golden-haired pianist who played like Hercules, but he was also recognized as the ethnologist who advocated an international society "for the purpose of making all the world's music known to all the world."<sup>6</sup> As a teenage prodigy studying in Frankfurt, Grainger developed such an interest in the music of other cultures that he conceived the idea of using the Mendelssohn Prize (the annual award to the best music student in Germany) to fund the study of Chinese music in China. The response from his professor was a rebuke—"idiots" did not qualify for

the prize.<sup>7</sup> Undeterred, in 1906 Grainger was the first in the British Isles to collect live recordings of folksong, made with his Edison Bell cylinder phonograph. From then on he was a rampant collector, and by 1915, *Musical Courier* reported, Grainger had collected hundreds of tunes “with the aid of the talking machine from peasant sailors in Europe and from natives in New Zealand and the South Seas.”<sup>8</sup> In 1916, Grainger observed in *The Etude* that “primitive music” offered the composer the means to “increase the range of his ornate compositional resources.”<sup>9</sup> Grainger used the word *primitive* as a blanket term for music of tribal cultures, as did his contemporaries, but he never defined primitive music in the sense of either “simple” or “unsophisticated”; rather, he envied non-European music for its liberty from the myriad irksome constraints of the music of his own culture.<sup>10</sup>

By then, coincidentally, Grainger and Cowell were contesting the conventions of composition, so much so that the “inventory” of “virtually all the major experimental compositional techniques found in twentieth-century music” compiled from Cowell’s early works by David Nicholls serves equally well for Grainger.<sup>11</sup> Grainger experimented with unplayable rhythms and meters in works dating from 1899. His *Sea Song* sketch (1907) utilizes a succession of time signatures such as 7/32, 5/64, and 5/16 (ex. 1). Cowell devised rhythms governed by ratios in *Quartet Romantic* (1917) and *Fabric* (1917), and



Example 1. Grainger, *Sea Song* sketch (1907) arranged for pianola or organ, 1922. Grainger Museum Collection. Reproduced by permission.

experimented with metric instability in *Quartet Euphometric* (1919). From his student days, Grainger was fascinated by the possibilities of vocal slides, noting in a letter to his teacher that the voice “can make twenty & more divisions of the half-tone, & can *slide at will from note to note*. This sliding-*portamento* . . . I much desire in the performance of my vocal works (especially those non-textual) & wish the notes of melodies to glide one into the other in curving lines.”<sup>12</sup> Several of Grainger’s works composed before 1920 include glissandos and chromatic slides, but none are as radical as the use of “musical glasses” in *Tribute to Foster* (1914). By filling the glasses with water and running fingers around the rim, performers build chords including “discordant and out-of-tune” pitches to contribute to a polyphony of microtones that some listeners likened to “the noise of telephone wires on a windy day.”<sup>13</sup> Not as unconventional, but equally far-sighted, were the combinations of instruments Grainger specified in early works: *Ye Banks and Braes O’ Bonnie Doon* (1901) calls for chorus, whistlers, and organ or harmonium at will; the instrumentation of *Father and Daughter* (1908–9) incorporates a mandolin and guitar band (though it “can be left out at will”); *In a Nutshell* (1916) supplements the orchestra with four to eight percussionists on glockenspiel, xylophone, wooden marimba, steel marimba, staff bells, and nabimba.

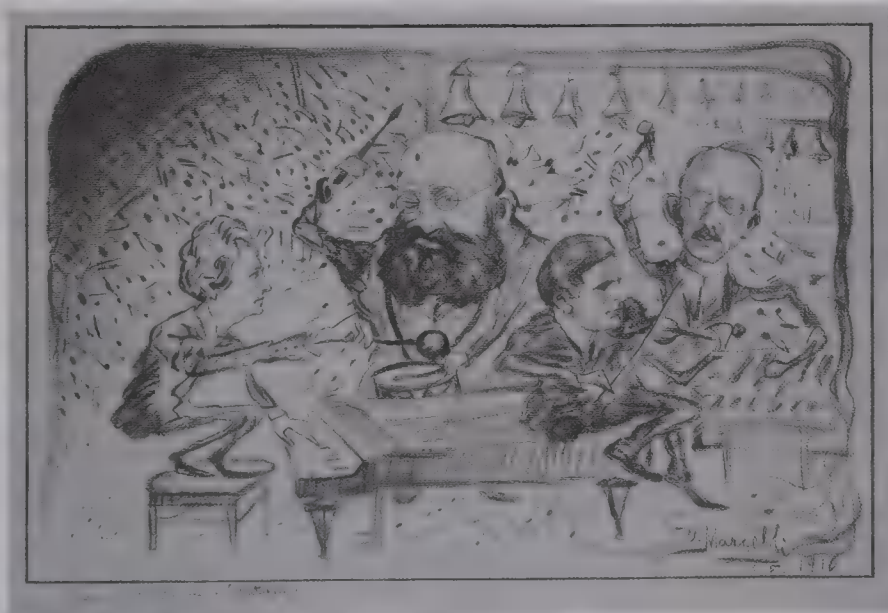


Figure 1. Ulderico Marcelli, “Percy Grainger in a ‘Nutshell.’” Grainger Museum Collection. From left to right, Grainger, Alfred Hertz (conductor of San Francisco Symphony Orchestra), Louis Persinger (concertmaster), and Redfern Mason (critic for the *San Francisco Examiner*). Reproduced by permission.

Grainger first toured Cowell's home state of California in December 1916. By then Cowell had left California for New York, where he sat entranced at performances by Leo Ornstein. Cowell left New York by March 1917 and thus missed the sensational New York premiere on the first of that month of Grainger's *In a Nutshell*, the work that produced the spectacle of Grainger striking the strings inside the piano with a mallet (fig. 1). Seven years later, in what may be the first connection of the two names, Paul Rosenfeld identified Grainger's gesture as the precursor to Cowell's "string piano."<sup>14</sup>

There is no counterpart in Grainger's piano music for the gigantic clusters Cowell pioneered in piano works dating from about 1913, although the violent juxtaposition of unrelated masses of sound in *The Warriors* (1916) is an orchestral correlative. Conceived for gargantuan forces, *The Warriors* requires three conductors. Cacophony flows from Grainger's instructions, particularly when "the 1st & 3rd conductors pay no attention whatever to each other."<sup>15</sup> Grainger also flirts with pitch indeterminacy in the percussion parts: the xylophone player is invited to choose "any notes" while undulating curved lines are sufficient to represent the pitch of the harp part (ex. 2). Cowell used a similar form of graphic notation for the thunderstick parts in *Ensemble* (1924). In specifying a non-Western instrument, Cowell displayed his emerging conviction that principles of non-Western music could inform and enrich new music. This he discussed in articles published from the late 1920s, such as "The Basis of Musical Pleasure" (1931), anticipating a "super-modern music" that reconfigured all elements of composition.<sup>16</sup> Cowell experimented with sliding tones on the strings of the piano in *The Banshee* (1925) and for voices and strings in *Atlantis* (1926–30). In the section of *New Musical Resources* (1930) discussing sliding tones, Cowell wrote:

Example 2. Grainger, *The Warriors* (1916), mm. 448–52, extract from compressed full score (Mainz: Schott, 1926). © 1924 by Schott Music Ltd. Revised edition © 1997 Schott Music Ltd. Reproduced by permission. All rights reserved.



Such tones are very frequently used in primitive music, and often in Oriental music. . . . Natural sounds, such as the wind playing through trees or grasses, or whistling in the chimney, or the sound of the sea, or thunder, all make use of sliding tones. It is not impossible that such tones may be made the foundation of an art of composition.<sup>17</sup>

In 1931, Cowell applied for a Guggenheim fellowship for study at Erich von Hornbostel's Phonogramm-Archiv at the University of Berlin, where he proposed to investigate "materials used in extra-European systems."<sup>18</sup> In the same year Marc Blitzstein, writing in *Modern Music*, noticed similarities in the "harmonic gift" of Grainger and Cowell.<sup>19</sup> But they had not yet met. Grainger knew little or nothing of Cowell. Cowell was certainly aware of Grainger, years later telling him that "before knowing you at all personally, I always admired many of your works, and I had always gone to your recital and been stimulated by the rhythmic verve and other unforgettable qualities of your playing."<sup>20</sup> When Grainger and Cowell did eventually meet, in New York City on Cowell's return from Europe, their occupations, mutual interests, and vision ensured that their activities were intertwined.

### **Promoting "All the World's Music": New York, 1932–33**

In the 1931–32 concert season Grainger toured fifty-one American cities. He was at the peak of his popularity: thirty thousand copies of the ubiquitous *Country Gardens* sold annually, and his agent reported she was booking more performances of his own works than at any previous time in his career.<sup>21</sup> Grainger's only New York recital that season took place 16 January 1932 in Carnegie Hall and was received adoringly by audiences and critics alike. Three days later a concert of works for theremin was presented at the New School, including a demonstration of Cowell's rhythmicon with explanations from Cowell himself. The program for this event was in Grainger's archive, implying that he attended. Grainger had long held an interest in musical machinery, having invented a "Beatless-Notation Machine" in about 1903. In 1922 he cut player piano rolls by hand in hope of realizing the rhythmic complexities of the *Sea Song* sketch. Cowell's explanatory introduction to the theremin and rhythmicon was probably the first intimation for Grainger of Cowell's own preoccupations, and more particularly his knowledge of the complexities of non-European music.

Grainger's interest in musical machines derived from his relentless pursuit of freedom from rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic regularity. He reported to John Tasker Howard: "Ever since I was about ten or eleven years old (in Australia) I have heard in my imagination what I call 'free

music'—music that is not tied down to the slavery of scales, intervals, rhythm, harmony, but in which the tones dart, glide, curve like a bird in the air, a fish in the sea."<sup>22</sup> Later in 1932 Grainger was captivated by the microtonal possibilities of the polytone, a keyboard instrument with sixty pitches to the octave invented by Arthur Fickénscher, a composer and professor at the University of Virginia. Grainger described Fickénscher's polytone, along with scales that can "glide freely," in the public lecture he presented in New York on 6 December 1932. The lecture ended with a live performance—possibly the first—of an example of microtonal music from Fickénscher's seventh quintet (ex. 3). The specification by Fickénscher of pitches marginally higher or lower than tempered pitch is only sporadic in the score (occupying sixteen measures out of a total of 298), implying that it was the idea rather than the musical work itself that mesmerized Grainger.<sup>23</sup>

In the spring of 1932, Cowell was co-teaching with Charles Seeger a New School course titled "A Comparison of Musical Systems of the World," possibly the first of its kind to be taught in the United States. Lectures were arranged by country or region in no particular sequence—Mexico, the Balkans, Java and Bali, Arabia, etc.—and were illustrated at public concerts by indigenous performers.<sup>24</sup> Worried by the effects of the Depression on his livelihood, Grainger meanwhile accepted an offer to become part-time head of the New York University Music Department for the academic year 1932–33. He was scheduled to give thirty weekly lectures in a course devised as "A General Study of the Manifold Nature of Music," and to teach composition. In the course Grainger aimed

Example 3. Arthur Fickénscher, *From the Seventh Realm* (Mainz: Schott; New York: AMP, 1939), mm. 278–81. Annotations indicate somewhat higher (/), much higher (//), somewhat lower (\), and much lower (\\) than the tempered pitch.

to make the student familiar with the chief types of music of all periods and places (as far as they are known and available), to show the threads of unity running through all kinds of music (Primitive music, folk-music, jazz, Oriental and Western art-music) and to point out the apparent goal of all musical progress (increasing discordance, ever closer intervals and the growing use of sliding tones without fixed pitch, growing informality of musical form, irregular rhythms making towards "beatless music,"—until finally "Free Music" is reached, when music will be advanced enough to tally the irregularity, subtlety and complexity of life and nature.<sup>25</sup>

Cowell's course was far more systematic than the one offered by Grainger, who was more propagandist than teacher. Grainger's lectures tended to reflect idiosyncratic interests and were arranged thematically rather than geographically or chronologically. They indicate that he subscribed to the diffusionist theory of comparative musicology, which stimulated comparisons of seemingly disparate cultures in search of common origins. Accordingly, in the thirteen lectures of the fall semester Grainger discussed "strange affinities" between Hindu music and Machaut, Bach's fantasias, the difference between polyphonic and polymelodic music, irregular rhythm in works by Claude Le Jeune and Cyril Scott, and American music by John Alden Carpenter and Howard Brockway. In one lecture on the use of drones Grainger compared Swahili songs, Scottish bagpipe music, and "Asiatic" musics. Illustrations were provided from Grainger's personal collection of some five hundred recordings of folk and indigenous music, and from commercial recordings such as Hornbostel's twelve-disc set *Musik des Orients*. Guest musicians were also invited: in a packed lecture hall on 25 October 1932, Duke Ellington and his jazz orchestra played *Creole Love Call* to demonstrate free improvisation and "the gliding and off-pitch sounds in jazz" that Grainger considered "an important step towards the Free Music of the future."<sup>26</sup> Grainger himself illustrated other lectures with performances on piano and harmonium, and the Willem Durieux quartet presented samples of sixteenth- and twentieth-century music. Some of the content of these university lectures was recycled for public occasions, including one on "Various Types of Melodic Beauty" at Washington Square on 5 December and another on "Melody versus Rhythm" the next day at Steinway Hall, where Grainger explained melody, polymelody, melodic polyphony, melodic harmonic polyphony, irregularly pulsed melody, and progressive experimental music. This typology traces an evolutionary path, concluding with Grainger's vision of freedom from harmony, rhythm, and interval as "the final goal of all the arts."<sup>27</sup>



On the same day of the week as Grainger's New York University lectures, a few blocks away at the New School, Cowell was completing a course begun by Seeger. There were concerts again: on 3 January the New School presented Cantonese works for butterfly harp, Peking viola, and a kind of Chinese oboe that "tickled and tantalized the ear" of the *Times* critic.<sup>28</sup> In January Cowell also initiated a course titled "The Place of Music in Society," a series of twelve weekly lectures illustrated with piano and "rare records."<sup>29</sup> The outline of the course followed a roughly chronological and evolutionary pattern, beginning with "Music among the primitives," passing through "Music of the 18th-century lower classes" to "Gebrauchsmusik," and finally, "The relation of music as an art to society." Cowell reported to Ives that he was lecturing nearly every evening, arranging concerts, and planning courses for radio and workers' clubs. Through such outreach Cowell reached a far larger audience than he did through his classes at the New School.<sup>30</sup>

On 17 January Grainger recorded in his diary "met Henry Cowell at NYU."<sup>31</sup> Two weeks later, on 30 January, Grainger heard one of Cowell's lectures at the New School. Next day Grainger wrote "admiringly" to Cowell, "I long to hear you play yr own compositions—a pleasure I have not yet had. I also want to hear yr records (these were *glorious* last night!) and show you mine." Grainger and Cowell met again on 20 February 1933. Hours after Grainger had persuaded Cowell to be guest lecturer in his course, Cowell scribbled a note to Grainger saying, "I am still in a rare state of excitement and delight at having contact with you today, and finding that you are so enthusiastic over the same things that I am!" Grainger, in turn, wrote to Cowell, "The more I think about it the more I am amazed by the *beauty*, purity & charm of your epochmaking experiments as a composer, & the sanity & balance of yr attitude as a student of worldwide music." Grainger invited Cowell to lecture on his own works, his reasons for studying what he called "exotic" music, and to play the records that particularly interested Grainger himself, suggesting "the Irish bagpipe, the American folksong with banjo, the Albanian sliding harmonics, the Greek clarinet, the warbling African."<sup>32</sup>

Cowell's appearance in Grainger's class on 28 February did not entirely go to plan. Grainger introduced Cowell, described his piano music and presented him as "an example of how far New World musicians are ahead of European ones in experimentation."<sup>33</sup> He identified Cowell as a musicologist, pointing out that Cowell's "creative genius" led him to be inspired by non-Western music. In his retrospective record of the lecture Grainger wrote, "I hazarded the guess that the oriental-sounding characteristics in the cadenza of the Cowell Piano Concerto were written prior to the composer's familiarity with oriental musics



(which Cowell confirmed)." (Cowell cannot yet have conveyed to Grainger that this music had been familiar as long as he could remember, as it had been with Grainger.)<sup>34</sup> The lecture Cowell presented, however, was not on his own music but on "degrees of discordance," judging that Bach's B-flat Minor Prelude (Book I) proved to be 65 percent discord while "Skryabin's chord" contained nine times more concord than discord. Perhaps Cowell felt that an NYU lecture should appear more scientific than one at the New School. At least Grainger and his audience were treated to the performance of several of Cowell's piano works: *Reel*, *The Harp of Life*, *The Banshee*, *Advertisement*, *The Tides of Manaunaun*, and *Fabric*, as well as the cadenza from the piano concerto. Grainger and Cowell then combined to perform *The Harp of Life* on two pianos. Soon after, Grainger wrote to Frederick Stock, conductor of the Chicago Symphony, recommending Cowell and his piano concerto for performance. Grainger advised Stock that Cowell had shown him "that it is possible to create an entirely new style of pianism, and something RAVISHINGLY LOVELY, at that."<sup>35</sup> Grainger also promised to appear as a guest lecturer in Cowell's course. On 14 March 1933 at the New School he discussed folksong scales and played his own recordings of Lincolnshire folksingers, illustrating his remarks by singing English and Danish folksongs.<sup>36</sup>

A week after lecturing in Grainger's course, on 6 March 1933, Cowell was the pianist in the New York premiere of Varèse's *Ionisation* at a Pan-American Association concert conducted by Nicolas Slonimsky. Grainger was in the audience. Simultaneously, Cowell wrote "Towards Neo-Primitivism" for publication in *Modern Music* in March–April 1933. Cowell urged modern composers "to build a new music" based on "materials common to the music of all the peoples of the world."<sup>37</sup> With reference to sliding tones, Cowell commented that "the Maoris of New Zealand and other South Sea Islanders never use a straight line of sound but curve every tonal edge and even employ a rhythm which has no beats but only a curved dynamic line" (possibly Grainger and Cowell had discussed Maori music, which Grainger knew intimately from the time in his childhood when a Maori man boarded in his mother's house).<sup>38</sup> As evidence of neo-primitivism Cowell listed recent percussion compositions, naming as landmarks William Russell's *Fugue for Eight Percussion Instruments* and *Ionisation* (published in Cowell's *New Music* orchestra series in 1933 and 1934, respectively). Cowell began *Ostinato Pianissimo* early in 1934, scoring it for string piano, Indian *jalatarang* (rice bowls filled with water and struck with a stick), xylophone, bongos, woodblocks, tambourine, guiro, drums, and gongs. This and other all-percussion works composed in this decade differed from Grainger's experiments with

percussion by the predominance of unpitched rather than pitched instruments. Within a few years Cowell was specifying quotidian objects such as pipes and a pane of glass.

Grainger's interest in Asian music was evident as early as 1898–99 when he composed *Eastern Intermezzo*, which reflected his memory of Japanese and Chinese music in his childhood. His fascination for the gamelan (first heard in 1900) was revived in 1932 on hearing Balinese and Javanese music from *Musik des Orients*, and in February 1933 he began revising *Eastern Intermezzo* for percussion. Possibly he was aware of the prevailing interest in percussion in the wake of *Ionisation*, but at the time he was transcribing sundry other Asian pieces, such as *Sekar Gadung* from *Musik des Orients*, which he set for two voices and percussion. For the new version of *Eastern Intermezzo* he specified ten or more percussionists (on glockenspiel, “shaker” chimes, bells, dulcitone, staff bells, vibraphone, tubular chimes, xylophone, and marimba) as well as piano, harmonium, and double bass. It is clearly influenced by gamelan music. Waves of triads in conjunct motion and unresolved seventh chords obviate functional tonality, while a succession of drones and repetitive pitches in the bass support more active layers above (ex. 4).<sup>39</sup> The new instrumentation was premiered at an NYU faculty concert on 1 May 1933, the seventeen performers including Grainger, his wife, and William Schuman.

Two months earlier Cowell had rented a phonograph machine capable of transferring to disc the cylinders he had purchased from the Hornbostel archive (its “demonstration collection”).<sup>40</sup> Once Grainger knew of Cowell's equipment he was keen to duplicate some of his own recordings and to record new ones for use in his lectures. In a letter on

Example 4. Grainger, *Eastern Intermezzo*, revised for percussion, 1933 (extract). Grainger Museum Collection. Reproduced by permission.

12 March Grainger listed for Cowell all the items he wanted to record, including Rarotongan songs and Fickénscher's quintet. A recording session was arranged for 24 March. With the assistance of Cowell and Seeger, and the participation of the Willem Durieux ensemble and others, Grainger recorded eighteen tracks, being seven tracks of early music (by Le Jeune, Jenkins, Lawes, Purcell, and Byrd), his own arrangement of Bach's *Blithe Bells*, and extracts from Scott, Hindemith, and Fickénscher. Four tracks were allotted to Fickénscher's quintet, the disproportionate number an indication of Grainger's estimation of the work. Cowell subsequently wrote to Grainger that the recordings were "a real revelation" and asked for copies to use in the lectures he was to present on the West Coast.<sup>41</sup>

Cowell left New York by mid-April and commenced a series of lectures on "Music of the World" in San Francisco and Carmel in May. He told the *Carmel Pine Cone* he had seventy records, including some from "a few of the private collections in New York."<sup>42</sup> Inexplicably, on 26 April 1933 Grainger described himself to a journalist as "the only composer known to me who loves every kind of music (of whatever locality & period) that he has ever heard—be it the music of China, Japan, Java, Siam, Africa, Australia, Madagascar or the Red Indian; be it classical or jazz, art-music or folk-music, highbrow or lowbrow, medieval, polyphonic, romantic, atonal, futuristic or what-not."<sup>43</sup> In Cowell's absence, on 17 May Bernard Herrmann conducted a concert presenting world premieres of works by himself, Jerome Moross, Irwin Heilner, Cowell (his *Reel*), and others. Also on the program were the fugue from Ives's Fourth Symphony and Grainger's passacaglia *Green Bushes*. This may have been the first time that works by Grainger and Cowell appeared on the same program.

Over the summer of 1933, Grainger was due to present a series of four weekly radio talks over WEVD (University of the Air) and to teach at NYU summer school. The Goldman Band had also programmed his works for concerts on 22 and 23 June, and Arthur Berger scheduled a WEVD broadcast of American works including Grainger's *Spoon River*, Fickénscher's quintet, and a work by John Powell.<sup>44</sup> In the first of the radio talks, "Can Music Become a Universal Language?" Grainger named Cowell, Henry Eichheim, and Charles Seeger as the few "enlightened appraisers of the exquisite beauties found in 'exotic' music."<sup>45</sup> In Grainger's second, he asked "Can Music Be Debunked?" Criticizing the public's lack of appetite for anything new, he recommended Henry Cowell, David Guion, and Howard Brockway as "three American composers whose piano playing is unique, brilliant and inspired."<sup>46</sup> But the real debunking of music, he predicted, would take place in the "wildfire"



spread of amateur music making in schools, where might be heard, for example, Bach fugues on percussion.

Grainger further elaborated his themes in the summer school evening lectures that began on 11 July. For these his objectives were more practical, outlining "The Possibilities of Small Musical Ensembles." His prospectus promised practical performances of Medieval, Russian and American Negro folk harmonization, Javanese polymelodic music, improvised part-songs from Madagascar and the South Seas, as well as discussion of "the problems of irregular rhythms and intervals closer than the half tone in old and new music."<sup>47</sup> More significant, he lectured about "elastic scoring," that is, "how to perform orchestral works on chamber music or incomplete orchestras."<sup>48</sup> Grainger had been utilizing "elastic scoring" as a concept since 1920, when he arranged *Irish Tune from County Derry* (1902–11) for three single instruments up to full orchestra, but in practice he had developed the idea much earlier. Elastic scoring was codified in the preface to the published score of *Spoon River* (1929), where he indicated that as part-writing was more important to him than tone color, his method of scoring allowed for four or forty or four hundred players. Philosophically, the idea stemmed from his participation in army bands during the war and his developing ideas about "democracy." Music, according to that doctrine, should be about "communistic cooperation in harmony and many-voicedness."<sup>49</sup> Hence his summer school lecture audience learned about the complex and irregular meters in Le Jeune's *La Bel'Aronde* by singing it and his piano class played his transcription of Debussy's *Pagodes* on percussion. If his subsequent lectures in Australia were an exact repetition, the performance of *Pagodes* required a pianist to place pieces of paper between the strings to dampen the sound.<sup>50</sup>

At the end of August, Grainger and his wife left New York bound for Australia. Cowell had invited Grainger to participate in his fall course on "Contemporary American Music" and to play and lecture in any way that suited him, but Grainger was obliged to decline. That semester Cowell also taught, with Seeger, "Music Systems of the World," now including Australian music. One of the members of Cowell's class for his 1934 course on "Primitive and Folk Origins of Music" at the New School was John Cage, whom Cowell had met only a few months after meeting Grainger, in spring or summer 1933.<sup>51</sup> In January 1934, the first of Cowell's *New Music Quarterly* recordings was issued with an announcement naming Grainger as one of the Honorary Board of Endorsers.

One of Grainger's accomplishments in Australia was a series of twelve lectures on "the commonsense view of music," which is to



"approach all the world's available music with an open mind, just as we approach the world's literature or painting or philosophy."<sup>52</sup> Included in the last lecture of this series, on 10 January 1935, was the first performance of Grainger's *Free Music No. 1* for string quartet (ex. 5). Without resorting to unusual notation, Grainger instructed the strings to play "slowly gliding" from one note to another, creating a web of continuous glissandi.<sup>53</sup> Cowell was also preoccupied with sliding tones at this time, composing *Rest*, a song specifying vocal slides, soon after Grainger left New York in September 1933.<sup>54</sup> Then, in summer 1935, Cowell published observations of "slides of pitch, or controlled glissandi" in "non-European" music in an article titled "The Scientific Approach to Non-European Music."<sup>55</sup> In the same year Cowell devised a sliding-tone theme for the Andante movement of *Mosaic Quartet*, a technique he was to use in the 1950s. Grainger's obsession with "free music" persisted on his return to the United States. In 1937 he wrote to John Tasker Howard, "I find no 'modern' or 'futuristic' music modern enough. All the new music I hear (in which I am vitally interested) sounds to me amazingly old-fashioned." By then Grainger had transcribed *Free Music No. 1* onto graph paper for four theremins, and, as he informed Howard,

**SCORE** *Play it a second time*  
**FREE MUSIC**, for string quartet.  
 FAST R.S. All notes, in all parts, slowly gliding — no definite intervals except the very long ones.

*as fast as possible*  
*as slow as possible*  
*will be the same*  
 All notes in cello highly slid (glissando)

Example 5. Grainger, *Free Music* [No. 1] for string quartet (1935). Reproduced by permission.

had begun working on a graph for *Free Music No. 2* for six theremins, “the Theremin being perfectly able to carry out my intentions.”<sup>56</sup>

On 23 March 1937, Cowell wrote to Cage his prediction that “the immediate future of music lies in the bringing of percussion on one hand, and sliding tones on the other, to as great a state of perfection.”<sup>57</sup> By the end of that year both Cowell and Grainger had explored ways of incorporating sliding tones into an instrumental or vocal composition, and Grainger had composed an electronic work entirely made up of glissandos. But Grainger’s plans for realizing further “free music” scores were thwarted when Léon Theremin unexpectedly decamped to the Soviet Union. Not long afterward Cage gained access to a recording studio at the Cornish School in Seattle and in 1939 he devised electronic sliding tones in *Imaginary Landscape No. 1* for two variable-speed turntables, frequency recordings, piano, and cymbal.<sup>58</sup>

### The Conceptualization of Elastic Form, 1937–38

There is no extant correspondence between Grainger and Cowell between October 1934, when Cowell wrote to Grainger in Australia enclosing a flier for his *New Music* recordings, and mid-1937 when Grainger wrote to the New School asking for Cowell’s current address. Grainger was in Europe for most of 1936 and would have missed the many press notices in May of Cowell’s arrest. Nor would Grainger have seen the first of several articles Cowell wrote for Louis Horst’s *Dance Observer*. Cowell’s “How Relate Music and Dance?” appeared in the June–July 1934 issue and is remarkable for the number of utterances of the word *primitive*: thirteen in a text of about one thousand words. Cowell began by examining the dance of the “primitive tribe” because the “art of dance is the most strongly ingrained of any which exists in the world.” Sound, he argued, “is the first step toward inducing the proper rhythmical urge which finally bursts into bodily expression. For in all ceremonials the drums begin beating first.” He reported that he had experimented with Martha Graham in establishing a relationship between music and dance that rested on “the fundamentals of relationship of the solid foundation of primitive practice.”<sup>59</sup> Grainger must have been unaware of Cowell’s compositions in this period, *Ostinato Pianissimo* for percussion (1934), *Mosaic Quartet* (1935), and *United Quartet* (1936). *United Quartet*, completed in Redwood County Jail, utilizes drones, percussive effects, three-tone scales, and a rhythmic structure all derived from non-Western music.

The second of Cowell’s *Dance Observer* articles appeared in January 1937, by which time Cowell was in San Quentin (near San Francisco).

This article is now recognized as Cowell's manifesto on "elastic form." The concept stemmed from the intersection of Cowell's practical experience of working with choreographers and his understanding of indigenous musics, the natural variations of the music of medieval minnesingers, and the individual freedoms taken by folksingers. Unlike the modern Western dancer, he explained, the "primitive" dancer did not have to contend with the problem of "setness of form," which is "incompatible with the greater natural freedom of the dance."<sup>60</sup> He thus proposed "what might be called elastic form." To summarize, elastic form allowed for the expansion and contraction of melodies, the use of modular "block-units" that can be repeated and reordered at will, and an instrumentation that can be adapted according to availability. "In this way, the individual rhythm, the phrases, the sentences, the sections, the whole work, the rhythmical and the tonal orchestration are elastic."<sup>61</sup> Cowell's article was intended to be illustrated with his *Sound Form No. 1*, which, as Leta Miller has explained, demonstrated the possibilities of contraction and expansion, and was given coherence with a plan of accents and dynamics found on both small- and large-scale levels.<sup>62</sup> Further elaboration of elastic form was driven by the severe restrictions that prison imposed on Cowell. When a few months later he composed *Sarabande* for Martha Graham he wrote two phrases in versions of varying lengths. The choreographers discovered that "all that was necessary was to fit a five-measure musical phrase to a five-measure dance phrase—or make such overlaps as were deemed necessary."<sup>63</sup> The composition became as much the product of its arranger as its composer. When a critic of the ballet using the *Sarabande* (*Immediate Tragedy*) referred to "Henry Cowell's deeply poignant music with its persistent phrase" he unwittingly picked on an element of the structure that Cowell had left to others.<sup>64</sup> A few months later *Immediate Tragedy* was coupled with Cowell's *Canto Hondo* (*Deep Song*), another dance score offering a selection of melodic and percussive sections of varying lengths that could be interwoven according to the choreography.<sup>65</sup>

Coincidentally, an article on Grainger opened the April 1937 edition of *Musical Quarterly*.<sup>66</sup> Grainger had just completed *Lincolnshire Posy*, the suite for wind band many consider his masterpiece. Each movement of that work is a tribute to the individualism of the folksingers Grainger encountered in Lincolnshire in 1905–6. Just as Cowell had noticed how certain singers adapt a shared melody, Grainger praised these men as "at once performers and creators. For they bent all songs to suit their personal artistic taste and personal vocal resources."<sup>67</sup> Grainger's transcriptions so faithfully represented the singers' rhythmic freedoms that at the first rehearsals of *Lincolnshire Posy* in March the



band members considered some movements unplayable and they had to be omitted. The complete work was eventually premiered by the Goldman Band in the summer.

Grainger was, to date, the only American composer writing original music for wind band.<sup>68</sup> Having established Cowell's prison address in June 1937 he invited Cowell to compose a work for band for the national music camp at Interlochen, where Grainger typically spent his summers.<sup>69</sup> It seems unlikely that Grainger was aware of any previous works for band by Cowell, but made the gesture to encourage Cowell to continue to compose and to have his works performed. Cowell completed *Interlochen Camp Reel* in early July and urged Grainger to make changes as he saw fit. The work was broadcast on 8 August, and in communicating the date to Cowell's stepmother, Olive, Grainger instigated a correspondence that reveals how much he esteemed Cowell, and that he viewed Cowell's apparent sexual transgressions as evidence not of immorality but of "heaven-inspired genius."<sup>70</sup> Grainger himself had unusual sexual tastes (flagellation was his preferred form of sexual expression) and had grown up in such an intense and suffocating relationship with his mother that many assumed it was incestuous. Grainger saw Cowell—like himself—as an eccentric, a freak, a backwoodsman, and an "all-round man" guilty only of what he called "artist-sins." He informed Olive Cowell, "Henry Cowell is a force for progress—& progress (in this sense) simply means goodness. *All he does, thinks, feels is for increased good for mankind.*" Grainger railed against the general misunderstanding of the "forms of relaxation" of the genius and how "various forms of lovingness (whether sexual or platonic) are punished beyond all reason." He confided to Olive that he himself still lived with the fear that his mother's suicide in 1922 was the result of her knowledge of his own "immoral acts." Grainger's extraordinary generosity to Cowell was founded on his genuine hope that Cowell was a harbinger of the future of music, and buttressed by his empathy for an artist accused of sexual misconduct. He told Olive, "*Every hour that he is withdrawn from American musical life is a calamity for American music.*"

In November 1937, Cowell sent Grainger a second work for band titled *Caoine*. Grainger had just completed his foreword to Richard Franko Goldman's book *The Band's Music*, exhorting bands to attempt the works of the masters "together with the delectable morsels for wind chamber music . . . and balanced with life-lit compositions for band by living composers."<sup>71</sup> On receipt of Cowell's *Caoine* Grainger invited him to compose a "whole suite" of Celtic pieces for band "along the lines already established."<sup>72</sup> He also asked if he could occasionally send Cowell books on subjects that "we mutually have at heart (the origins of



music, the basic stirrings of art in Celtic-English civilisation, the worldwide distribution of certain musical culture streams) & about which I might wish to sound you in my letters?" Their joint interest in all things Celtic and the encouragement of Grainger may account for the profusion of Irish-sounding titles in Cowell's output through *Shoonthree* (1939), which Cowell offered to dedicate to Grainger. Additionally, in late 1937 Cowell discussed with Grainger the treatise on melody he had completed in prison. After consultation with Johanna Beyer, Grainger conducted negotiations for publication with the house of Carl Fischer. Grainger was willing to defray the expenses of publication (\$1,500 for one thousand copies), but in February 1938 the publisher declined it.<sup>73</sup>

Cowell, in turn, expressed interest in Grainger's compositions. The correspondence that ensued was a dialogue between two experimentalists on the threshold of major innovations. Regrettably, when Cowell left prison he carried only five of the letters he had received from Grainger over the four-year period of his incarceration. While a total of fifty-two letters from Cowell in these years survived in Grainger's possession, only the chosen five from Grainger remain in Cowell's collection. Although Cowell appears to have been forced by prison authorities to discard more than forty-five of Grainger's letters, those that remain trace convergences of their interests and show how each continually stimulated and reinforced the ideas of the other.<sup>74</sup>

In a letter dated 3 December 1937, Cowell wrote further about *Caoine*, which because of various errors and omissions Grainger had sent to a copyist (Richard Goldman had reported to Grainger that the first tryout of the score was "a complete mix-up" because of difficulty reading the parts and the lack of cueing).<sup>75</sup> Cowell did not apologize for his slipshod score, but reminded Grainger that "if you should wish to add or subtract, it would be the same as I should wish were I able to hear it." In this self-abnegatory frame of mind Cowell alluded to elastic scoring:

Do you think there might be a greater amount of minstrel-like freedom introduced into musical composition?: Lately it would seem that modern music has gone in the direction of more and more exact writing down of notated details, making the performer more than ever a producer of each minute factor as directed by the composer. I seem to react strongly against this, and wish to compose works so flexible [*sic*] in form that a fine performer can legitimately contract or expand the form; that, following a general central idea which would be introduced to him by the composer, he may have in as many places as possible a choice of forms, a choice of different chords or counterpoint, etc. At any rate, I am working to make such an apparently fanciful idea practical.

Cowell, however, does not mention dance: elastic scoring in this context is an aesthetic rather than practical conception. Both composer and performer become composers, but “The performer would have to be bold enough to take the challenge [*sic*].” Cowell informed Grainger:

I have tried some of this already, and I would like your comment frankly. The first step has been to offer sections of music which the performer may place together in many ways; the second to give a selection of several different ways in which a certain section may be played, with the performer urged to make further developments.<sup>76</sup>

A further letter from Cowell dated 3 February 1938 indicates that Grainger’s response to Cowell’s comments had been to describe *Random Round*, the “flexible” work Grainger began in 1912. Unfortunately, this letter is the most important of Grainger’s letters that Cowell abandoned, making it impossible to reconstruct how much Grainger conveyed to Cowell of a concept that was to be recognizable in the future in indeterminate works by Cage and others of his generation. Grainger’s inspiration was the music of the South Seas—to follow the trail that led from his experience of the islanders’ music to ultra-modernist experimentation it is necessary to step backwards by almost thirty years.

### **The Concept of Communal Improvisation, 1912–14**

In summer 1914, Cowell composed *Anger Dance* for piano, a work that prescribed thirty-two measures that could be expanded through repetition to as many as one hundred, and which because of its modular structure is seen as a precursor of the elastic dance works of the late 1930s. Simultaneously, in London, Grainger was trying out *Random Round*, a work embodying a conception of “communal improvisation” that allowed the performers unprecedented control over its structure.<sup>77</sup> Unlike any of Cowell’s elastic dance works, the interplay of sections and the polyphony of variants of *Random Round* are determined by performers during the performance. The stimulus for this work was the Rarotongan singing Grainger heard in New Zealand five years earlier.

Grainger toured New Zealand with the singer Ada Crossley in 1909. Between concerts he was intent on hearing and recording Maori music, and collecting Maori artifacts. Crossley’s last concert took place in Wellington on 19 January; next day Grainger traveled the fifty miles to Otaki to meet A. J. Knocks, who played to Grainger recordings of songs sung to him in January 1907 by a group of Rarotongans from the Cook Islands of Polynesia. Afterward, he stopped at the local railway station to telegraph his mother: “NEVER HEARD THE LIKE TREAT

EQUAL TO WAGNER I AM GODLY LUCKY LOVE PERCY."<sup>78</sup> He accompanied Knocks to his house and continued transcribing until six the following morning. The poor quality of the cylinder recordings and the speed of the singing meant that he managed to notate one song and part of another (to the modern listener these recordings, which still exist, are almost completely indecipherable). In Grainger's words, "They go fast with singing hammering pattering rhythms, & the whole effect of the group of singers is like a band of banjos."<sup>79</sup> Grainger wrote to his friend Balfour Gardiner that he was notating the music with a view to trying it out with choirs in London. "My dear Balf," he continued, "the South Seas teem with glorious wayward ecstatic uncollected native musics. Shant we do a trip thro those seas once?"<sup>80</sup> By the time Grainger left New Zealand he had collected a number of books, including a large Maori-Polynesian comparative dictionary, Polynesian histories and numerous recordings, the beginnings of what he called a "scientific collection of native musics in these seas."<sup>81</sup>

Grainger's most important treatise on non-European music is the article published in *Musical Quarterly* in July 1915 titled "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music." From firsthand experience, he described the improvisatory quality of preliterate music, how

the primitive musician unhesitatingly alters the traditional material he has inherited from thousands of unknown talents and geniuses before him to suit his own voice or instruments, or to make it conform to his purely personal taste for rhythm and general style. There is no written original to confront him with, no universally accepted standard to criticize him by. He is at once an executive and creative artist.<sup>82</sup>

He noted how traditional folksingers embellished their simple melodies with "excrescences and idiosyncrasies of every kind." As an example he described the "improvised part-singing" on his Rarotongan recordings, where the polyphony was "prodigious." Each song consisted of small sections lasting fifteen to twenty seconds, separated by a brief silence; each began with a solo "consisting of a curving descending phrase, starting off on the fourth, fifth or sixth of the diatonic major scale and ending on the tonic below." Other singers would then "chime in, one after the other or in a bunch, according to the free choice of each individual concerned." The singers' phrases, although similar, were never identical, and were repeated several times in that section. Sections ended with a "growing lassitude" and "an indolent sort of 'dying duck' wail." Grainger was struck by the music's accommodation of personal choice, individual







survives of the occasion are manuscript parts for first guitars and soprano saxophone.<sup>86</sup> These show the structure of the work with an introduction (including a measure labeled "vary the rhythms if you like"), a series of A variants up to A-14, a one-measure bridge for A going to B or A going to C, two B variants, a bridge for B going to A (with possible variations), three C variants in 5/4, and an 8-measure D section (with alternatives). The guitar part calls for extended techniques: chords "rolled by the right hand as near the nut as possible with a bango-like [sic] twang"; the invitation to play "with a bouncing stick held in the right hand (paper knife, long pencil, pen holder, tooth-brush etc) instead of with thumb fingers of the right hand." Numerous slides are imprecisely indicated by the word *slide* and a wavy line, and in places the performer is invited to determine the rhythm. Grainger was impressed with the result. Whereas initially "the monotonous babel produced somewhat 'resembled a day at the dog's Home, Battersea'" it soon "took on form, color and clarity, and sounded harmonious enough, though a frequent swash of passing discords was noticeable also."<sup>87</sup> Grainger mentioned his experiments in improvisation in press interviews preceding the premiere of *In a Nutshell* at the Norfolk Festival in June 1916. After that *Random Round* was all but forgotten until 1938, when Cowell's discussion of flexible composition almost certainly acted as the catalyst for Grainger to reconsider it.

### Decentering the Composer, 1938–39

In Cowell's response to Grainger's description of *Random Round*, he linked the decentering of the composer with the production of music for the nonspecialist:

About your *Random Round*—that is a grand idea—I think that such things will be the very making of a new spirit of having fun through helping to create the music. Exactness as a standard has scared people to such an extent that most amateurs are afraid to try to even play anything, and seem to believe that no one should try unless they have special talent [sic].<sup>88</sup>

Soon Cowell envisioned how his "elastic" idea could be translated beyond the dance. At first he debated in a letter to Grainger whether to write a suite of band pieces "from which one chooses whichever ones [sic] wishes to perform; not being expected to perform all of them."<sup>89</sup> This preparedness to allow for choice evolved in *Amerind Suite* (for piano; 1939) into the prescription of five versions of each of three movements that can be played separately or simultaneously (as in the variants

of *Random Round*). Or, as indicated in a note to the score, "The pianist may, on the other hand, choose any number of the versions to play and thus enter into the creation of the work, putting the version he chooses together in such a way as seems to him most pleasing and musical."<sup>90</sup> Cowell's openmindedness reflects Grainger's conception of each individual's role in *Random Round* and responds to Grainger's criticisms of the inflexibilities of modern performances.

Cowell's interest in compositional flexibility, intensified by the deprivations of prison (he regretted being unable to consult Grainger's band scores, for instance), led him to allow Grainger to amend his scores. Concerned that the Hornpipe did not belong with the first two movements of what became *Celtic Set*, Cowell wrote to Grainger, "And by the way—if there is ever any wish to play the other movements of the Suite without the Hornpipe, just leave it out! If it doesn't fit, it shouldn't be there; it should either be eliminated or played separately for some other sort of occasion."<sup>91</sup> Grainger was the first to conduct the three-movement *Celtic Set*, with the Susquehanna University Band on 6 May 1938. When, later that year, Richard Goldman was rehearsing the *Set*, Cowell assured him and Grainger that they could make whatever changes they liked for outdoor performance. Cowell was unconcerned about any transgression of his authorship, assuring Grainger after Goldman's performance: "As I went over the detailed suggestions which you made to me by letter, I felt that every one of them would be an improvement."<sup>92</sup> Grainger attempted to get Carl Fischer Inc. to publish *Celtic Set*. When the publisher suggested reordering the movements Cowell wrote to Grainger: "It is just as good as far as I am concerned as the other way about, although I should rather like a note to the effect that the movements may be placed in any order at the desire of the conductor."<sup>93</sup> This suggestion recalls Cowell's specifications for *Mosaic Quartet* (that its five movements could be played in any order and repeated at will in order to render a "mosaic pattern of the form" and to adapt its duration to a given concert program). *Celtic Set* was not conceived as a "mosaic," but its realization shows Cowell's willingness to cede decisions to the conductor (and even the publisher) to achieve performances.

Meanwhile Cowell's elastic works for dance became even more radical. In January 1939, Cowell sent to Cage in Seattle five numbers for use with Bonnie Bird's choreography of Cocteau's *Les mariés de la Tour Eiffel*. One "Ritournelle" utilized what Cowell referred to as "the 'elastic' form idea."<sup>94</sup> Although fully notated it allowed as before the rearrangement of measures; in the score published in *New Music Quarterly* in 1945, Cowell suggested twenty possible alternatives for its first section

alone. In February 1939, in the midst of discussions about *Celtic Set*, Grainger wrote to Cowell what Cowell called a "tirade" about "how lesser artists wish to conventionalize the freer works of more individual ones" (Grainger's letter is lost).<sup>95</sup> Cowell concurred with Grainger, replying, "We are all hemmed in by a strange group of artificial restrictions in music-writing. As you have been pointing out for years, it is more interesting to fit a needful group of instruments to the particular musical idea in each different composition than it is to make each composition willy-nilly fit a certain group of instruments!" Cowell mused for Grainger's benefit that composers were too "fussy" about the instrumentation of their works. On 7 October 1939 Marian Van Tuyl and Lou Harrison visited Cowell in San Quentin to discuss *Ritual of Wonder*, a piano and percussion score to be assembled by Harrison. Some movements were fully composed. Others were constructed from thirty-seven cells to be arranged as needed. In the spirit in which he had collaborated with Grainger and Goldman, Cowell instructed Van Tuyl and Harrison to add or subtract any of the percussion parts, or even that they might omit all of this music entirely. But in a new departure, Cowell added a note to say that as well as reordering the cells, they could be "transposed, sequenced, inverted, retrograded, used in part, the two hands inverted one to the other, etc."<sup>96</sup>

Nothing about these particular dance works was conveyed to Grainger in letters. Cowell did not divulge to Grainger his use of rhythmic structures derived from Indian music (which he was to discuss in *Dance Observer* in December 1939), nor did he mention the pair of percussion works, *Pulse* and *Return*, which he composed in May 1939 for Cage's use. Only days after completing *Pulse*, which calls for dragonmouths, rice bowls, and pipe-lengths, and which moreover signals micro-macrocosmic form, Cowell wrote to Grainger that his current compositions were "nothing very exciting."<sup>97</sup> Indeed, Cowell's friends were far more animated by the promises of elastic form than he was. The ethnographer Sidney Robertson, who heard about it from Cage, wrote to Cowell in the context of "amazing ideas."<sup>98</sup> For her, the concept of elastic form was "one of the most exciting things I've heard in a long time. It's as completely original an idea as if it were a pure revelation."<sup>99</sup>

### **The Possibility of Fieldwork in the South Seas, 1938–39**

In July 1938, Grainger and Ella again left New York for Australia, where he intended to establish a museum on the grounds of the University of Melbourne. One of his objectives for the museum was to collect and promulgate music native to the South Pacific. In a letter to the

chancellor of the university he wrote that Hawaiian and Polynesian music “surpasses in subtle complexity all other music known to me.”<sup>100</sup> Once he reached Hawaii, Grainger wrote successive enthusiastic letters to Cowell, who responded:

Your reaction to the life in Samoa sounds as though it would be mine, also. It rings very true. I was specially interested because at the U. of Berlin I studied Samoan records for over a month—going over them fifty times each or more. Their music is so gay and carefree, and so astonishingly many-voiced! I heard two or three Fijian records, but did not come to know that music well. It would be a wonderful thing if, when I finally am released, I could go to one of these isles to make a more detailed study. I wonder whether such a thing would be worth considering?<sup>101</sup>

A few lines later he warmed to the idea:

Do you think of any organization—or any institution, which might be asked to sponsor such a thing, in spite of my coming from here? Or any person? In case you should happen onto any in the course of your wanderings, do remember about it! I should like your frank reaction to my trying to obtain such work—it may be quite impractical; yet it is just what I was going to do before I had to do this instead!

Cowell was familiar with Hawaiian and Tahitian music from childhood experience.<sup>102</sup> But whereas fellow proto-ethnomusicologists such as Paul Bowles and Colin McPhee traveled to the various countries that were the source of their interests Cowell had relied until now on recordings and what native performers he could find in New York City. It is difficult to believe that in the midst of his *New Music* enterprises and his rigid teaching schedule, not to mention the percussion ventures he intimated to Cage, he could have afforded to embark on folksong collection overseas.<sup>103</sup> Nonetheless, it was now a tantalizing prospect. That some of Cowell’s phraseology—“so astonishingly many-voiced”—transparently echoes Grainger’s linguistic idiosyncrasies implies that he was disingenuously courting Grainger’s interest.

Grainger replied, with delight, on 6 October 1938. This letter Cowell kept, because lodged in the discussion of South Sea music was Grainger’s invitation to Cowell to become his secretary—literally Cowell’s means of release from prison. Grainger wrote:

Dear Henry,

Your splendid letter of Sept 7, about Samoa, etc, just arrived and has delighted both Ella & me very much indeed. I am terribly glad you feel



the vitality of the South Sea music & also the human charm of their joyous, cooperative, friendly lives. Another friend, to whom I wrote at the same time as to you, about South Sea music & the exquisite normality of life in Samoa, etc, accused me of being an "escapist" because of my interest in such things & places. But I do not think he is quite right. The Samoans have to face the problem of economic life, as it is TODAY, just like Germans or Americans & all the rest of us do; and if they make a happy & successful job of it they are worth studying, I contend. As for their music: They are not content just to wallow in their past—to cling on to their old traditions, regardless—but they accept our (European) gift of harmony & manyvoicedness & THEY GO BEYOND US in the freedom & resourcefulness of their use of it. There is surely nothing back-water-ish about that, I should think. From your wonderful knowledge of primitive music, as revealed in yr glorious lectures, & from your unique assortment of records of that type (that you let me hear 4 or 5 years ago) I hoped that you would have a warm spot for the Polynesian music. I am delighted to have this hope confirmed.<sup>104</sup>

Both Grainger and Cowell were conscious of the reputation of the South Seas as a magnet to louche nineteenth-century writers and artists, and of the not altogether reputable precedents they set. In Grainger's lecture on the debunking of music, first drafted in May 1933, he had written: "How can writers and painters such as Pierre Loti, Robert Louis Stevenson and Paul Gauguin stir up romantic vogues of Tahiti and Samoa without musicians becoming at least mildly inquisitive regarding the rightly famous 'hymenés' and other choral music of those islands?"<sup>105</sup> Whereas even into the twentieth century the South Seas provided an exotic counterpoint to the West (witness the craze for Hawaiian music), Grainger and Cowell saw themselves as musicologists promoting scientific research.<sup>106</sup> Grainger entertained the possibility of Cowell obtaining Guggenheim funding, but recommended that before travelling there Cowell make a thorough study of Polynesian languages. Grainger himself had such a rich collection of Polynesian bibles, dictionaries, ethnological studies, and folklore that it seemed a logical step to invite Cowell to live and work with him in White Plains. There, "you & I can study Polynesian together (I made a beginning on the Maori, etc, languages in 1910) & where you could note down for me my Rarotongan & Maori gramophone records, thus preparing yourself for the Samoan enterprise." Grainger proposed that Cowell live in his house rent-free and act as his secretary, "the duties of which could be as elastic as you like." But, he warned, "I would only offer you the job if it was strictly understood & agreed upon between us that you never take on any job (even if I suggest it) unless it APPEALS to you personally, from YOUR OWN aesthetic angle." It would be

possible for Cowell to continue his “American music propaganda” and if in the future he decided to marry there was room in the house for a couple. Grainger’s enthusiasm leaps off the page. Toward the end of the letter he wrote: “HOW GLORIOUS IT WOULD BE, IF THERE IS SUCH A POSSIBILITY.”

Cowell replied on 3 November: “What a wonderful opportunity you and your wife offer me! I have no words to express myself with.”<sup>107</sup> Rejecting the idea of an “escape,” Cowell wrote: “To go to the islands to ‘get away from it all’ is one thing; but I should like to go there to get into it all!” From February 1939 Grainger labored indefatigably to have Cowell released: he wrote to the board of parole informing it that he needed an assistant “thoroly [sic] conversant with gramophone records of primitive music and folksong” and reminding it that he considered Cowell “one of the very greatest of living musical geniuses.”<sup>108</sup> He subtly emphasized the “manliness” of Cowell’s latest compositions, aware of the role of Cowell’s doctor in recommending parole. Unexpectedly, the board agreed to a rehearing of Cowell’s case in November 1939, when a telegram from Grainger was the most important document tendered.<sup>109</sup> Olive Cowell wrote repeatedly to Grainger, advising him who to canvass next and urging him not to mention the possibility of removing Cowell from the United States. Probably also because of the prospect of war in the South Pacific, there was no more talk about sailing to Rarotonga. Nonetheless Grainger continued to supply letters and telegrams in support of Cowell whenever Olive Cowell instructed him to do so, and despite harassment from prying journalists.<sup>110</sup> Cowell finally reached White Plains at the beginning of July 1940, in time to write a work titled *58 for Percy* in celebration of Grainger’s birthday on the eighth.

### **Cowell Becomes Grainger’s Secretary, 1940–41**

Once established in Grainger’s house, Cowell gained unfettered access to Grainger’s company, his music, and a houseful of musical contraptions, instruments, and artifacts. On 1 September 1940 Grainger sent one of his “round” letters to his friends and associates, beginning by writing a tribute to Cowell as “one of the most inspired & original composers and musical thinkers the U.S.A. has produced” and “the most thoro student of Asiatic, primitive & folk music I have ever met.”<sup>111</sup> Since Cowell’s arrival, and because of the threat of war, they had been occupied in preserving Grainger’s archive, which entailed making seven thousand photostats of scores, letters, manuscripts, pictures, drawings, and writings. But the task most important to Grainger was the preparation of his wax cylinders of English and Danish folksong, Maori, and

South Sea music for preservation at the Library of Congress. Cowell completed a catalogue of the cylinders, enabling Grainger to deliver four hundred to the Library, from where he wrote to Cowell, "The copying here is rolling along grandly. The Rarotongans (most much-meaning of all my cylinders) & all the Danish records are copied & the English are well started."<sup>112</sup> Grainger also met with the Seegers in Washington, hopeful that Charles Seeger might be able to find a job for Cowell. In Grainger's absence from White Plains Cowell attended to numerous orders for scores, parts, and program notes. Grainger wrote frequently, urging Cowell to pursue his own interests.

With Grainger's encouragement, Cowell was busily copying his own music, composing, performing, writing, and freely visiting New York City. Grainger reminded him: "As I said before: I am mainly moved by the wish to see your own works of genius emerge under favorable conditions."<sup>113</sup> Cowell spent that fall and winter experimenting with percussion instruments. Among others that are known to have been housed at White Plains were Chinese gongs, marimbas, staff bells, and Dutch bells.<sup>114</sup> Cowell contributed "Drums along the Pacific" to the November–December 1940 issue of *Modern Music*, listing the many novel non-Western instruments being used for compositions by Cage, Harrison, Russell, and others on the West Coast. Cowell conceded that percussion was not in itself a new idea, and as illustration referred to Grainger's *In a Nutshell* suite. In his most extensive published comment on a work by Grainger, Cowell used Grainger's suite as an example of an innovative percussion composition that initially received adverse publicity (Cowell quoted a 1916 review by a *San Francisco Chronicle* critic who found he "could not relate the din to anything within the realm of the art of music") but had since become "generally well-liked."<sup>115</sup> Cowell named *Ionisation* as the culmination of the experiments of the futurists; by comparison, his reference to Grainger using percussion "as an incident, to enhance and punctuate his orchestration," is neither accurate nor flattering.

In December 1940, Cowell played guitar and reed organ with Grainger in a concert at Carnegie Hall to aid "Bundles for Britain" (fig. 2). By the end of the year Grainger was tired and unwell, overwrought about the war and fearful that he would be unable to continue to tour and therefore sustain his income. He told Cowell that in 1940 his gross earnings were ten to twelve thousand dollars, but with fees to agents, and the costs of homes and travel (not to mention some twenty dependants and numerous good causes) he was afraid that employing a secretary was a luxury he could not afford. Yet, as Michael Hicks calculates, the first four months of 1941 were astonishingly prolific for Cowell,





Figure 2. Grainger and Cowell, ca. 13 December 1940. Attributed to Sidney Cowell. Reproduced by permission of the David & Sylvia Teitelbaum Fund, Inc. Grainger promoted the "Australian way" of playing the guitar.

who composed seven new works, wrote five articles, and saw numerous performances of his own works, while also teaching at the New School, Columbia University, and the Progressive Education Association. *Ancient Desert Drone* (for orchestra) was completed and scored in White Plains and dedicated to Grainger. Cowell's percussion experiments were integral to the composition of *Trickster Coyote* for Martha Graham's partner Erick Hawkins. For that work, premiered in New York on 20 April 1941, he specified a Chinese flute, a Chinese oboe, a Hungarian pipe, and an Australian Aboriginal thunderstick. Grainger began practicing *Sinister Resonance*, *Aeolian Harp*, *Lilt of the Reel*, and *Tides of Manaunaun* with a view to including them in his concerts. He also waged a campaign to interest band composers in *Celtic Set*, and suggested works by Cowell for his own programs. Cowell's job with Grainger was terminated by mutual agreement on 1 July 1941, and on 3 July 1941 the San Quentin Prison Board restored Cowell's civil rights and gave him freedom of travel, allowing him hope of a government job. As a kind of valediction, Grainger performed Cowell's piano pieces in his last concert of the 1940–41 season, reporting to Cowell:

Herewith (for the moment) closes the realisation of my strong wish (when I first heard you in 1933) to some day be able to (to some degree) master the skills of yr piano works. I felt that urge very strongly in 1933, & I have felt *intense interest & satisfaction* in carrying out that longing & ambition (even as imperfectly as I have). That the pieces proved much more popular with audiences than I had hoped was, of course, an added



pleasure. It was, also, a delight to find that your piano-skills were even more practical & clear-minded than I had expected. The piano last night was a Steinway B, the very best kind for yr pieces, it seems to me.<sup>116</sup>

In an unpublished essay on "English Pianism and Harold Bauer," written in 1945, Grainger listed Cowell as one of the greatest pianists in the world.<sup>117</sup>

### The Complexities of Friendship in Later Years, 1941–61

By 1940 Grainger had become dispirited by the lack of recognition of his experimental works: it may be that the presence of a prolific experimentalist in the house made those works' obscurity painfully obvious. In that year he sent Eugene Goossens a list of original compositions for a prospective program, commenting unguardedly "Both you and I love folk-songs, but there can be too much of everything, and I am sick of always appearing only as a composer wedded to folksong."<sup>118</sup> Inescapably, Grainger had become synonymous with the lightweight *Country Gardens*. Unpublished experimental works such as the *Sea Song* sketch were known only to a few, and a progressive work for percussion such as *Eastern Intermezzo* was publicly available only as a transcription for piano. Typically, Grainger blamed himself for his lack of credibility as a serious composer. Writing a private autobiographical document in the late 1940s, he lamented his "silliness" in allowing piano "dish-ups" of his compositions, something he believed "wrecked my whole job-path ((career)) as a tone-wright."<sup>119</sup>

Nonetheless, more innovations were to come. On 20 February 1943, while on tour, Grainger began copying out a score of *Random Round*, adding a note stating that it had been "started around 1912–1914 in Holland & tried-out in England not very hopeful-fillingly—soon after."<sup>120</sup> It is not clear why he returned to the work now, although it was to be included in his lectures in coming months. On 1 April 1943 he lectured in Columbia, Missouri, on "Bach and His Forerunners," using *Random Round* as an illustration.<sup>121</sup> It was almost certainly the first public performance of the work since 1914. Grainger also programmed it for a student concert at the summer camp at Interlochen on 30 July. The most obvious revisions are in the naming of sections and the percussive treatment of the guitar. Sections are now termed "foreplay," "stretches" (A–C), and "bridges," the original D section being subsumed into one of these. For guitarists Grainger now specified left-hand smacks, slaps, and strumming, slides, rolls, and simultaneous strumming with both hands. The pianist in one instance is to "twang strings near nut, or strike with hard mallet." As before, parts enter and leave at will,

do not have to harmonize or, in some instances, coincide rhythmically, and the conductor chooses when to move from one stretch to another by sounding a gong and showing a cardboard sign with the letter name of the next stretch. Theoretically, the work could be prolonged indefinitely, but most modern recordings limit it to about five minutes.<sup>122</sup> Even in 1943 its minimalist repetitions, mobile form, extended techniques, elastic scoring, and conceptual freedom predate a comparable work, such as Terry Riley's *In C* (1964), by more than twenty years.

Then, on 21 February 1943, the day after resurrecting *Random Round*, Grainger sketched new ideas for "Free Music" for theremins and sliding instruments.<sup>123</sup> Ironically, in the latter months of 1940—when Cowell was living in Grainger's home—Cage had proposed to Cowell a "center of experimental music" that would make oscillators and other electronic resources available to composers.<sup>124</sup> It seems inconceivable that Cowell did not convey to Grainger what Cage envisioned, at a time when Cowell was corresponding regularly with Cage, and when Cowell acted as a kind of "central information booth" to generations of American composers.<sup>125</sup> We do not know whether or not Grainger supported the idea. But it was in the living room of the White Plains house that Grainger constructed what Sidney Cowell described as a "loom-like contrivance" for sliding tone experiments, which from 1945 continued in collaboration with Burnett Cross, a young physicist.<sup>126</sup> Grainger bought three Hammond Solovoxes and tried out his *Sea Song* sketch player roll using them in conjunction with a reed organ. In the opinion of Warren Burt, an electroacoustic composer (born in 1949), Grainger anticipated multitrack recording, sequencing, and interactive performance with sequencers.<sup>127</sup> A more complex machine built from eight oscillators and producing a polyphony of four parts was built in 1952. On 1 August 1952 Cowell sent a note to Grainger congratulating him on the "sliding-tone experiments," declaring that they were "marvelous and will be of greatest value to everyone."<sup>128</sup> As if to fulfil that prediction, in the following year Cowell completed his *Symphony No. 11*, the first of his works since 1935 to specify sliding tones.

In his publications, however, Cowell pigeonholed Grainger as a band composer. In an article published in 1945 Cowell briefly mentioned Grainger as a composer of "highly original" band music.<sup>129</sup> In a tribute to Edwin Franko Goldman published in the *New York Herald Tribune* on 28 December 1947—and as preface to a concert featuring works by Goldman and Grainger—Cowell allotted one sentence to Grainger as a composer "more interested in the band, with its greater elasticity of instrumentation, than in the conventional symphony orchestra, which he finds confining."<sup>130</sup> Judging from a comment in a subsequent letter

from Grainger Cowell had written more, but it had been cut on publication. Almost pathetically, Grainger responded, "I should so much like to take a copy of the original for my museum, if I may."<sup>131</sup> Cowell named Grainger once in the thirty-one installments of "Current Chronicle" he wrote for *Musical Quarterly* between 1948 and 1956, when in an aside he referred to Grainger as one of several composers who owned the percussion instruments for which they wrote.<sup>132</sup> But in the very same article, published two months after he received from Grainger an explanation of his works for electronic instruments, Cowell discussed Vladimir Ussachevsky's tape experiments. Cowell was in a unique position to bridge the distance between Grainger and younger composers, but for some reason refrained. In Cowell's important "Current Chronicle" on Cage appearing in another 1952 issue he pointed out the use of indeterminacy in Cage's music, the role of chance, and the belief of Cage and his acolytes that "there should be more room in music for improvisatory factors, for the elements of casual choice and chance."<sup>133</sup> Cowell named Otto Luening as a composer of a work "for partly controlled improvisation" and Ives as another who had allowed "certain kinds of changes in his music, under some circumstances."<sup>134</sup> Neither *The Warriors* or *Random Round* are mentioned.

Only in private was Cowell willing to make grandiloquent claims for Grainger. In a letter dating from 1947 Cowell assured Grainger that "I consider you one of the great composers of this age—one who has had a great deal of influence on the thought and style of me, and of many others (most of whom probably don't realize where it comes from)."<sup>135</sup> The example of Grainger's influence Cowell gave was, intangibly, the "richly-moving parts" in his new violin sonata. In the early months of 1960, by which time Grainger was clearly dying, Cowell urged Grainger to find a copy of the score of *In a Nutshell* so that he could verify Grainger's status as a pioneer in percussion composition. Cowell assured Grainger that he was "the (or a) first composer of distinction to write for percussion as a main element." Cowell's hesitation makes the accolade less than convincing, but he did reflect that "it would be too bad if credit for great pioneering were lost."<sup>136</sup>

In stark contrast to his behavior toward Grainger, in 1955 Cowell publicly venerated Ives—the mentor and benefactor whose music he had been advancing for almost thirty years—with the publication of a landmark book (co-authored with his wife Sidney Robertson Cowell). In it Cowell positioned himself for the record as the generational go-between, the most active of the list of "active and determined friends of Ives's music."<sup>137</sup> Proclamations of Ives in the era of McCarthyism served Cowell's need to verify his commitment to American ideals as



well as to confirm his own place in an authentically American tradition. As David C. Paul has argued, it was largely Cowell's achievement to have bound Ives's reputation to the wider discourse on the nature of American identity.<sup>138</sup> There was no place for Grainger in this discourse and, whether actively or passively, Cowell excluded him from it. Coincidentally, in 1955 Richard Franko Goldman drew connections between Ives and Grainger. In an article on Grainger's "free music" published in that year in *Juilliard Review* Goldman styled both Ives and Grainger as individualists "working in an atmosphere as close of willful independence as possible, and both anticipating later practices to a degree that amounted, in its time and place, to eccentricity."<sup>139</sup> Goldman, in fact, was prepared to award the honors to Grainger, for "where Ives was provincial, and an amateur, Grainger is neither." Goldman was better informed than most about Grainger's newest "radical and experimental music," having corresponded with Grainger for twenty years and in recent years met with him often in White Plains. As well as portraying Grainger's "free music" experiments as the fruit of "one of the most original and stimulating musical personalities of our time," Goldman was one commentator prepared to venture Grainger as a composer who had offered precedents to both Americans and Europeans, from Partch, Cage, and Nancarrow to Boulez, Messiaen, and Stockhausen.<sup>140</sup>

### Posterity

After Grainger's death in 1961, Sidney Robertson Cowell published an affectionate homage to Grainger in the *Journal of the International Folk Council*. Without alluding to her husband or to his friendship with Grainger she recollected:

Grainger was a radiant person, of great physical buoyancy and loyalty of heart. He was reasonable and natural in his behaviour as few men are willing to be, and because he had also, to a high degree, that particular attribute of genius which heightens the sense of life in everyone around him, he was greatly sought after, and widely loved.<sup>141</sup>

Surprisingly, Mrs. Cowell credited Grainger with innovations in instrumentation and in experiments in sliding tones. No doubt Cowell was in agreement with her, but his own silence on this significant occasion and after so many years of valuable friendship is perplexing.

Perhaps the "fearfulness" Cowell developed in prison, and his consequent avoidance of self-disclosure, explains his reticence. Perhaps he was also embarrassed to be associated with an eccentric who was known



to dress like a vagrant and support vegetarianism.<sup>142</sup> Yet Grainger's contribution to Cowell's career was immeasurable: it was Grainger who promised the job that ensured that Cowell was paroled years before the expiration of the original sentence; who acted to arrange publication of Cowell's melody book, and of works including *Celtic Set*; who conducted, performed, and recorded Cowell's works, and continued to do so well after 1941; who tirelessly facilitated commissions and performances for Cowell; who mentioned Cowell in his writings on pianists, on band music, in the prefacé to his scores and in public lectures; and who from his earliest anointing of Cowell as a genius continued to praise Cowell's music in the most glowing terms (about *Shoonthree* he wrote in 1948, "What a mesmeric piece it is, to be sure, & unlike ANYTHING ELSE in music!").<sup>143</sup> Much of this benefaction was assisted by Grainger's fame, wealth, and connections, but these factors should not obscure the extraordinariness of his personal generosity and selflessness. Cowell, in return, privately expressed his gratitude to Grainger and as much as he could recommended Grainger's works to others. He composed two small birthday pieces for Grainger, set a few of Ella Grainger's poems, dedicated *Ancient Desert Drone* (a "bit of Hollywood orientalia")<sup>144</sup> to Grainger, named him a few times in passing as a composer for percussion and band, and continued to visit and correspond affectionately with him to the end of his life. Yet after a full year of immersion in Grainger's life and archive, and despite Cowell's career-defining dedication to promoting American composers, this amounts to a strangely limited tribute. Problematically, Cowell's inaction has been to his lasting benefit. Cowell has persistently been portrayed as a composer *sui generis*, "the one composer to have come out of nowhere."<sup>145</sup> As Michael Hicks argues, Cowell preferred to depict himself as a loner—a "pioneer, rebel, a genius"—rather than have to explain the "cultural stew" that made him. If in recent years it has become apparent that Cowell, by noticeable acts of omission, masked his debt as a composer to Seeger and Ornstein, the same could be said of Grainger.<sup>146</sup>

In truth, Grainger and Cowell had been both mutual support and sounding board for each other for almost thirty years. Many advances that each had arrived at before 1933 were reinforced in works composed after that date by one or the other. Grainger was a public advocate for the revival of art music through non-European music from as early as 1915 and Cowell from the late 1920s. In 1898 Grainger anticipated musical hybridity with the composition of *Eastern Intermexzo*; Cowell exemplified hybridity in *Ensemble* and *United Quartet*, where elements such as drones and stratified textures are complemented by the innovation of small- and large-scale rhythmic structures. Grainger was a

pioneer in the prescription of tuned and keyed percussion instruments (including playing on the strings of the piano), and in advocating percussion as a self-sufficient instrumental group; the string piano was Cowell's invention, and from it evolved his experiments in the 1930s with noise and unpitched instruments. Whereas Grainger described the first movement of *In a Nutshell* as a percussion work, and in other works he adopted instruments such as ukulele, harmonium, and water-filled bowls, by the mid-1930s Cowell was prescribing even more exotic and inventive instruments. Both exhibited an eagerness to make music applicable to the broader community: while composing for the most reputable wind bands of the day Grainger was also conducting high school students and Cowell was composing band music for fellow inmates in San Quentin; since then their band works have often appeared on the same programs.<sup>147</sup>

Grainger and Cowell shared a readiness to cede aspects of the construction and performance of their works to performers: Grainger had already demonstrated a model of modular form and indeterminacy in *Random Round* before Cowell devised his earliest works in elastic form in the 1930s. That Grainger revised and enhanced *Random Round* in 1943 may be attributable to his awareness of emerging interest in flexible composition. Grainger demonstrated sliding tones long before he met Cowell, but it was in his year at New York University that he learned of others' interest and of Fickénscher's experiments. Whereas Cowell sought to strictly classify sliding tones in his treatise on melody and to experiment with their prescription and notation in *Rest* and in the *Mosaic Quartet* (and later in the symphonies), Grainger invented a series of machines and, ultimately, electronic devices to realize his concept of a music free from fixed intervals and rhythmic regularity. Cowell, however, only fleetingly pursued rhythmic experimentation beyond the invention of the rhythmicon, and he never put electronic means to the test.

It is astonishing to realize that the combined efforts of Grainger and Cowell in 1933–40 represent the frontiers of indeterminacy, electronic music, microtonal music, extended instrumental techniques, graphic scoring, mobile form, and transculturalism. Grainger and Cowell succeeded in exploring these in different but complementary ways, something utterly remarkable and a testimony to their striking individuality.

Fascinatingly, Grainger's legacy is readily apparent in works by Cage—the most famous of Cowell's students—as early as the late 1930s. Wilfrid Mellers in his book on Grainger speculated that Grainger “must surely have heard and delighted in Cage's

quasi-Polynesian works for prepared piano . . . and he would have recognized Cage's Indeterminacy as heir to his Random Music."<sup>148</sup> But this is not the only inadvertent link. Grainger's scale-less compositions for theremins preceded Cage's use of recording equipment in *Imaginary Landscape No. 1* (1939); the modified piano in *Pagodes* and the delicate bell and gong palette of the 1933 version of *Eastern Intermezzo*, a sound exclusively percussive in later versions, were precursor to Cage's mock-gamelan works for prepared piano composed from 1940; the deliberate cultivation of chance and random events of *Random Round*, as well as Grainger's frequent use of the expression "at will" in his scores, were succeeded by the acceptance by Cage of random events such as in *Imaginary Landscape No. 4* for twelve radios (1951) and *4'33"* (1952). The simple inventiveness of *Random Round* and the accessibility achieved by elastic scoring and "dish-ups" presaged Cage's recruitment of friends, amateurs, and bystanders to participate in his percussion concerts and in tasks (such as turning radio dials) that effected his indeterminate works. Cowell is the linchpin here. Although we may never know the nature and direction of the lines of communication between Grainger and Cage—or even if there were any at all—the evidence we have for the friendship of Grainger and Cowell shows how serendipitous it was for the experimentalism that flourished in their wake.

## Notes

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1. Grainger, "Modern and Universal Impulses in Music," *Etude* 34, no. 5 (May 1916), repr. in *Grainger on Music*, ed. Malcolm Gillies and Bruce Clunies Ross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 83.

2. Michael Hicks, "The Imprisonment of Henry Cowell," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 109.
3. Cowell, letter to Percy Grainger, 7 January 1939, Grainger Museum (henceforth GM). This letter was written soon after Grainger had offered Cowell a job, which accounts for its flattery. It is an interesting pendant to Cowell's musing in *Sackbut* in 1925 about "how seldom I find anyone who can share my sincere enthusiasm for such different composers as Bach, Wagner, and Schönberg; or who admires both our own simple folk tunes and also Chinese opera; or who follows me in my conviction that Palestrina is neither far enough back to go in appreciation of the old, nor Ruggles far enough forward in appreciation of the new." Cowell, "The Value of Eclecticism," *Sackbut* 5, no. 9 (1925), quoted in David C. Paul, "From American Ethnographer to Cold War Icon: Charles Ives Through the Eyes of Henry and Sidney Cowell," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59, no. 2 (2006): 407.
4. An author who has noticed these concurrences and who has briefly explored the correspondence between Grainger and Cowell is Peter John Schimpf in "A Transcultural Student, Teacher, and Composer: Henry Cowell and the Music of the World's Peoples" (PhD diss., Indiana University at Bloomington, 2006).
5. Michael Hicks, *Henry Cowell, Bohemian* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 116.
6. Percy Grainger, "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music," *Musical Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (July 1915): 433–34.
7. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 433. Grainger repeated this anecdote many times (including in lectures and publications in New York in 1932–33) without ever naming the professor.
8. "Grainger Will Give New York Recital," *Musical Courier*, 6 January 1915, 35. Grainger discussed his recordings in "Collecting with the Phonograph," *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* 3 (1908): 147–242.
9. Grainger, "Modern and Universal Impulses in Music," *Etude* 34, no. 5 (May 1916), reprinted in *Grainger on Music*, 83.
10. The term "primitive" continued to be used as late as Bruno Nettl's *Music in Primitive Cultures* (1956) to refer to preliterate cultures and was differentiated from the cultivated Oriental tradition and folk musics that coexisted with literate and cultivated traditions. Grainger's use of quotation marks around the word "primitive" (as for instance in the epigraph of this article) indicates his ironic use of the word. In general, in the writings of both Grainger and Cowell, it was an accepted term used without prejudice.
11. David Nicholls, "Henry Cowell: Living in the Whole World of Music," *The Whole World of Music: A Henry Cowell Symposium*, ed. David Nicholls (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishing, 1997), 7.
12. Grainger, "My Musical Outlook" (1902–4), in *Grainger on Music*, 19.
13. Annotation to the published score at rehearsal number 142, *Tribute to Foster* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934); "Grainger's Busy Evening," *Star* (Melbourne), 5 August 1935, 16. *Tribute to Foster* was first performed as a piano work in New York on



8 December 1915; for a description of the use of musical glasses on that occasion, see "Grainger to Foster," *Globe* (New York), 9 December 1915.

14. In New York, Grainger was criticized as an "ultra-modern composer" and experimentalist; see "Music and Drama: Grainger's 'In a Nutshell,'" *Evening Post*, 2 March 1917. When in 1924 Rosenfeld offered "Felicitations" to Cowell on "the discovery of a method," he noted: "Concordances of many close-lying notes have been used by Leo Ornstein ever since he wrote his *Dwarf Suite*; and Percy Grainger calls for tones struck from the strings inside the box of the piano in one of the *Nutshell* movements." Michael Hicks reprints this review, from *The Dial* 76 (April 1924) in Hicks, *Henry Cowell, Bohemian*, Appendix 1, 151–52. He concludes in the text that "the first 'serious' composer to write for piano strings was probably Percy Grainger" (110).

15. Measure 323, autograph full score of *The Warriors* dated 22 December 1916, MG3/96-1, GM.

16. Henry Cowell, "The Basis of Musical Pleasure," *American Mercury* 24, no. 75 (November 1931): 372. See Schimpf's discussion of this article in "A Transcultural Student, Teacher, and Composer," 103–4.

17. Henry Cowell, *New Musical Resources*, ed. David Nicholls (1930; repr., Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 20. There is no copy of Cowell's book in Grainger's library.

18. Guggenheim Foundation announcement, 16 September 1931, quoted in Schimpf, "A Transcultural Student, Teacher, and Composer," 32.

19. Marc Blitzstein, "Spring Season in the East," *Modern Music* 8, no. 4 (May–June 1931): 35.

20. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 20 November 1937, GM.

21. See interview with Antonia Morse, Grainger's agent, in *Musical America*, 25 January 1932, 23.

22. Grainger, letter dated 1937, to John Tasker Howard, printed in Howard, *Our Contemporary Composers: American Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1941), 274.

23. Lecture notes, Box 14/60, GM. Grainger arranged further performances of Fickénscher's work on 16 December 1932 in Buffalo, on 5 March 1933 at a Durieux concert in New York City; on 11 March 1933 at a lecture at Town Hall Club; on 28 March 1933 in his NYU lecture; on 9 May 1933 in his NYU lecture (using the recording); on 20 June 1933 in a WEVD broadcast; on 23 July 1933 in a WEVD Sunday concert, and on 1 August 1933 in a summer school lecture. In 1934, on his tour of Australia, Grainger was describing Fickénscher as one of the greatest composers who ever lived (see "Grainger on Beethoven," *Herald* [Melbourne], 25 January 1934). The published score of Fickénscher's quintet *From the Seventh Realm* (Mainz: Schott; New York: AMP, 1939) is dedicated "To my beloved friend Percy Aldridge Grainger."

24. The course schedule is printed in Schimpf, "A Transcultural Student, Teacher, and Composer," 77.

25. "Outline of Lecture Course. Music A-B," Box 14/60, GM.

26. Lecture notes, Box 14/60, GM.

27. Grainger, "Melody versus Rhythm," typescript in scrapbook for composition programs 1932–33, Box 399, GM.
28. H. H. [Hans Heinsheimer?], "Cantonese Music Presented," *New York Times*, 4 January 1933.
29. Hicks, *Henry Cowell*, 126; for the titles of lectures, see Schimpf, "A Transcultural Student, Teacher, and Composer," 82–83.
30. Twenty enrolled for Cowell's course on "Primitive and Folk Origins of Music" in fall 1934. See Leta E. Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage: Intersections and Influences," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 59, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 54.
31. Entry in Grainger's pocket diary for 1933, GM.
32. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 31 January 1933, Box 8, Cowell Collection, New York Public Library (henceforth NYPL); Cowell, letter to Grainger, 20 February 1933, GM; Grainger, letter to Cowell, 22 February 1933, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL.
33. Handwritten summary of the lecture written on *L'Avenir* on 20–23 December 1933, Box 12/60, GM.
34. In "Music of the Orient" (1963) Cowell recalled: "We lived between the Japanese and Chinese districts and I had many Japanese and Chinese playmates between the ages of five and nine. I sang their folk songs in their native language, just as many children on the eastern seaboard sing those songs in German and French learned from their playmates. By the time I was nine years old, the music of these oriental people was just as natural to me as any music." *Essential Cowell: Selected Writings on Music*, ed. Dick Higgins (Kingston: Documentext, 2001), 188.
35. Grainger, letter to Frederick Stock enclosed with letter to Cowell, 12 March 1933, GM. Stock did not act upon Grainger's advice, nor did Grainger ever perform the concerto.
36. The *New York Times* announced that Grainger would appear in Cowell's class; see "Activities of Musicians: Stokowski to Lead 'Pierrot Lunaire'—Toscanini and Tchaikovsky—Other Items," *New York Times*, 12 March 1933. Grainger listed the songs he sang in his notes on the "Lecture on Folk Music" for this date in his scrapbook 1932–33, Box 399, GM.
37. Henry Cowell, "Towards Neo-Primitivism," *Modern Music* 10, no. 3 (March–April 1933): 151.
38. Cowell's article on "Musical Curves of Sound," in which he discussed the use of curves, slides, and bends in Indian and Japanese music, was never published. See Schimpf, "A Transcultural Student, Teacher, and Composer," 109.
39. In a note to the published score of the 1898–99 orchestral version of *Eastern Intermezzo*, Grainger wrote: "To the best of my knowledge extended passages of triads in conjunct motion (as in . . . bars 31–41, 98–113 of 'Eastern Intermezzo') were unknown in 1899, as were likewise unbroken sequences of consecutive unresolved sevenths as they appear in bars 9–18, 28–32, 52–53, 56–57, 80–93 of 'Eastern Intermezzo.'" Grainger, *Youthful Suite* (London: Schott, 1950).

40. See Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage," 56; and Leta E. Miller and Rob Collins, "The Cowell-Ives Relationship: A New Look at Cowell's Prison Years," *American Music* 23, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 477.
41. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 27 March 1933, GM. Cowell wrote: "I think the making of these records is VERY IMPORTANT."
42. "Henry Cowell in Recital at Gallery," *Carmel Pine Cone* 19, no. 17 (28 April 1933): 4, quoted in Martha L. Manion, *Writings about Henry Cowell: An Annotated Bibliography* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute for Studies in American Music: 1982), 94.
43. Grainger, letter to D. C. Parker, 26 April 1933, in *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger 1914–1961*, ed. Malcolm Gillies and David Pear (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 117.
44. This was "the Pan American Association of Composers Series of All-American programs, under the direction of Arthur V. Berger." See flier, Scrapbooks, Box 399, GM.
45. Grainger, "Can Music Become a Universal Language?," *Grainger on Music*, 250, extracted as Grainger, "Is Music Universal?: Concert Programs Present Only Fraction of Available Literature," *New York Times*, 2 July 1933; "Is Music a Universal Language?: Suggestions for Small Ensembles, Amateur and Professional, Regarding Beautiful, Available and Rarely Performed Works," *New York Times*, 9 July 1933.
46. Text of the lecture marked "P.G.'s copy," Box 12/60, GM.
47. "Grainger Lists Topics: Will Open Lecture-Recital Series at N. Y. U. Tonight," *New York Times*, 11 July 1933.
48. From a typed document listing the topics of the lecture-recital series in the NYU Summer School at the University's School of Education on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, Box 12/60, GM.
49. Grainger, "To Conductors and to Those Forming, or in Charge of, Amateur Orchestras, High School, College and Music School Orchestras and Chamber-Music Bodies," *Spoon River* (London: Schott, 1929), dated 2 December 1929, reproduced in Bird, *Percy Grainger*, 285–91.
50. At a March 1935 performance of *Pagodes* in Sydney "oriental timbres were reproduced on a variety of instruments, including even the pianoforte, with the strings muted by Mr. Grainger with pieces of paper. The result was a remarkable evocation of that Javanese music which had so fascinated Debussy when played by musicians from Java at a Paris Exhibition." in G. S. L., "Music in Sydney," *Australian Musical News*, 1 April 1935, 25.
51. On the date of their meeting, see Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage," 51.
52. From the first sentence of the first lecture, "The Universalist Attitude Toward Music," reprinted as an appendix to John Blacking, *A Commonsense View of All Music: Reflections on Percy Grainger's Contributions to Ethnomusicology and Music Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 151. Blacking does not give the dates of the lectures, which were 4, 6, 10, 14, 16, 20, 23, 27 December 1934 and 2, 4, 6, 10 January 1935.

53. Grainger wrote in his pocket diary for 8 January 1935 (GM), "Got up early, wrote my 1st sample of free music . . . didn't sound too good." Two days later he wrote that at the rehearsal his free music "sounded nice."
54. See Nancy Yunhwa Rao, "Henry Cowell and His Chinese Music Heritage: Theory of Sliding Tone and His Orchestral Work of 1953–1965," in *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown, GA: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), 126.
55. Cowell, "The Scientific Approach to Non-European Music," *Music Vanguard* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1935): 62–67, reproduced in *Essential Cowell*, 166–67.
56. Grainger, letter to John Tasker Howard, in *Our Contemporary Composers*, 274. There are two extant scores for *Free Music No. 2*: one is dated "Oct.–Dec." and on the other the date is illegible. As *Free Music No. 1* was rescored for theremins on 12 October 1937 (the date on the score), and Howard dates the letter from Grainger as 1937, it is probable that *Free Music No. 2* was composed in October–December 1937.
57. Cowell's letter to Cage is reproduced in full in Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage," 103–4.
58. As well as the use of sliding tones, the work reflected the precedent offered by Cowell's *Banshee*, the score requiring the pianist to mute the piano strings with the palm of the hand and sweep a gong beater across the bass strings. See Leta E. Miller, "Cultural Intersections: John Cage in Seattle (1938–1940)," in *John Cage: Music, Philosophy, and Intention, 1933–1950*, ed. David Patterson (New York: Garland, 2000), 64.
59. Cowell, "How Relate Music and Dance?," *Essential Cowell*, 220, 219.
60. Cowell, "Relating Music and Concert Dance," *Dance Observer* 4, no. 1 (January 1937): 8.
61. Cowell, "Relating Music and Concert Dance," 9.
62. Leta E. Miller, "Henry Cowell and Modern Dance: The Genesis of Elastic Form," *American Music* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 4–9.
63. Norman Lloyd, "Sound-Companion for Dance," *Dance Scope* (Spring 1966), quoted in Miller, "Henry Cowell and Modern Dance," 10.
64. John Martin, "The Dance—New England," *New York Times*, 15 August 1937.
65. The manuscript score of *Canto Hondo* has recently been discovered at Martha Graham Resources, part of the Martha Graham Center of Contemporary Dance. It includes Cowell's hypothetical realization made for the benefit of Louis Horst, who constructed the score.
66. The article discussed elastic scoring: Charles W. Hughes, "Percy Grainger, Cosmopolitan Composer," *Musical Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (April 1937): 135.
67. Grainger, "Program-Note on 'Lincolnshire Posy,'" *Lincolnshire Posy* (London: Schott, 1940).
68. Richard K. Hansen lists only two original wind band scores by Americans composed before 1935, both by Grainger, though others were composed for chamber winds or wind orchestra. See Hansen, *The American Wind Band: A Cultural History* (Chicago:



GIA Publications, 2005), 68. In *The Music of Henry Cowell: A Descriptive Catalog* (Brooklyn: Center for Studies in American Music, 1986), William Lichtenwanger lists only two band works composed by Cowell before prison, both lost. *Celtic Set* is the first surviving band work by Cowell.

69. In response to an inquiry to the New School for Cowell's address, Grainger was given the address of Cowell's father and from him must have obtained the San Quentin address. His first letter to Cowell in San Quentin must have been dated between 2 June (the date of the letter from the New School) and 13 June, when Cowell replied that he was "delighted to hear from you after so long." Cowell, letter to Grainger, 13 June 1937, GM.

70. Grainger, letter to Olive Cowell, 15 August 1937, excerpts (not in Grainger's hand), GM, original in Box 124, Cowell Collection, NYPL; Grainger, letter to Olive Cowell, 27 August 1937, Box 124, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

71. Richard Franko Goldman, *The Band's Music* (New York: Pitman, 1938), xiv. Grainger's foreword is dated 13 October 1937. He names *Celtic Set* even though the work by that date had not yet been formulated. The title must have been inserted in the final version.

72. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 16 November 1937, Box 124, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

73. Cowell wrote in his letter of 20 November 1937 to Grainger that he thought "you would be interested in some of its ideas." Although both Cowell and Beyer summarized the book for him, he can only have seen it if he visited Beyer, who had a copy (see letter from Beyer to Grainger, 15 November 1937, GM). Beyer and Grainger corresponded about the book over several months, Beyer repeatedly seeking Grainger's advice on matters relating to Cowell as well as her own compositions. Interestingly, the fourth movement of Beyer's second string quartet (1936) is an exercise in perpetual sliding tones.

74. Cowell wrote to Grainger on 11 May 1940 to report he believed that he was permitted to remove only five letters from San Quentin. The five letters from Grainger that Cowell retained are dated 16 November 1937, 6 October 1938, 2 December 1938, 24 August 1939, and 23 May 1940; all are in Box 124, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

75. In an undated letter, c. 1938, Goldman told Grainger that his first attempt at a reading of *Celtic Set* failed when the men could not read their parts. Again, in a letter dated 7 November 1938, he recalled that "the old parts were really a dreadful mess—and so many cues were lacking!" But in a letter of 19 May 1938 Goldman assured Grainger that "we *do* want to do the Cowell Celtic Suite this summer, and consider it an honor to be able to give it its first public performance." Series 2, Correspondence Box 65, GM.

76. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 3 December 1937, GM.

77. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 431.

78. Grainger, telegram to his mother, Rose, 20 January 1909, *The Farthest North of Humanness: Letters of Percy Grainger 1901–14*, ed. Kay Dreyfus (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1985), 263.

79. Grainger, letter to Rose Grainger, 21 January 1909, *The Farthest North of Humanness*, 265. His observations of the singing of "Rarotonga I" are attached to the inked manuscript score of "Rarotonga I," SL1 MG13/6-4:3, GM.
80. Grainger, letter to Balfour Gardiner, 16 February 1909, *The Farthest North of Humanness*, 266.
81. Grainger, letter to Karen Holten, 25 February 1909, GM, quoted in Graham Barwell, "Percy Grainger and the Early Collecting of Polynesian Music," *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, nos. 2–3 (October 2003–October 2004), 9.
82. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 421.
83. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 425.
84. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 432.
85. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 433.
86. The guitar part is at MG3/74–1 and the saxophone part at MG15/3–8, GM. The guitar part is undated; the saxophone part is in an envelope dated 21 September 1918. No parts from the 1915 performance seem to have survived. According to Barry Ould (e-mail to author, 1 September 2009) nothing relating to any earlier version was found in the house at White Plains after Grainger's death.
87. Grainger, "The Impress of Personality," 432–33.
88. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 3 February 1938, GM.
89. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 22 May 1938, GM.
90. "Teaching Notes" to Cowell, *Amerind Suite* (Providence, RI: Axelrod Music Publications, 1939).
91. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 22 May 1938, GM.
92. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 17 November 1939, GM.
93. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 14 June 1938, GM. *Celtic Set* was published in 1941, by Schirmer.
94. Lichtenwanger gives a completion date of 30 January 1939 in *The Music of Henry Cowell*, 166; Cowell, letter to Bonnie Bird, 2 April 1939, quoted in Miller, "Henry Cowell and Modern Dance," 11.
95. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 25 February 1939, GM.
96. A facsimile of the manuscript score is reproduced in Lichtenwanger, *The Music of Henry Cowell*, Plate 4.
97. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 4 June 1939, GM. *Pulse* was completed on 19 May 1939 according to Lichtenwanger, *The Music of Henry Cowell*, 168.
98. Sidney Robertson, letter to Cowell, 19 September 1938, quoted in Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage," 68.
99. Leta Miller believes that Cowell did not compose in elastic forms after he left prison because he had no need to ("Henry Cowell and John Cage," 70). There was one further work in this category, his dance *The Clown*, devised for Erick Hawkins in 1951. See the note to "Chronology of Dance Scores," *Dance Scope* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1966): 15.

100. Grainger, letter to Sir James Barrett, 24 August 1938, in *The All-Round Man*, 150.
101. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 7 September 1938, GM.
102. See Cowell, "From Tone Clusters to Contemporary Listeners," *Music Journal* 14, no. 1 (January 1956): 6.
103. On 23 March 1937, Cowell wrote to Cage, "I was just on the point of trying to form a sort of symphonic percussion ensemble in SF and another in NY before my arrest." See Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage," 63.
104. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 6 October 1938. Copies of this letter are to be found in the Grainger Museum and in Box 124 of the Cowell Collection of the NYPL, and it is reproduced in *The All-Round Man*, 153–56.
105. Draft of lecture titled "The Need, and Needs of Small Musical Ensembles; or The Need and Needs, of Small Music-Making Groups or Can Music Be Debunked?" dated May 1933, Box 12/60, GM.
106. Cowell had presented a paper titled "Some Aspects of Comparative Musicology" to the New York Musicological Society on 10 January 1933 and "Hybrid Forms in Comparative Musicology" on 26 November 1933. Grainger could only have heard the former, but the latter was certainly a subject that interested him. See Nancy Yunhwa Rao, "American Compositional Theory in the 1930s: Scale and Exoticism in 'The Nature of Melody' by Henry Cowell," *Musical Quarterly* 85, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 598–99.
107. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 3 November 1938, GM.
108. Grainger, letter to John Gee Clark, 3 February 1939, GM.
109. See Cowell's report of the parole hearing in his letter to Grainger, 17 November 1939, GM.
110. See Olive Cowell's comments in the two letters she wrote to Grainger on 15 May 1940, GM.
111. Grainger, letter to Aunty Clara, Bernard Heinz [sic], George & Victoria Greenwood, Charlie Parker, Olive Cowell et al., 1 September 1940, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL.
112. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 26 September 1940, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL. A photo of Grainger and the inventor of the transcribing equipment is at <http://scienceservice.si.edu/pages/093015.htm>.
113. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 26 September 1940, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Kyle Gann reports in *Essential Cowell* (Editor's Note, 256) that Sidney Cowell had told him that Grainger advised Cowell on a "Rhythm Book," an expansion of ideas in *New Musical Resources*.
114. Information about instruments in the house is taken from Elinor Wrobel, *Percy Grainger (1882–1961): Artist and Art Collector* (Melbourne: Grainger Museum, 1997); and from Robert Lewis Taylor, "The Running Pianist," *The New Yorker*, 7 February 1948, 32. In a letter from Grainger to Cowell dated 21 February 1941, Grainger asked Cowell not to use the Chinese gongs in the hall for a performance because they were too fragile. Even he had not used them for *Random Round*, for which they would have been appropriate (Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL).

115. Henry Cowell, "Drums along the Pacific," *Modern Music* 18, no. 1 (November–December 1940): 48. Cowell must have had access to Grainger's scrapbooks, specifically the one relating to performances of *In a Nutshell* in San Francisco in 1916. The quotation he makes is from Walter Anthony, "'In a Nutshell' Suite Proves to Be Rather Exciting Music," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 December 1916 ("In a Nutshell" scrapbook, Box 391, GM). Anthony reported: "The discordant shriekings were punctuated by rhythmical whacks on many kinds of drums and other instruments, beaten with a stick, and a wail, a caterwaul, a helpless moaning howl was the way it sounded to these ears." The final straw was when "the composer took a felt-covered hammer and hit the deep strings of his piano below the belt, so to say, and that ended the round."

116. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 22 August 1941, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL. Grainger apparently recorded *Aeolian Harp* and *Lilt of the Reel* (see letter from Grainger to Cowell postmarked 17 October 1945, GM). Cowell mentioned this as a Decca recording in a seventeen-page document he supplied to Peggy Glanville-Hicks when she was compiling entries for the fifth edition of *Grove's Dictionary* (see Box 13, Glanville-Hicks Collection, MLMSS 6394, Mitchell Library, Sydney).

117. The typescript is dated 19 February 1945; see *Grainger on Music*, 338–39.

118. Grainger, letter to Eugene Goossens, 1940, quoted by Goossens in "The Unconventional Composer," *Music and Musicians* 9, no. 8 (April 1961): 9.

119. Grainger, "Ere-I-Forget" (1944–47), quoted in Simon Perry, "Grainger's Autobiographical Writings: New Light on Old Questions," *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): 130.

120. Grainger, "Sketch for *Random Round*," SL1 MG7/32–1, GM. Because he was touring at this date Grainger cannot have been present in New York for Cage's landmark performance of works for percussion, which took place on 7 February 1943.

121. The new version (the one now used for performances) uses virtually the same instrumentation as before but is much more detailed than the 1914 remnants indicate. This version requires soprano, tenor, mezzo, both gut-strung and steel-strung guitar, mandolin, piano, xylophone, wooden marimba, violin, viola, cello, tenor and soprano saxophone (or oboe). Grainger suggests three possible combinations of these, for from seven to eleven voices and instruments.

122. The 1943 version of the round is performed on *Magrugada* (Sydney: Australian Music Centre, 1999) featuring Jeannie Marsh and Ken Murray. Marsh and Murray followed Grainger's instructions for the use of the gong and the cardboard sign to effect the randomness Grainger envisaged (author's interview with Murray, 2 March 2009). See also Andrew Hugill's online interactive version of *Random Round* (offering a limited instrumentation) at <http://www.mti.dmu.ac.uk/~ahugill/rr/randomround.html>.

123. See "Free Music Ideas, Cedar City, Utah, Sunday Feb. 21, 1943" reproduced in Slaterry, *Percy Grainger*, 293.

124. See Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage," 95.

125. Lou Harrison, "Asian Music and the United States," quoted in Leta E. Miller, "The Art of Noise: John Cage, Lou Harrison, and the West Coast Percussion Ensemble," in *Perspectives on American Music, 1900–1950*, ed. Michael Saffle (New York: Garland, 2000), 217.



126. Sidney Robertson Cowell, "Obituary: Percy Grainger," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 14 (1962): 147. A "loom-like contrivance" is pictured on the home page of the International Percy Grainger Society at <http://www.percygrainger.org>.
127. See <http://melbourne.indymedia.org/news/2005/02/87624.php>.
128. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 1 August 1952, GM.
129. Cowell, "The Contemporary Composer and His Attitude Toward Band Music," *Music Publishers' Journal*, January–February 1945, 46. "On the same program one heard the rich wind chords of Percy Grainger's highly original band music. Here, obviously, was a whole new world of instrumental color of even wider dynamic variety than that which the conventional symphony provides."
130. Cowell, "Goldman's Influence," *New York Herald Tribune*, 28 December 1947.
131. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 6 January 1948, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL.
132. Cowell, "Current Chronicle," *Musical Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (October 1952): 598. In a review of a recording of band works published in *Musical Quarterly* in July 1958, Cowell praised Grainger's *Children's March* as an original composition rather than an arrangement, and as "the most original and charming" of the collection, including Bergsma, Schuman, and Edwin Franko Goldman. *Musical Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (July 1958): 402–3.
133. Cowell, "Current Chronicle," *Musical Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (January 1952): 127.
134. Cowell, "Current Chronicle" (January 1952), 131.
135. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 11 February 1947, GM.
136. Cowell, letter to Grainger, 5 May 1960, GM. Grainger died in White Plains on 20 February 1961.
137. Henry Cowell and Sidney Cowell, *Charles Ives and His Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 103.
138. See Paul, "From American Ethnographer to Cold War Icon," 420. Paul itemizes the "hundreds of pages of prose—chock full of encomiums—that Cowell penned about Ives" (400) before 1933 when Cowell and Grainger met, ensuring that by then Cowell's commitment to Ives was beyond challenge.
139. Richard Franko Goldman, "Percy Grainger's 'Free Music,'" *Juilliard Review* 2, no. 3 (Fall 1955), in *A Musical Genius from Australia: Selected Writings by and about Percy Grainger*, ed. Teresa Balough (Nedlands: Department of Music, University of Western Australia, 1982), 145. On the subject of Grainger and Ives, see David Lambourn, "Grainger and Ives," *Studies in Music* 20 (1986): 46–61.
140. John Bird notes that when *Forbidden Planet* (the first feature film with an electronic score) was released in 1956 Grainger went to see it several times, and he was sufficiently aware of what other composers of electronic music were doing to attend a lecture by Stockhausen in New York in 1958. See Bird, *Percy Grainger*, 233.
141. Sidney Robertson Cowell, "Obituary: Percy Grainger," 148.
142. Peter Yates referred to a shadow of "fearfulness and suspicion" haunting Cowell. (Peter Yates, quoted in Hicks, *Henry Cowell*, 3.) Three articles on Grainger were published in *The New Yorker* in 1948: these relentlessly depicted Grainger as an oddity who

sometimes fell asleep on top of a piano before concerts, wrote for *American Vegetarian*, and wore clothes made of towels. Robert Lewis Taylor, "A Matter of Kicking Out at Space," 31 January 1948, 29–37; "The Running Pianist," 7 February 1948, 32–39; "Top Notes Glassy," 14 February 1948, 32–43. These anecdotes were repeated in Grainger's obituaries (see, for instance, "Percy Grainger, Composer, Dead," *New York Times*, 21 February 1961).

143. Grainger, letter to Cowell, 6 January 1948, Box 8, Cowell Collection, NYPL.

144. Jerome D. Bohm, "Young Players Give Program with Stokowski: Second Youth Orchestra Offers Brahms, Wagner, Bach and Cowell Works," *New York Herald Tribune*, 17 May 1941.

145. Kyle Gann, referring to research by David Nicholls, preface to *Essential Cowell*, 7.

146. Hicks, *Henry Cowell*, 1, 3. Among the evidence for this opinion is Seeger's accusation, made in the *Magazine of Art* in May 1940, that Cowell was an "autodidact" who was "energetic in the use not only of his own [ideas] but of any and all within hailing distance." Charles Seeger, "Henry Cowell," *Magazine of Art* 33, no. 5 (May 1940): 288. Cowell told Grainger that Seeger's remarks in the article were susceptible to misunderstanding (see letter to Grainger, 5 June 1940, GM). In the late 1940s Cowell was using an undated and unsourced testimonial from Grainger in his personal record of achievements (see the document in the collection of Peggy Glanville-Hicks, referred to in n. 116, where Cowell, incidentally, dated his cluster pieces to 1911).

147. Grainger and Cowell were (and are) seen as pioneers in composition specifically for wind band, something reflected in the program of the League of Composers concert in honor of the seventieth birthday of bandmaster Edwin Franko Goldman on 3 January 1948, which included Grainger conducting the premiere of *The Power of Rome and the Christian Heart* (commissioned by the League) alongside Cowell's *Shoonthree*. See Hansen, *The American Wind Band*, 91.

148. Wilfrid Mellers, *Percy Grainger* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 153.

# “It left me no peace”: From Carlo Gozzi’s *La donna serpente* to Wagner’s *Parsifal*

Katherine R. Syer

For Dieter

The 13th of January 1882 was a festive day for the Wagner family. After protracted labors, the composer completed the autograph score to *Parsifal*. Cosima Wagner recorded in her diary: “He finishes the score; ‘It left me no peace,’ he says. The splendid music of the *Tannhäuser* March resounds, he enters, and—it is finished!”<sup>1</sup> January 13 was also the birthday of Paul von Joukowsky, the artist who worked on the designs for *Parsifal* and had become a much-loved member of the Wagner household. The musical offerings in his honor that evening at Wahnfried included three numbers from Wagner’s first completed opera, *Die Feen* (*The Fairies*). After a rendering of the fairies’ chorus from act 1, the composer himself sang the Romanze about a witch named Dilnovaz from the same act.<sup>2</sup> Although unnamed in Cosima’s account, we can presume that he was accompanied by the house pianist at the time, Joseph Rubinstein. The last of the birthday offerings was the *Feen* Overture on the piano. Wagner meanwhile was drawn back to his work on final touches to *Parsifal*. He and Cosima stayed up late on this exceptional evening, reflecting upon milestones earlier in his career. Wagner even recalled the very first ballad he had ever composed, about a boy and a swan.

Wagner’s affectionate engagement with *Die Feen* on this occasion clashes with his lifelong efforts to suppress any detailed public awareness of its libretto or score. He had not failed to mention the work in his autobiographical writings, in which he acknowledged Carlo Gozzi’s play *La donna serpente* (*The Woman as Snake*) as his dramatic source, but a full synopsis of *Die Feen* is not to be found in print during Wagner’s lifetime. Twice he had the opportunity to publish the work. Both times he declined.<sup>3</sup> Wagner justified the absence of its libretto in the first volume

of his collected writings, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (1871), by stating that *Die Feen* had never reached the public.<sup>4</sup> This explanation is curious inasmuch as he did include in that collection the libretto for *Das Liebesverbot*, whose premiere consisted of a single performance under abysmal conditions. It could not have been in any way considered familiar.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, incomplete and barely known dramas such as *Wieland der Schmied* were published in subsequent volumes. Financial considerations motivated Wagner to consider the possibility of a piano arrangement of *Die Feen* a few years later. In the wake of the monetarily devastating premiere of *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, in a letter from 10 November 1877, B. Schott's Söhne confirmed his interest in a piano transcription of *Die Feen*.<sup>6</sup> Two days later Cosima relayed the composer's opinion that only the overture to *Die Feen* was suitable for publication.<sup>7</sup> Two- and four-hand arrangements of the overture were subsequently made but remained in Wagner's possession.<sup>8</sup> Almost four years later, on 23 September 1881, the publishing firm reminded the composer of his outstanding obligation. The issue came to rest by 14 June 1882, less than a year before Wagner's death, when Cosima added the following footnote to her diary: "Concerning the opportunity re: the Overture to *Die Feen*, R.[ichard] militated strongly against the edition of these early works or occasional pieces, 'which furthermore emerged from not the very best of situations.'"<sup>9</sup>

It is not unusual for artists to restrict distribution of works they consider to be immature. Wagner was only twenty when he completed *Die Feen*. Not only was he indebted to Gozzi's *La donna serpente*, but his reliance on certain operatic models is as obvious as it is unsurprising.<sup>10</sup> Egon Voss has probed Wagner's personal situation to show how the opera was connected to his efforts to regain approval from his family, especially his sister Rosalie, after her negative response to his gruesome drama *Die Hochzeit*. Furthermore, as Voss notes, Wagner reworked musical material from his own earlier instrumental compositions in *Die Feen*, most obviously his F-sharp-minor *Fantasie* (WWV 22) and the *Sieben Kompositionen zu Goethe's Faust* (WWV 15).<sup>11</sup> Wagner's decision to move in new directions after he failed to get *Die Feen* onto the stage in the mid-1830s marks for Voss a "radical break" and "emancipation," a shift toward personal as well as aesthetic autonomy.<sup>12</sup> Wagner's gift of the autograph score of *Die Feen* to King Ludwig II in 1865 without his ever again trying to produce the opera might seem to support this view. Yet, as soon as the work was posthumously published in 1888 the majority of critical assessments (Eduard Hanslick's being a notable exception) concurred that the opera featured significant hints of the mature artist.<sup>13</sup>



Wagner's emancipation from *Die Feen* was perhaps not altogether radical after all.

At the heart of this investigation of Wagner's development as a dramatist is the literary source for *Die Feen*: Gozzi's *La donna serpente*.<sup>14</sup> When *Die Feen* was finally published and reached the stage in 1888, Gozzi's fairy-tale-oriented plays were not nearly as popular in Germany as they once had been. In those heady years of the proud young Empire no commentators on *Die Feen* paid attention to its Italian model.<sup>15</sup> The first to focus in any detail on Gozzi's play was Willi Krienitz, whose monograph *Richard Wagners "Feen"* appeared in 1910.<sup>16</sup> Although more forthcoming about *La donna serpente*, Krienitz's study is hampered by shortcomings that prevent Gozzi's drama, and what it offered to Wagner, from coming fully to light. The limitations of Krienitz's work have influenced perspectives on the matter ever since. As this essay will show, Gozzi's little-known play influenced Wagner's dramatic style at a formative stage in his career. Furthermore, it continued to serve him long after his work on *Die Feen* was over. In theatrical matters, Wagner remained a man of cosmopolitan interests and tastes all his life, though starting in the later 1840s he was prone to emphasize Germanic authors and Greek mythology and drama as his main influences.<sup>17</sup> Nationalistic impulses surely encouraged him to align his artistic output with myth, but the fairy-tale orientation of his dramas persisted, with their hints of magic and their tendency to re-create "initiatory ordeals" on the plane of imagination and dream."<sup>18</sup> Wagner himself drew attention to the importance of the Grimm brothers' tales for his young Siegfried in his oft-cited letter to Theodor Uhlig dated 10 May 1851, revealing an awareness of the symbiotic relationship between myth and fairy tale.<sup>19</sup>

Following Wagner's cues, we have tended to regard *Holländer* as a suitable *terminus ad quem* for tracing a loosely coherent body of dramatic themes and aesthetic strategies back through his mature oeuvre. The degree and frequency with which elements of Gozzi's staged fable *La donna serpente* came into play in Wagner's creative work in the 1840s and beyond broaden that frame and better accommodate the distinctively theatrical nature of his works, while recognizing the composer's tendency to let his dramatic material command a lingering grip on him.

### Gozzi's Staged Fables

*La donna serpente* is one of ten plays (1761–65) that Gozzi developed from Italian and Oriental fairy tales that had already been adapted for Parisian stages.<sup>20</sup> Collectively, Gozzi's *fiabe teatrali* formed a critical response to the more realistic plays being written by Enlightenment-

oriented writers such as Carlo Goldoni and Pietro Chiari.<sup>21</sup> Deeply attached as he was to aristocratic traditions and *commedia dell'arte* practices, which affirmed an unyielding social hierarchy, Gozzi was nevertheless an experimental dramatist. He launched his *fiabe* with the intensely polemical *L'amore delle tre melarance* (*The Love of Three Oranges*) but subsequently shifted toward more genuinely moving dramas. For his part, Goldoni had cleverly criticized social norms by manipulating the standard *commedia* framework before relinquishing it. He combined stock comic figures with serious character types in order to call established social relationships into question.<sup>22</sup> Goldoni's midcentury transitional works for the spoken theater include his *Il servitore di due padroni* (*Servant of Two Masters*).<sup>23</sup> Key to the creation of this scenario was Antonio Sacchi,<sup>24</sup> the masterful interpreter of the character Truffaldino/Arlecchino who eschewed the cruder tendencies of other *commedia* actors of the day. By this time, *commedia dell'arte* was largely a debased theatrical form. When Goldoni and others soon after shifted their efforts in new directions, Sacchi and his troupe had fewer opportunities to work in Venice so they traveled first to Russia and then to Portugal. Following the 1755 earthquake in Lisbon, the company returned home, presenting Gozzi the perfect vehicle for championing the *commedia* tradition.<sup>25</sup>

Gozzi's collaboration with Sacchi's comic troupe was unusual in several respects, especially given that *commedia* was a genre emblematic of ephemerality, typically performed with a modicum of means. An aristocrat himself (although not an especially wealthy one), Gozzi served as patron of the venture. For a performance venue, he first leased the Teatro San Samuele and then later the Teatro Sant'Angelo, where *La donna serpente* premiered in 1762. As a result, he had at his disposal sophisticated stage machinery that he chose to employ in an aesthetically tensional relationship with *commedia* practices, with a focus on individual acting skills and improvisation. The outcome was a mixed-genre type of meta-theater punctuated by spectacular stage effects. This recipe proved popular enough to motivate Gozzi's rival Goldoni to move to Paris, but it would be the latter whose works would endure in Venice in the long run. Only when Gozzi caught the attention of Friedrich A. C. Werthes, who translated into German five volumes of his works that appeared between 1777 and 1779, did the *fiabe* form an enduring legacy and become part of Wagner's artistic background.<sup>26</sup> Gozzi's generically hybrid, self-conscious theatrical style and his dramatized depictions of the supernatural appealed to a generation of German writers attracted to stylistic complexity.<sup>27</sup>

Adolf Wagner, Richard's uncle, translated Gozzi's *Il corvo* (*The Raven*) into German in 1804.<sup>28</sup> Dissatisfied with the earlier translation by Werthes, he sought to bring to light Gozzi's differentiation of characters through language and literary style. Pantalone, for example, expresses himself in Venetian-inflected prose, while the serious characters evoke the noble literary heritage of Dante and Ariosto through Tuscan verse.<sup>29</sup> *Il corvo* was precisely the piece that E. T. A. Hoffmann singled out for special praise in his 1813 dialogue on Romantic aesthetics, "Der Dichter und der Komponist" (*The Poet and the Composer*),<sup>30</sup> in which he praised Gozzi's legends as the ideal basis for a Romantic opera libretto.<sup>31</sup> The imaginative writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann, to which Richard Wagner devoted himself in his youth, themselves reflect an appreciation of Gozzi. Consciously or otherwise, Wagner realized Hoffmann's prescription when he completed *Die Feen* at Würzburg in early 1834. His transformation of *La donna serpente* into a libretto reveals a selective embrace of the play's dramatic structure and content but also keen attention to Gozzi's aesthetics. The following synopsis of *Die Feen* introduces Wagner's barely known opera to support more detailed examination of its genesis and nature.

### Wagner's *Die Feen*

Like Gozzi's *La donna serpente*, Wagner's *Die Feen* opens with fairies. Zemina and Farzana outline the state of affairs for the mortal prince Arindal and the princess from their kingdom before the setting shifts to a desert, where the background of the story is explained in greater detail by the prince's men. Almost eight years have passed since Arindal was first lured to Ada's realm. Captivated by a doe while hunting, he followed the spectacular animal into a river when beckoned by a voice. He then emerged in a magical realm and saw Ada in the form of a woman. They married and had two children, but when he eventually attempted to discover her name—transgressing her command not to do so—her kingdom vanished. The drama continues as Arindal's companion Gernot tells him the story of the witch Dilnovaz in an effort to convince the prince that his wife is a deceptive shape-shifter, like the witch. Their compatriots Gunther and Morald are in disguise when they subsequently try to convince the prince to return to his sister and besieged people in the land of Tramond, where Arindal is now king following the death of his father.<sup>32</sup> Before setting off, Arindal is overcome by a strange sleep from which he wakes and sees Ada. She warns him of terrible trials still ahead but secures his pledge not to curse her. Ada explains



that her father was mortal and has also recently died; she returns to her realm as Queen.

The second act opens with the suffering people of Tramond, who welcome the return of Arindal and Gernot. The latter is reunited with his beloved, Drolla. New troubles unfold: Ada appears and throws their children into a fire before Arindal learns that she has also destroyed the food supply of his people. What he believes to be happening is too much for him to bear. He curses Ada but then learns crucial details about her hybrid heritage as well as the truth behind what he has witnessed. With magic fire she has purified their children of their immortality so that they can live with their father in his world. Furthermore, she has prevented his people from consuming food poisoned by a traitor. But on account of his curse, she will be transformed into stone. These revelations and her imminent metamorphosis further strain Arindal's grip on reason; he is no longer fit to rule so Morald assumes the throne. Act 3 opens with the people of Tramond rejoicing, having finally conquered their oppressor. They pray for Arindal, whose mad ravings leave him exhausted. As he falls asleep, Ada's imploring voice is heard from off-stage. He awakens renewed, determined to reclaim her as his wife. The fairies meanwhile have conspired to lead Arindal to the underworld where Zemina hopes he might die of fear. A magician named Groma intervenes, providing Arindal with a shield, sword, and lyre and crucial verbal advice that help him vanquish horrible visions before transforming Ada back into human form through the power of song. The Fairy King appears and grants them a shared life in the supernatural realm.<sup>33</sup>

In his autobiographical essays *Eine autobiographische Skizze* (1842) and *Eine Mittheilung an meine Freunde* (1851), Wagner mentioned Gozzi's *La donna serpente* as his main literary source for *Die Feen*, but without giving any sense of what that play might be like. With obvious pride, he emphasized instead the ways his drama diverged from Gozzi's—the transformation of Ada into stone instead of a snake and the Orphic manner in which Arindal rescues her through song being the most obvious. Wagner's own descriptions of the plot of *Die Feen* are incomplete and even misleading,<sup>34</sup> as is the case with the later outline in *Mein Leben*.<sup>35</sup> When considered in the context of his ongoing creative activity, however, the holes in Wagner's accounts point to aspects of *Die Feen* and *La donna serpente* (parts he had not initially mined) that left clear traces in his later dramas.

We know that Wagner did not lose sight of Gozzi's improvisational art, which resurfaces in his essay "Brief über das Schauspielerwesen an einen Schauspieler" from November 1872.<sup>36</sup> Shortly before, from 13 through 29 October, Wagner and Cosima reread German translations of



Gozzi's plays; named in her diary entries are *Der Rabe*, *Turandot*, and *König Hirsch*. Wagner would surely have attended live performances of these plays if he could. For him, Gozzi was a vital figure in the cultural history of the city that he enjoyed more than any other in the last three decades of his life. During his many stays in Venice he attended plays by Goldoni and other playwrights at the theater renamed Teatro Goldoni in honor of the city's more favored playwright. At the time, Gozzi's plays were largely ignored by Venetians, but not by Wagner. The day after arriving in Venice on 16 April 1882, Wagner selected *Il corvo*/*Der Rabe* for his personal reading.<sup>37</sup>

Wagner's reengagement with *La donna serpente* occurred decades earlier. While reflecting on dramatic possibilities for *Lohengrin*, his thoughts were stimulated in the direction of *Die Feen* and *La donna serpente* by the shared theme of the supernatural figure who endeavors to keep his or her identity secret from a partner. Supporting the hypothesis of cross-pollination is Wagner's introduction of a critical perspective on magical transformations into his *Lohengrin* drama. The idea that the supernatural figure is nothing but an illusion—as Ortrud suggests about Lohengrin to Telramund—is not found in the medieval legends, yet this perspective is a distinctive aspect of *La donna serpente*. Ortrud's claim that physical dismemberment (such as loss of a finger) will undo Lohengrin's magic echoes the critique of the witch Dilnovaz (and by extension, the supernatural wife) in *La donna serpente* in the passage that Wagner set as a Romanze for Gernot. This intersection and the shared matter of secret identity have been noted in most earlier studies of *Die Feen*, but with little attention paid to their significance beyond the isolated correspondences or their alignment with perspectives on the supernatural in general circulation.

Noteworthy in a more probing investigation of Wagner's dramatic art is his recourse to other key elements of Gozzi's dramaturgy as he molded his *Lohengrin* libretto. For example, in *La donna serpente*, the initial discovery of the fairy princess's name takes place before the story starts, when it serves to trigger the lovers' separation. Two pivotal moments occur within the drama whereby she gradually discloses her fuller identity. Only through the explanation of her hybrid genealogy (her mortal father) and, later on, the curses that have plagued her, can her husband comprehend the disturbing complexities of her existence and actions. Gozzi's handling of these scenes as substantial self-revelations likely motivated Wagner to develop the weighty scene in which Lohengrin reveals not only his name but a great deal about his unusual life. In Wagner's main medieval literary source, the narrator names the grail knight, after he has already set off for his faraway home.

Other self-revelatory scenes involving characters such as the Dutchman, Siegmund, Siegfried, and Parsifal suggest that Gozzi's model made a strong impression on Wagner.

The same is true when we more closely examine the notion of denaturing magic, even though Wagner did not at first follow Gozzi in this regard. In act 3 of *La donna serpente*, the mortal hero overcomes two threatening apparitions by dismembering them. First he removes the right horn of a flaming bull, then he cuts off the left ear of a raging giant—two tests he must pass if he is to be led to his wife in the form of a snake. In *Die Feen*, the hero's shield and horn magically dispel menacing images. Wagner certainly saw value in Gozzi's handling of magical illusions by the time he worked out his *Lohengrin* drama, and a shift toward a stronger critical perspective is also felt in parts of the *Ring*. Against this background, Arthur Schopenhauer's focus on the deceptiveness of appearances would easily prove attractive to Wagner in 1854. A trail including this and other evidence winds all the way to *Parsifal*, suggesting that Gozzi's theatrical fairy tales penetratingly informed Wagner's imaginative-creative world.

The balance of this essay begins with a brief survey of early evaluations of *Die Feen* which serves as a frame for a fresh examination of Wagner's adaptation of *La donna serpente* as *Die Feen*. The remaining sections position Wagner's limited published comments about *Die Feen* against a closer look at the ways in which Gozzi's drama continued to percolate through his creative work. Snapshots from Wagner's private life in his later years underscore how his conception of himself as an artist included his early engagement with Gozzi. While working on *Parsifal*, Wagner repeatedly reflected upon the trajectory of his artistic development. While going through the first act of *Der fliegende Holländer* with the young conductor Anton Seidl in 1877, Wagner mused that "from *Holländer* to *Parsifal*, how long the path and yet how similar the basic character."<sup>38</sup> That Wagner's backward glance could reach even further to include his other operatic bookend is affirmed by the aforementioned evening of 13 January 1882, when he fêted Joukowsky with extracts from *Die Feen* immediately before completing the autograph score of *Parsifal*.

### Wagner and Gozzi Brought to Light

A misunderstanding in the early reception history of *Die Feen* helped to reinforce the idea that there was little connection between Wagner's first opera and his later artistic efforts. In 1887—a year before the score was first published—Wilhelm Tappert claimed in an article in the

*Musikalisches Wochenblatt* that he had been privy to a prose sketch for *Die Feen* at Wahnfried a decade earlier.<sup>39</sup> He did not see the full autograph score of the opera, which he erroneously stated had been given to Ludwig II in 1866, together with the autograph for *Das Liebesverbot*. Tappert then went on to quote Wagner's dedicatory lines that supposedly accompanied the double offering, referring to it as a "sin of youth" (*Jugendsünde*).<sup>40</sup> Actually, this term did not apply to *Die Feen*, which Wagner had given to King Ludwig a full year earlier, by itself and without any known dedication.<sup>41</sup> On account of Tappert's personal connection to Wagner, his assertion that the composer dismissed both *Die Feen* and *Das Liebesverbot* as artistically substandard appeared valid. The error was repeated by many writers who soon after published introductions to Wagner's opera.<sup>42</sup>

Adolf Sandberger echoed Tappert's misunderstanding, but followed up with a synopsis of the plot and discussion of the full score of *Die Feen*, which was by then commercially available. Sandberger illuminated various influences that can be detected in the score and he wrote enthusiastically about hints of the mature composer that could also be heard. Based on his musical-dramatic analysis, Sandberger concluded that the term *Jugendsünde* could only really apply to *Das Liebesverbot*. He remained unaware that the two autographs had been presented separately to the King.

One would have reason to be suspicious of Tappert's claim—*Jugendsünde*, after all, is singular—but Sandberger had other reasons to perceive Wagner's genius in *Die Feen* but not in *Das Liebesverbot*. Twice, Sandberger referred to the last stretches of the second act of *Die Feen* as "the work of a music-dramatic genius" (*das Werk eines musik-dramatischen Genie's* [*italics in original*]). What gripped him most about Arindal's climactic curse at the end of this act? His own description is revealing: "Love of the Fatherland is more powerful. He breaks his oath and curses his wife."<sup>43</sup> The dramatic situation leading to Arindal's curse is better understood without invoking nationalistic sentiment. Elsewhere in the drama Arindal is either reluctant or unable to assume his role as king and he ultimately leaves his land and people to join his wife in her realm. Sandberger's patriotic fervor resurfaces tellingly at the end of his article. While he frees *Die Feen* from the perjorative label "sin of youth," he *emphasizes* its aptness for *Das Liebesverbot* on account of that opera's Italian and French stylistic orientation. Sandberger's subsequent summary dismissal of *Rienzi* due to what he perceived as its Meyerbeer-influenced "international mishmash" follows suit.<sup>44</sup>

Theodor Helm and Heinrich Reimann also offered detailed evaluations of *Die Feen* in 1888. Before turning to the music, Theodor Helm



countered criticism of the libretto as “prosaic” (*nüchtern*) with the claim that it displayed a “lively, painterly fantasy” (*eine reine malerische Phantasie*).<sup>45</sup> By way of example he quoted the text for the mad scene in act 3 in which Arindal reimagines the fateful hunt that led him to his wife.<sup>46</sup> As musically realized, the scene’s anxiety-laden horn calls triggered Helm’s thoughts in the direction of Sieglinde’s nightmare in act 2 of *Die Walküre*—another passage in which past, present, and future are vividly blended, shot through and distorted by personal fear. In act 3 of *Die Feen*, Arindal calls wildly to let loose the hunting dogs and he professes to shoot the creature he and his men have been pursuing. At that moment, Arindal sees that the animal has the capacity to cry: “Die Thräne glänzt in seinem Aug! O, wie’s gebrochen nach mir schaut!” Helm linked this sympathy for the broken gaze of a wounded animal to act 1 of *Parsifal*, when Gurnemanz urges the reckless newcomer to show compassion for the swan he has killed. Within Arindal’s mad scene, the metamorphosis of the weeping animal into his wife is followed by another transformation. His glimpse of an illuminated spiritual world effused with light presses imagery of a mortal-supernatural reconciliation in the direction of a heavenly redemption. For Helm, this moment anticipated the idea of redemption as realized in the conclusions of *Holländer* and *Tristan und Isolde*.<sup>47</sup>

Heinrich Reimann’s account focused more on Wagner’s interest in magic and the supernatural, which winds its way through all of his operas from *Holländer* to *Parsifal*. He detected the conjunction of love and the yearning for death so pronounced in *Tristan und Isolde* in Ada’s central act 2 aria.<sup>48</sup> In short, writers like Reimann, Helm, and Sandberger detected no shortage of recognizable artistic potential in *Die Feen*, whose working out could be traced through Wagner’s mature career. Yet in none of these appraisals was Gozzi ever identified as an important influence on the composer’s development as a dramatist.

Thanks to Willy Krienitz, Gozzi and his drama finally became more than a passing thought in studies of *Die Feen*. In his 1910 monograph, Krienitz offered a scene-by-scene synopsis of Gozzi’s *fiaba* and described several instances in which the dramatic plan differs between the play and opera. In the course of considering how Wagner modified the configuration of roles, Krienitz confronted the *commedia dell’arte* aspects of Gozzi’s play. The masked characters in *La donna serpente* were, after all, expected to improvise periodically—a manner of performance, he noted, obviously at odds with a text that needs to be set to music. Krienitz further pointed out that Wagner compressed aspects of Gozzi’s four masked characters into his two figures named Gernot and Gunther,



greatly reducing the comic dimensions of *La donna serpente* and all but eliminating its satirical and grotesque elements.<sup>49</sup>

With regard to the nonmasked characters, Krienitz reflected on Wagner's choice not to transform Ada into a snake. He considered the practical challenges of such a transformation in full view of the audience as motivation for Wagner's choice of a metamorphosis into stone. However, elsewhere in the score Wagner did not shy away from ambitious stage effects and Krienitz does not mention the transformation of Alberich into a *Riesenhurm* (giant worm) in *Das Rheingold*.<sup>50</sup> Krienitz's superficial concern with Wagner's solution in *Die Feen* is revealed above all by his lack of comment on the radical qualitative change of character. The ugly and threatening aspects of Gozzi's serpent, which conflict with the character's real need to be rescued, are absent from *Die Feen*. More interesting to Krienitz and to most subsequent writers were the ways Wagner shaped his hero in the final act of his opera.

Krienitz found little in Gozzi's depiction of the character of the mortal lover, named Farruscad, that would have stimulated Arindal's mad scene at the beginning of act 3. Krienitz thus took great interest in Werthes's introduction of the term "Wahnsinn" (madness) into his translation of the stage directions for Farruscad's entrance in act 1, scene 5, of *La donna serpente*: "[er] tritt wie wahnsinnig auf."<sup>51</sup> This compares with Gozzi's *uscendo, smanioso*, which suggests restlessness or even wildness but not necessarily madness.<sup>52</sup> Perplexing, however, is Krienitz's own synopsis of this very scene in Gozzi's play: "Farruscad agonizes over his betrayal of his wife. Exhausted, he sinks down onto a rock and falls asleep."<sup>53</sup> Contrary to the implication that this is a tragic solo scene, we discover instead in Gozzi's play a hybrid scene including (in addition to Farruscad) stage tricks, pantomime, and the *commedia* character Tartaglia, as well as a woman's voice offstage.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Farruscad can, on several counts, be considered to have lost a firm grip on reason.

### Gozzi's Dramatic Cues

Act 1, scene 5, of *La donna serpente* opens with Tartaglia in the background as Farruscad begs aloud for forgiveness and the chance to see his wife and children. It begins as a solo scene only from the perspective of Farruscad, who is unaware of Tartaglia as he wallows in despair. Suddenly, a table bedecked with food appears and the unidentified voice encourages Farruscad to eat. The scene features a classic bit of pantomime. Since Tartaglia is famished, he is sorely tempted by the food but whenever he moves close to the table it slides away from him.

He has promised his friends to remain hidden from Farruscad until they have tried out planned disguises and he simply cannot reach the table without being seen. Farruscad refuses the food (further frustrating Tartaglia) and proclaims himself ready to die. At one point he says, "Voice, you do not come from the mouth of my wife. Cruel voice, I have resolved to die if I do not see my children and beloved wife again."<sup>55</sup> His stance is melodramatic in tone—that of the pining lover, beyond reason and unable to value life. Furthermore, the voice is that of his wife, Cherestani, and the food is a generous gesture toward him. Farruscad's inability to recognize her voice and his reliance on seeing her reflects Gozzi's broader critique of the purely visual dimension in *La donna serpente*.<sup>56</sup> The desperate manner in which Farruscad demands visual evidence of his family's existence also links Gozzi's hero to Orpheus, a connection that may well have encouraged Wagner to depict his hero reclaiming his wife through song, instead of kissing a vicious snake.

When Farruscad actually sees his wife at the end of act 1 and again in act 2 in *La donna serpente*, her voice and words have a surprisingly penetrating effect on him. He is haunted by her cryptic phrases, contrasting hope with terrible prophecies, until their meaning becomes clear. When Farruscad recites such phrases aloud in the third scene of act 2, Tartaglia proposes that he and his colleagues bind him and carry him off. While surely tongue-in-cheek, and an impermissible overthrow of monarchical power, Tartaglia is nevertheless quite right to regard the King as mad when he repeats his wife's nonsensical utterances. Such dependence on Cherestani's words places Farruscad's earlier inability to recognize her voice into even sharper relief.

Although Wagner did not set a scene in act 1 of *Die Feen* featuring Ada offstage, he introduced her disembodied voice in act 3, following Arindal's mad scene, as the exhausted hero falls asleep. Ada's message enables Arindal to waken restored to reason—a necessary condition if he is to succeed in his upcoming trials. With sleep as a catalyst, this act 3 scenario unfolds as a variation of the end of act 1 (which is directly derived from Gozzi's play), where Arindal is overcome by a strange sleep from which he wakes to see his wife. Wagner's additions to the last act of his drama thus absorb several cues from Gozzi's first act, including the graduated process of building from the distant sound of her voice to her actual appearance. The coupling of psychological distress to an offstage sign of life is a striking feature of both dramas. Distinctive to Wagner's treatment is Ada's vulnerability and her ability to invite a compassionate response, as well as her stronger profile in supporting Arindal even when not seen. These aspects of her characterization are bound up with her

musical incarnation early in act 3 and at the drama's conclusion, when offstage voices play a role in her own rescue.

Like her restricted physical state, Ada's disembodied musical presence (accompanied by offstage woodwinds) has a quality of suspended vitality.<sup>57</sup> She is nevertheless capable of connecting to the interior section of Arindal's preceding mad scene. When toward the end of his F-minor-framed monologue he envisions being reunited with Ada, an uplifting luminous dimension opens out into E major, the key associated with the fairy realm in varying ways after it was established as a tonal area of significance in the Overture.<sup>58</sup> Ada's offstage voice is clothed in E minor/E major, a tonally unstable space that nevertheless gestures toward Arindal's expression of hope. The quality of a dual response/appeal is emphasized by her message: "Should you hear my lament, then hurry to me."<sup>59</sup> Her plea is then borne aloft through a rising figure in the instrumental postlude. Reversing the gender of the mortal/supernatural roles, Wagner developed the dynamics of this exchange in Elsa's "Einsam in trüben Tagen" in act 1 of *Lohengrin*.<sup>60</sup>

The scenic complex featuring Ada's offstage voice in *Die Feen* magnifies the importance of the moment the questing prince first heard the voice of his unseen future wife. In *La donna serpente*, Gozzi embedded the re-telling of this event within a narrative for Truffaldino—the most admired of his *commedia* actors. As it turns out, this description of their first encounter, as Wagner encountered it in Werthes's translation, would have been the first time he would have come across the concept of madness in the play (not the later instance noticed by Krienitz). After the disappearance of the doe, Werthes has Truffaldino describe his master as "wahnsinnig und verzweifelnd" (mad and full of doubt). Responding to the extreme destabilizing influence that the miraculous image has on Farruscad in Gozzi's play, Werthes emphasizes his obsession with her physical beauty as madness from the onset. In this instance, Wagner did not follow Werthes. Instead, he depicted the relationship between the lovers more holistically, and he reserved alluding to Arindal's madness until after he has come to love Ada and is separated from her. Reading past Werthes's characterization of the hero, Wagner focused on Gozzi's masterful manner of storytelling and the potential ongoing significance of this narrative for the drama in progress.

Gozzi's stage directions emphasize the performative dimension of the account of the prince's last eight years: "Truffaldino sits down, as one would in telling a fairy tale, employing often the formula: *so is it, my precious treasure*."<sup>61</sup> The basic content for this semi-improvisational scene is prescribed, together with its periodic structural markers, but it remains to the actor to create the tale in lively detail. Through such



colorful storytelling, the wasteland setting that dominates the first act springs to life. For Gozzi, a barren stage set was the perfect frame for his simple but eccentric *commedia* characters, thereby pitting them against the splendor of the elaborate supernatural stage transformations. Truffaldino's story of the prince's adventures covers a wealth of incredible developments that defy representation onstage and Brighella, his onstage audience, does not believe what he hears with good reason. Brighella's response begins with news of the bitter plight of their native land, an anticlimactic tale by comparison. That is, until he describes the way that the magician guided them to the desert. Begun as a descent through a cavern in Mount Olympus, the trip involved almost two months and over forty million steps, with magic belly patches to prevent them from going hungry. Gozzi thereby serves up a fantastic storytelling contest.

A desert is hardly a commonplace operatic stage set in nineteenth-century opera and thus it is all the more interesting to consider how Gozzi's wasteland scenes fared in Wagner's operas. Like Gozzi, Wagner placed most of the action in act 1 of *Die Feen* in the desert (see table 1 for a comparison of these scenes in Wagner and Gozzi's first acts). Gozzi retained this setting for the first six scenes of act 2 of *La donna serpente* in order to emphasize how drastically life has changed for the *commedia* servant figures before they return to their homeland. They bellyache at length about the lack of fabulous food, to which they had become accustomed, before Cherestani appears and orders her children cast into a pit of fire before everyone's eyes. Yet again, Gozzi juxtaposes *commedia* dialogue dominated by flamboyant reflective narratives with a spectacular stage effect—both invite incredulity, albeit in different ways. Gozzi then shifts the action to the mortal kingdom for the remaining seven scenes of the act. Wagner, by contrast, quits the desert setting at the end of act 1 of *Die Feen* and launches the next act in front of Arindal's palace in Tramond, with the chorus bemoaning their struggle against oppressive forces. His choice heeds operatic conventions but in no way reflects a disinterest in Gozzi's art of telling stories within a story.

Reflective narratives have long been recognized as central to Wagner's operas.<sup>62</sup> His first exercise in creating such a text concerns the pair of narratives in act 1 of Gozzi's play, in which eight years of the drama's prehistory is summarized from two different perspectives. Through the use of rhetorical gestures, Gozzi set these narratives for Truffaldino and Brighella apart from other dialogue—a strategy Wagner embraced and often repeated. However, to give Gernot's tale about the Prince's activities more weight, Wagner reversed the order of the accounts and shaved off Brighella's ludicrous finale about the journey to



Table 1. Desert Scenes in act 1 of Gozzi's *La donna serpente* and Wagner's *Die Feen*.

Scene 2. Brighella finds Truffaldino, and they tell each other what happened while Farruscad was away from his people.	Scene 2. Gunther and Morald find Gernot, and they tell each other what happened while Arindal was away from his people. They leave when they see the prince, so as to not spoil their later disguises.
Scene 3. Pantalone, worried about being in the sun, tells Farruscad (still enraptured by his wife's beauty) the tale of the witch Dilnovaz. Farruscad sets off in search of his family.	Scene 3. Alone and in despair, Arindal recalls his wife affectionately.
Scene 4. Togrul and Tartaglia find Pantalone, who makes them promise to remain out of the prince's sight before they don disguises and try to lure the prince home.	Scene 4. Gernot arrives and tells the tale of the witch Dilnovaz.
Scene 5. Farruscad is despondent. A woman's voice offstage urges him to eat the food that has magically appeared, but he refuses. Tartaglia, in hiding, tries to steal some food in vain. Farruscad professes to welcome death and falls asleep.	Scene 5. Morald and Gunther attempt unsuccessfully to disguise themselves as an old priest and Arindal's father. Arindal feels guilty about his absence from his beleaguered people, and news of his father's death convinces him to return home.
Scene 6. Improvisation scene in which Truffaldino and Brighella bring food and Tartaglia tries to quiet them as the prince sleeps.	Scene 6. Finale Arindal is overcome by a strange sleep, and the desert becomes a garden with a gleaming palace. A majestic Ada appears and professes her love for him in a lament.
Scene 7. Pantalone disguised as the old priest Checsaia.	Farruscad wakens. Ada criticizes Arindal for wanting to leave the desert, and Cherestani warns him of severe trials ahead, begging him not to curse her. He cannot understand her cryptic comments, which seem to bode ill.
Scene 8. Togrul transparently disguised as Farruscad's father. Like Pantalone's, Togrul's disguise involves an offstage voice and cannot be sustained. Farruscad feels guilty about his absence from his beleaguered people. News of his father's death convinces him to return home.	Fairies arrive in a festive procession. Cherestani's father is dead and she must return to her people. Ada is borne away in a chariot.
Scene 9. Farruscad is overcome by a strange sleep.	
Scene 10. The desert becomes a garden with a gleaming palace. Farruscad is awakened by boisterous music, and Cherestani appears with a majestic retinue. She criticizes Farruscad for wanting to leave the desert, warning him of severe trials ahead. When she begs him not to curse her, he agrees but cannot understand her cryptic words, which profess her love yet seem to bode ill.	
Scene 11. Fairies arrive. Cherestani reveals that her father, a mortal, is dead and that she must return to lead her people. She follows the fairies into the palace, but when Farruscad approaches it disappears amid thunder, lightning, and earthquake. The scene returns to the desert, in darkness.	

the desert. Scene 2 of *Die Feen* thus begins with Gunther encouraging Morald to explain what has happened—he uses the verb *erzählen*, literally, “to narrate”—during his and Arindal’s absence. Morald conveys the news that while the prince has been enjoying the pleasures of the supernatural realm, Arindal’s father has died and Tramond is under siege. Gernot initiates his more extraordinary side of the story with a command to listen: “Nun denn, so hört mir beide zu!” To Gozzi’s call for the actor to realize this story in a fresh and compelling way, Wagner devised Gernot’s narration as a collection of highly contrasting literary and musical ideas—a super-charged kind of recitative surpassing the expressive musical content of Morald’s report. Gernot’s text gains an especially unpredictable theatrical dimension through musical ideas that evoke magical and even intimate developments, as when Arindal found Ada and she professed her love for him.<sup>63</sup> More straightforward are the sonic evocations of the hunt in his story, with E-flat-major horn calls sounding in dotted-rhythm triadic formation. Gernot’s music proves to be immediately significant as the operatic action continues into the present, with Arindal arriving onstage frantically searching—once again—for his wife.

When Gernot returns to the stage following Arindal’s multipartite entrance aria, he resorts yet again to a self-conscious style of narration.<sup>64</sup> This time, however, his storytelling takes on the predictable musical-poetic form of a *Romanze*—the song that Wagner himself performed for Joukowsky at Wahnfried in 1882. Gernot relays the popular legend of the deceptive witch Dilnovaz to suggest that Ada is similarly not genuinely beautiful or faithful. He explains that Dilnovaz’s youth and beauty are enabled only through the powers of a magic ring; should her ring-bearing finger be cut off, her old ugly self would be revealed, which happens when her husband finds her in the arms of another man. Gernot’s *commedia* counterpart storyteller in this instance is Pantalone, who is prone not only to hyperbole like his colleagues but to base comments (he likens the wrinkles in the witch’s real face to the stomach of a starving cow). Wagner shaped Gernot less crudely, more along the lines of a confidant,<sup>65</sup> and he heightened the sense of a performance within a performance through phenomenal song.

Wagner was fond enough of this *Romanze* that he incorporated a variation of it into his subsequent unfinished work *Männerlist größer als Frauenlist oder Die glückliche Bärenfamilie*.<sup>66</sup> For this comic opera, which he worked on after completing *Das Liebesverbot*, Wagner turned to a story in *The Thousand and One Nights* collection. The plot concerns a young man who is deceived into marrying a particularly unattractive woman rather than the stunningly beautiful sister to whom he believed

himself betrothed. Not featured in Wagner's literary source is the tale that the character Anastasius relates to another servant. No music for this number survives, but the poetic form (designated a Couplet) implies a strophic setting with a refrain. In clever language, involving patterns of inversion, Anastasius describes how beautiful women can magically become ugly once they don the ring symbolizing marriage; the same ring can make ugly women beautiful.

In *Die Feen*, Wagner registered the effect of Gernot's allegorical Romanze to arouse doubt in the supernatural by playing with the boundaries of its typically closed form, and by linking its musical material to the surrounding musical-dramatic fabric.<sup>67</sup> The first half of each strophe features a grotesque, iambic minor-second figure that is transformed, in the context of the relative major, into a more agreeably decorative major second when the witch is portrayed in her beautiful form. Gernot reaches beyond the narrative frame and ostensible E-minor tonality of his semi-serious Romanze as the third strophe describes the revelation of the witch's real identity. C major suddenly sounds once the illusion of her youth and beauty has been shattered (see ex. 1A–C). Gernot then suggests in a veiled, half-speaking voice that they need only to find a magical ring belonging to Ada to reveal her real self, before echoing the earlier description of the witch (in E minor) as “an old hideous thing” (ein altes hässlich' Ding); This musical reference shrouds Ada with the witch's aura of ugliness and seeks to trap the supernatural beauty within its prescriptive framework.<sup>68</sup> Although she has not yet appeared, Ada's radiant image has already been linked to the supernatural realm so strongly associated with E major; Gernot attempts to tarnish that image in his Romanze, before the suggestion that she is actually a witch is developed further in a scene involving more trickery.

Gunther promptly enters wearing a mask, costumed as if he were an old priest. As he reinforces the ideas just presented in the Romanze, Gernot actively encourages the deception, recalling the refrain associated with the ugly witch in the process. Arindal is swayed by the tale until Gunther's disguise is removed under the cover of thunder and lightning (a stage effect that Gozzi associated with the sudden appearance/disappearance of the fairies but did not use here). This pattern is repeated when Morald arrives as the ghost of Arindal's father. After Morald's identity is revealed, Arindal learns that his father has in fact died and he is convinced to return home the next day.

Wagner did not employ the offstage voice of a magician in this scene as is found in the related passages in *La donna serpente* (act 1, scenes 5 and 6). While disguised, Pantalone mimes gestures as the invisible magician Geonca proclaims him to be a hermit priest. Using

[Andantino, quasi Allegretto]

75

Gernot

Doch traf er nur den klei - nen Fin - ger, an - dem sie trug den

Orchestra

78

Ring, da sah er bald in der Ge - lieb - ten, in der Ge -

81

- lieb - ten, in der Ge - lieb - ten ein al - tes, häss - lich' Ding,

85

Rezitativ (halb sprechend)

ein al - tes, häss - lich' Ding, Ja, ver -

Rec.

Example 1. The conclusion of Gernot's Romanze (mm. 74–99), Act 1 of *Die Feen*. (A) Wagner, Gernot's Romanze, from *Die Feen*. (B) Wagner, Gernot's Romanze, from *Die Feen*. (C) Wagner, Gernot's Romanze, from *Die Feen*.



88

sucht es nur, von eu - rer Schö - nen so ei - nen Ring euch zu ver - schaf - fen, dann, dann

90 *a tempo*

seht Ihr bald in der — Ge - lieb - ten, ein al - tes häß - lich'

93

Ding, ein al - tes häß - lich'

96

Ding.

Example 1. Continued

language more refined than Pantalone usually uses, the offstage voice proceeds to defame Cherestani as a vile seductress who shape-shifts her lovers. Farruscad is convinced, but when he moves to follow the priest, Pantalone's disguise falls by the wayside without him realizing that his regular appearance has been exposed.<sup>69</sup> The joke is on Pantalone as he attempts to continue the charade using his own voice and cruder descriptions, like those he used in his tale of the witch Dilnovaz. Farruscad denounces the undone deception to Pantalone's surprise. Togrul, another member of Farruscad's retinue, undergoes a similar process as he enacts the spirit of the prince's recently deceased father. Gozzi's *commedia* characters are virtually defined by their typical language and tone of speech; by using an offstage magician as ventriloquist, it is as if Gozzi was making the point that the *commedia* figures are themselves unable to adopt any other voice. Wagner's solution was to carry the disguise through to the singers' texts and music (vocal lines as well as accompaniments), with the singers modifying their natural voice. Performance directions for Gunther call for a grave manner of movement as well as singing.<sup>70</sup>

Not absorbed into *Die Feen* is the last thought that Gozzi's Farruscad utters as he falls asleep after all of the shenanigans and disquieting truths have been revealed: "The marvelous slumber has something to say to me" (Dieser wunderbare Schlummer hat etwas mir zu sagen). As already mentioned, this idea is rendered explicit in act 3 of *Die Feen* in the scene when Ada's voice reaches Arindal as he sleeps. The idea is more implicitly in play in Wagner's handling of the act 1 finale, but Arindal expresses a rather different thought, imagining as he does that he is leaving the waking realm altogether. Questioning if what he feels is the onset of death, he bids farewell to his wife.<sup>71</sup> When Arindal nevertheless awakens and sees her, he questions if what he is experiencing is a dream. Wagner ushered in this scene change with music in E major. As Ada emerges from the castle, Arindal remains asleep and the music shifts toward A minor; the audience thus gleans an uncluttered and direct glimpse of her suffering and love for Arindal. As with Arindal's initial entrance, and again contrary to Gozzi's drama, Wagner first presents Ada to the audience in an intimately revealing solo scene. He thereby sets the stage for a sympathetic identification with her, although she will tell Arindal of impending challenges once he awakens.

Gozzi rouses his Prince Farruscad in a manner that reveals the Venetian playwright's predilection for comic twists, in an episode involving the one instance of stage music in his play. The sleeping prince does not see the splendid vision of his wife's castle as it appears—a

straightforward scenic transformation that would have been handled swiftly with trapdoors and a change of painted flats and drops. Nor is he disturbed by the symphony that sweetly accompanies this image.

Farruscad awakens from his slumber only when the music becomes loud and noisy.<sup>72</sup> The limited impact and impermanence of the fairy realm and its magic garden is further confirmed by its sudden disappearance at the end of Gozzi's first act amid thunder and lightning—visible and audible signs of magical forces at work that also serve to mask sounds of stage machinery in use, as the symphony had done earlier in the scene.

This passage in *La donna serpente* brought Wagner close to a dramatic scenario characteristic of opera as it took root in Italy in the seventeenth century and was later absorbed into French traditions, in the genre of the operatic *sommeil*, or sleep scene.<sup>73</sup> Eschewing Gozzi's ironic playfulness with convention, Wagner saw potential in the depiction of a vulnerable state of consciousness tied to unusual but significant developments. He made sure to inscribe Arindal's gradual transformations of state into the music—a strategy he conspicuously repeated in act 1 of *Der fliegende Holländer* when the Steersman falls asleep and the supernatural Dutchman is introduced to the audience. In fact, all of Wagner's remaining operas feature sleep-related phenomena which rarely if ever can be traced back to their respective dramatic sources.<sup>74</sup> In addition to sleep and dream scenes that Wagner would have encountered and admired in other literature, Gozzi should be regarded as a primary influence in this regard.

Wagner's choice, *pace* Gozzi, to maintain the spectacular fairy kingdom onstage through to the very end of act 1 must have been motivated in part by the possibility of a grand choral finale. Contained within the conclusion is the announcement that Ada's father has died, thereby exposing her part-mortal ancestry. Her new status as queen is celebrated with processional music—festive music rings forth in C major as Ada is carried offstage in a chariot—that anticipates the ceremonial ensembles in *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* and beyond.<sup>75</sup> By contrast, the sudden disappearance of the fairy realm at the parallel moment in *La donna serpente* already moves the drama in the direction of the fateful trials. Following a stormy, cacophonous transformation, the prince is left alone in the desert. Wagner's solution might seem to gloss over dramatic development in favor of impressive musical effects, but we should remember that he also emphasized Ada's inner turmoil in this and her preceding scene. Whereas Gozzi's fairy princess is a two-dimensional creature, Wagner's Ada suffers more openly as she endures her fate.

Throughout *Die Feen*, Wagner underscores the contrast between a naïve communal perspective and an individual tragic one—conflicting

realities that are dramatically and musically realized through juxtaposition. At the very beginning of act 1, for example, the fairies rejoice blissfully before the sad reality of the lovers is revealed. Later, at the end of act 2, the people of Tramond celebrate their victory in battle as Ada disappears to endure her transformation into stone. In these instances, Wagner relies on music to emphasize the social reality depicted onstage, but its sovereign stability can be undercut by an obvious insensitivity to the plight of key figures. In this manner, Wagner developed a dramaturgical strategy that undergirds the ends of act 2 of *Lohengrin*, act 1 of *Tristan und Isolde*, and the conclusion of *Das Rheingold*. Such a dramatic contrast is also foregrounded in *Parsifal*, in the way Amfortas's immense pain is ignored by his fellow knights in the communion scenes of the outer acts. By that late stage in his career, Wagner had also discovered some value in ending an act with thunder and lightning, and a desert.

### Wagner's Descriptions of *Die Feen*

Wagner's own accounts of *Die Feen* in his *Autobiographische Skizze*, *Eine Mittheilung an meine Freunde*, and *Mein Leben* are increasingly elaborate, as are the writings to which they belong. By 1842, he had finally tasted success as an opera composer with performances of *Rienzi* in Dresden—a signal development after his bleak time at Paris. In his *Autobiographische Skizze* (1842–43), Wagner expressed satisfaction with the ensembles (for a novice opera composer surely a major hurdle) and with the overture of *Die Feen*.<sup>76</sup> By 1851, Wagner's first wave of success had crested and fallen and he was working in exile in Switzerland on his *Ring* project. In *Eine Mittheilung*, his description of the *Feen* drama's central concern of lovers straddling mortal and supernatural realms highlighted a narrative element already popular among German Romantic artists—one that he revisited in his post-*Rienzi* operas of the 1840s and which resurfaces prominently in the *Ring* and in *Parsifal*. Wagner also focused on Arindal's endurance of severe conditions should he wish to be reunited with Ada: "However evil and repulsive she may appear to him (in an obligatory metamorphosis) he shall not reject her in his unbelief."<sup>77</sup> A hint that Gozzi's drama was fresh in Wagner's mind at this time is gleaned by this description of Ada as repulsive (*grausam*). Ada's actions in act 2 are perceived as evil, but only in Gozzi's version does she appear in a form that could be considered repulsive—a writhing, deadly snake.

As Wagner wrote about *Die Feen* in *Eine Mittheilung*, he had already returned to the idea of an "obligatory metamorphosis" as the basis for Siegfried's *Tod*, the original version of *Götterdämmerung* and the



first dramatic poem of the *Ring* to be written. Hagen's potion functions like a curse whereby Siegfried behaves unlike his normal self and even against his own interests. The Tarnhelm effects a further transformation—a disguise for his presentation of this other self to Brünnhilde in the harrowing scene that concludes act 1. As he had done in the disguise scenes in *Die Feen*, Wagner called for the singer of Siegfried to alter his voice as he presents himself as Gunther (a character of the same name is involved in the disguise scene in the earlier opera).<sup>78</sup> When Brünnhilde is subsequently able to recognize Siegfried, his behavior is so unlike that of the man she loves that she eventually turns against him, disclosing his point of physical vulnerability to Hagen and thereby facilitating his death. In *Die Feen* as in *Siegfried's Tod*, the act of rejection triggers yet further metamorphoses through which, eventually, concealed truths are revealed and the faith of the disillusioned lover is restored.

As is well known, Wagner repeatedly altered the ending of the *Ring*.<sup>79</sup> It is not uninteresting to reflect on some of these alternatives with *Die Feen* and *La donna serpente* in mind. In Gozzi's drama, Cherestani exercises her enhanced and freshly restored power as queen to invite Farruscad to join her and their children in her magical realm, Eldorado. By contrast, in *Die Feen*, the fairy king is restored to life, appearing as *deus ex machina* who rewards the lovers with eternal life.<sup>80</sup> Wagner opted for this sort of a restoration of status in *Die Feen*, and he first approached the end of *Siegfried's Tod* in a similar manner. Wotan (later Wotan) would continue to rule and Brünnhilde would resume her Valkyrie role to deliver Siegfried to Valhalla. In later versions of the libretto, Wotan's final status would be considerably diminished, and Brünnhilde's enhanced—a shift of power that more closely parallels the ending of Gozzi's *La donna serpente* than that of *Die Feen*.

Furthermore, the fire which facilitates purification through symbolic death in *Die Feen* resonates dramatically in the *Ring*. Arindal's children are purified of their immortality so that they can be reunited with their mortal father. In 1848, in the earliest stages of developing the plot of *Siegfried's Tod*, Wagner introduced fire at the drama's conclusion to purify the cursed ring and serve as a means through which Brünnhilde would be reunited with her father.<sup>81</sup> Wagner would later emphasize the role of magic fire in Brünnhilde's transition to a mortal state when he created the drama *Die Walküre*.<sup>82</sup> Some of Wagner's earliest ideas persisted through the stage of musical composition, as when Brünnhilde reclaims some of her Valkyrie musical identity before riding into the flames. Although a reunion of father and child is hardly spelled out in the finished work, Brünnhilde's words directed to him in her final

monologue undoubtedly form the emotional core of her speech, which otherwise takes on a didactic and lofty tone.

The action leading to the conclusion of the *Ring* also points to act 3 of *Die Feen* as a general model for Wagner. Siegfried's death closely combines dramatic elements from *Die Feen*, from Arindal's hallucinations through Ada's eventual release. In his mad scene, Arindal relives his first encounter with Ada before imagining, in E major, a reunion with her. The crucial turning point when she is restored to real life is initiated by a harp-accompanied stage song conveying his abiding love for her. Once Siegfried's memory is restored, his song of his heroic past encompasses his initial awakening of Brünnhilde. The vision he experiences in his final moments recaptures that past moment and projects it into the future as a reunion in a world beyond the earthly one. This vision of Brünnhilde emerging out of E major parallels Arindal's transcendental vision in the same key.<sup>83</sup> In this vein too is Wagner's distinctive shaping of the last act of *Tristan und Isolde*.<sup>84</sup> The framing key of Arindal's madness—F minor—is also developed across the vast bleak scene that opens act 3, while Tristan's vision of Isolde (before she actually arrives) emerges in E major. Arindal's tendency to relive personal history in his mad scene is also a feature of the last act of *Tristan*, especially through the haunting "Alte Weise" melody that is recalled from the wounded hero's youth.<sup>85</sup>

Details of these later operas were of course not known to readers of *Eine Mittheilung* when it first was published. The most recent of Wagner's works known to the public at that time was *Lohengrin*—the crown of the dramatic trilogy *Eine Mittheilung* was written to introduce in print. Perhaps in an effort to maintain an impression of freshness with regard to *Lohengrin*, Wagner did not mention the prominent thematic parallel with *Die Feen*: Arindal's failed promise not to try to discover his wife's name. Wagner could easily avoid mentioning that he had long beforehand worked with this theme since this strict condition is part of the closing section of Wolfram von Eschenbach's poem *Parzival*, one of Wagner's sources for his opera: "Never ask me who I might be. Only in this way am I am at your service. If you ask, I will be lost to you."<sup>86</sup>

As mentioned before, Wolfram's Grail Knight never reveals his name; the narrator identifies him as Parzival's son Loh'rangrin after he has departed from Brabant. In Wagner's opera, *Lohengrin*'s self-disclosure of his name, origins, and conditions that govern his actions anchors the whole work, drawing together a network of musical and dramatic ideas deployed from the very beginning. Wagner had begun experimenting with self-revelation scenes in *Die Feen*, following Gozzi's dramatic plan. Starting with *Der fliegende Holländer*, this kind of scene began to surface regularly in Wagner's dramatic outlines, with obvious

musical implications at the stage at which the text was written. In the case of *Der fliegende Holländer*, Heinrich Heine's sketchy tale of the legendary Dutchman guided Wagner toward a scenario in which the protagonist reveals his cursed state before returning to the sea alone. In the operatic version the captain cries out the name of his infamous ship at the climax of his exposé, expecting Senta to recoil in horror. On cue, the spectral crew resumes the song that fuses their and their captain's identity with the protagonist of Senta's Ballad.

As these and previous examples show, dramaturgical constructions that Wagner encountered in Gozzi's *La donna serpente* resurface frequently in his later operas. Nevertheless, he overasserted his own originality and increasingly drew attention to Germanic authors and Greek myths, which certainly left their mark on Wagner's later dramas but not to the exclusion of Gozzi.<sup>87</sup> Wagner's development as a dramatist thus requires further reassessment, for his debt to Gozzi exceeds the individual themes or plot fragments from *Die Feen* that have been most often detected in his later works. Aside from Shakespeare, Gozzi was the only playwright whose material Wagner used as the basis for an entire opera. Remaining an avid reader of stage plays all of his life, Wagner's energetic search for dramatic material after *Das Liebesverbot* led him mostly to other forms of literature for ideas for his operas. In each instance he needed to transform inherently nontheatrical material into something suitable for the stage in a musical setting. Wagner's sheer inventiveness and freedom with such sources have long been considered reflective of his growing authority and individual creativity as a musically oriented dramatist, but Gozzi also deserves some credit.

The case of *Der fliegende Holländer* is particularly revealing. The path from Wagner's main source, Heine's satirical text *Aus den Memoiren des Herrn von Schnabelewopski*, to the finished libretto is not at all obvious.<sup>88</sup> The story is deliberately skeletal in Heine's version. His narrator attends a play about the Flying Dutchman but is lured by an enchanting woman out of his theater seat onto a black sofa in the waiting area during the performance. He cannot relay what he misses seeing onstage during this rendezvous, but he returns in time to comment critically on the play's ending. Wagner had considerable gaps to fill in order to achieve a complete story, let alone an opera libretto.

At the most basic level one could note *Holländer's* tripartite dramatic framework with its thematic and scenic symmetries. Wagner first achieved this shape by emulating and developing aspects of Gozzi's three-act play in his *Die Feen* libretto. He returned to this general structure for the first time for *Holländer* and retained it for all of his subsequent operas.<sup>89</sup> Other features of the opera, moreover, take us much



closer to Gozzi. The dramatic action prescribed by Heine following the Dutchman's arrival ashore is his sale of diamonds to a Scottish merchant who subsequently agrees that the newcomer marry his daughter. In Wagner's version, both male protagonists are sea captains and Daland's ship has been waylaid by a storm before being able to sail on to its homeport. Hedwig Rusack has noted a strong resemblance between the beginning of *Der fliegende Holländer* and the first scene of Gozzi's *Il corvo*, with its "storm, the repeated attempts to land on the home shore, the crew shouting in chorus; the final triumph of the human beings over the elements."<sup>90</sup> Wagner arranged the material of the first act of *Holländer* so that Daland's ship arrives first and the legendary Flying Dutchman makes its spectacular landing in the middle of the act after the Steersman has fallen asleep. This scenario recalls the intrusions of the supernatural realm in *La donna serpente* and *Die Feen*.<sup>91</sup>

More provocative are connections between Arindal and Senta's two suitors, the Dutchman and Erik. Wagner himself described Erik as a terrestrial quasi-counterpart to the seafaring Dutchman: "He is stormy, impetuous, and bleak, like the lonely northern highlands."<sup>92</sup> Both men are outsiders who suffer terribly in their loneliness. The Dutchman's first aria resembles Arindal's entrance aria in form and tone. Meanwhile, Arindal's orientation toward hunting and his plaintive horn calls bear on Erik. As with Arindal's mad scene, Erik's act 2 dream narration reflects deep-seated anxieties as he reinterprets a memory (in this instance a dream) in ways that do not strictly accord with how events unfold in reality. Furthermore, the second and third acts of *Holländer* both contain song contests of sorts, recalling Gozzi's penchant for competitive storytelling contests. Senta's Ballad trumps the *Spinnlied*; the ghostly chorus outmaneuvers their terrestrial counterparts.<sup>93</sup>

By the time Wagner wrote *Eine Mitteilung*, he had gained the experience of completing two further operas; the expanding text of the *Ring* was his freshest project. Writing about *Die Feen* in 1851, Wagner regarded the lovers' ultimate reunion in the immortal realm as especially significant, in addition to the transformation of Ada into stone and Arindal's resuscitation of her through song. Given how Wagner had recently molded the drama at the end of *Siegfried's Tod*, this view comes as no surprise. Had Wagner specifically pointed to passages in *Die Feen* or to Gozzi as helpful for his elaborate and incomplete *Ring*, however, the originality of that current project would have been rendered suspect.

Ironically, Wagner's professed aim in *Eine Mitteilung* was to explain the evolution of his career in response to critics who regarded him as a confused or contradictory artist. Yet in this essay his own segmentation of his artistic development, with his efforts predating



*Holländer* largely bracketed off, camouflages any genuinely broader coherent view. A common critique of *Eine Mittheilung* focuses on Wagner's retrospective exaggeration of the degree to which his Romantic operatic trilogy pointed forward to his later artistic practices and embrace of myth.<sup>94</sup> However, given the treasure trove of dramatic devices and themes that Wagner valued in Gozzi's tales, it is worth recasting the critique afresh. Wagner was telling the truth when he argued that his artistic development should be regarded as more organic, but he was not inclined to reveal in what ways this was true.

The emphasis in *Eine Mittheilung* on the Orphic character of Arindal's rescue of Ada is a prime example of how Wagner could be misleading enough to cover his own self-borrowing tracks. His account attributes to Arindal innate artistic-heroic gifts that connect him to a venerable thematic vein in opera's history. But Wagner did not mention that the magician Groma provides Arindal with the sword, shield, and lyre, as well as crucial verbal guidance that enable him to successfully reclaim his wife.<sup>95</sup> Without Groma, Arindal would simply not have succeeded. An especially notable reincarnation of the helpful magician is the Woodbird in *Siegfried*. Like Arindal, Siegfried is unable to fulfill his heroic goals without advice from offstage.

### Arindal and Siegfried

Through the winter of 1850–51, Wagner had been preoccupied with ideas for the drama that would preface *Siegfried's Tod*. He set about completing a version of *Der junge Siegfried* by May 1851, but struggled to develop a naïve and fearless fairy-tale figure who would ultimately perform the heroic act of releasing Brünnhilde from her magic sleep.<sup>96</sup> The wide range of Norse and Germanic sources and relevant studies that Wagner drew upon offered him an abundance of material, some of which he wove into his expanding *Ring* narrative.<sup>97</sup> Several scenarios in Wagner's *Ring* dramas nevertheless stand out for the ways they diverge from these sources, in dramatic structure, tone, or sheer content. Patrick McCreless has drawn attention to three such passages: Wagner's treatment of the Woodbird, Siegfried's waking of Fafner, and Mime's death scene.<sup>98</sup> Wagner's engagement with Gozzi is enlightening in each case.

Siegfried receives advice from the Woodbird three times. First, he is directed to claim the ring and Tarnhelm from Fafner's hoard. The Woodbird then puts him on guard to be suspicious of Mime's hypocritical words. Lastly, the Woodbird enables Siegfried to reach and awaken Brünnhilde as his bride. The main *Ring* sources offer examples of "a number of birds who make all three suggestions immediately after he

[Siegfried] tastes the dragon's blood."<sup>99</sup> They also chatter about the dwarf's plans to kill the young hero, which Siegfried overhears. In Wagner's first prose sketch for *Der junge Siegfried*, he envisioned involving multiple birds but had already decided by the prose draft to focus on a single bird sung offstage in such a way as to punctuate the action as needed by the hero, instead of offering a continuous narrative.

For this approach, Wagner had a ready-made model in his magician Groma of *Die Feen*. Although Wagner decided not to involve an offstage magician in the disguise scene in *Die Feen*, he closely followed Gozzi's use of his magician in the rescue scenes in the last act. Geonca, the magician in *La donna serpente*, is an underpowered figure. However, Gozzi slyly suggests that Cherestani supports him behind the scenes in act 3 in the crucial moments leading to her rescue.<sup>100</sup> Confirmation that Wagner saw Ada and his magician Groma as reinforcing each other is suggested by his placement of both figures in the offstage space in act 3 of *Die Feen*. After Ada has sung her lament, she does not sing again until she is transformed back into human form, but Groma meanwhile gains an invisible choir of benevolent female voices, endowed with a special aura of suspended string tremolo harmonies. The chorus's encouraging phrases contribute to an expansive refrain-based network of musical passages that prepare Ada's eventual reappearance in E major.<sup>101</sup> Groma and Ada's implied connection in the offstage space of *Die Feen* represents a richly profiled entity in which the lover awaiting rescue is not completely without influence.

Wagner layered even more allusions into Siegfried's support system.<sup>102</sup> The key of E major is introduced during the "Waldweben" or "Forest Murmurs," during which Siegfried imagines what his mother Sieglinde must have looked like. When the young hero first hears the Woodbird's song, he initially responded originated as follows: "It seems my mother is singing to me!" (Mich dünkt, meine Mutter singt zu mir!). Wagner later crossed out these words in his own printed copy of the *Ring* libretto (as it was published in 1853) while working on music for the opera; on the facing page he wrote a sketch for the Woodbird's music in E major.<sup>103</sup> Wagner thereby deferred Siegfried's tendency toward confusion on this point until he has wakened Brünnhilde, who quickly clarifies that he has awoken his bride, not his mother.<sup>104</sup> By then, a grand network of related material in or close to E major has unfolded, reaching back to the end of *Die Walküre* when Loge's protective magic first surrounded Brünnhilde. In the more densely knit refrain structure at work in act 2 of *Siegfried*, the Woodbird's pentatonic warbles help to regularly reinforce E major.<sup>105</sup> Wagner cast Fafner as a cursed figure asserting alternate, contrasting, refrain-like material. In the first

draft of the poem, Fafner revealed his own history and identity only after being fatally wounded, but he said nothing about Mime. Later, Wagner linked Fafner more closely to the Woodbird by adding his counsel (which anticipates her advice) to the hapless hero. It is all the more fitting then that Fafner's blood helps Siegfried understand her words—a symbolic web further strengthened by the burning sensation the hero feels when the blood touches his hand. Siegfried's reference to fire involves a recall of Loge's music, which already shifts the music toward the Woodbird's tonal world while anticipating the fire he will face toward the opera's end.

The portrayal of Fafner in *Siegfried* introduces a tension between transparent and persuasive illusions that is neither characteristic of the main *Ring* sources nor present in the cycle's concluding drama. Hagen's potion and the Tarnhelm serve tragic ends in *Götterdämmerung*, with the relevant transformations demanding dramatic credibility. In the case of the Tarnhelm, the drama is designed so that Brünnhilde can only solve the visual trickery at work once she sees Siegfried in act 2 wearing the ring he stole from her while disguised. For *Der junge Siegfried*, Wagner explored the idea, inspired by his reading (many examples of shape-shifting and talking animals exist in the wide range of *Ring* sources he consulted), that the dragon would represent another transformation involving the Tarnhelm.<sup>106</sup> Fafner the giant thus became Fafner the *Lindwurm*, involving an onstage visual disguise while the singer projects his voice from offstage—a procedure similar to Gozzi's disguise scenes in act 1 of *La donna serpente*. Such an arrangement was clearly attractive for rendering a larger-than-human form and Wagner directs the singer to use a speaking trumpet (*Sprachrohr*) to enhance the voice so that it aligns with the sizable image on stage. As with Gozzi's disguise scenes, the deception is not sustainable. Wagner went a step further in suggesting the limitations of this visual illusion in Alberich's efforts to show off the Tarnhelm's powers in scene 3 of *Das Rheingold*. His transformation into a giant serpent (*Riesenhurm*) prompts disingenuous comments from Loge and Wotan. Far from recoiling in fear, they trick him into being captured in the form of a toad.<sup>107</sup> When first introduced at the opening of act 2 of *Siegfried*, Fafner the *Lindwurm* does not pose a real threat—he simply wants to sleep.<sup>108</sup>

So how does Siegfried actually wake Fafner? Siegfried's own rest in the forest is pleasantly interrupted by sweet-sounding birdsong, which—try as he might—he cannot match in tone or tonality with his self-fashioned reed instrument.<sup>109</sup> As he abandons this effort, Siegfried refocuses his energies on his own hunting horn. Elizabeth Magee proposes an episode in Karl Simrock's *Amelungenlied* as a likely model for



Wagner's scene: the comic heroic figure Dietlieb sees a horn on a stool and never having played such an instrument gives it a try, only to produce an obnoxious sound that might call up a wild animal from the forest.<sup>110</sup> The idea of trying out an instrument for the first time might apply to Siegfried's effort to whittle the pipe, and his intent to call up an animal from the forest with his horn also matches, but the young hero who picks up his horn onstage has clearly played it before. In fact, what he plays is demanding for the best of orchestral players using a modern valved horn. After no less than five nuanced melodic statements followed by long pauses, Siegfried returns to his opening melody and then spins it out as a long crescendo that becomes increasingly boisterous and eventually very loud—"immer stärker . . . sehr schnell und schmetternd." In other words, Siegfried first presents himself as a refined musician before veering in the direction of unbounded bravura.<sup>111</sup>

The passage in *La donna serpente* that better accounts for the graduated nature of this scene is located in act 1, when the hero is awakened from his magically induced sleep. Only when the initial sweet-sounding symphony turns raucous does he finally waken. Wagner handled this scene in *Die Feen* by having the hero gently aroused, but without the use of stage music.<sup>112</sup> Gozzi's more comic scenario, with its actual symphony, may have even suggested to Wagner that Siegfried be an accomplished horn player (rather surprising, given his upbringing). In any case, Siegfried at this juncture is comparable to Arindal at the end of act 1 of *Die Feen*. He is in need of being awakened to a more mature level of awareness.

Fafner's attempt to pass along important information to Siegfried before he dies recalls the dramaturgy of Gozzi's disguise scenes, in which the natural identity and voice of characters are also gradually revealed. Fafner's more personal voice emerges after his physical disguise has been pierced. Wagner specified in the score that the machine representing the body of Fafner should move closer to the front of the stage; the singer would move accordingly forward to another trapdoor and use a less powerful speaking trumpet.<sup>113</sup>

More striking yet is Wagner's handling of Mime's efforts to deceive Siegfried after Fafner's death. In the disguise scenes in act 1 of *La donna serpente*, the pranksters attempt to continue the charade using their own voices after their costume disguises have fallen off and the offstage magician has fallen silent.<sup>114</sup> Mime is prone to adopt musical disguises, as is well known from his "Staarenlied" in act 1—music with which Mime repeatedly cloaks his false self-portrayal as a loving parent with no ulterior motives. In the final Siegfried–Mime exchange, Siegfried understands the Woodbird's advice that he must listen closely to detect the



dwarf's hypocrisy.<sup>115</sup> Mime perseveres when his deception has become transparent to Siegfried, revealing his lethal intentions with an increasingly truer voice that alternates with wildly desperate gestures to camouflage himself, including reuse of his music from act 1.<sup>116</sup> Wagner's handling of this final encounter between Siegfried and Mime is sophisticated and unusual, but also deeply unsettling in the way its sinister thrust leading to Mime's death is laced with black comedy.<sup>117</sup> Gozzi's scene as well is an uncomfortable mixture of comedy and tragedy, with the end result that the prince realizes his father has died.

Following Mime's death, Siegfried's heroic path points toward Brünnhilde's rock. His encounter with the sleeping woman is the moment that the young hero feels fear for the first time—an aspect of his development that caused Wagner much difficulty, requiring multiple revisions to the poem. Wagner readily pointed to a Germanic source for this idea: the Grimm fairy tale about the boy who learned fear. Magee suggests that several tales in the Grimm collection actually played a role and that “the connection between the fairy-tale boy and Siegfried was Wagner's own personal ‘find.’”<sup>118</sup> None of these fairy-tale sources, however, comes close to the scenario at the end of *Siegfried*. In “The Tale of One Who Set Out to Learn Fear” (*Märchen von einem, der auszog, das Fürchten zu lernen*), a youth proves himself completely insensitive in a range of situations, some involving rather gruesome images. His sensibilities are awakened when his wife (they are already married) douses him in his sleep with a bucket of cold river water complete with a few fish. He thus learns to shudder (*gruseln*), or have the creeps, but no kiss is involved. Magee notes that Karl Simrock's fairy-tale-influenced version of Siegfried's awakening of Brünnhilde features a kiss, whereas the Scandinavian sources do not.<sup>119</sup> However, in Simrock's version, when Siegfried undoes Brünnhilde's armor he is completely in awe. Fear is not a component of this encounter.

No fairy tale accounts so well for the role of fear in Siegfried's awakening of Brünnhilde as does Gozzi's *La donna serpente*. When Farruscad faces the deadly serpent that is his wife, waiting to be restored through his kiss, he must overcome dread and uncertainty. The sight of Brünnhilde freed from her armor triggers similar fearful feelings in Siegfried; like Farruscad, he kisses his bride despite the thought that he might die doing so.<sup>120</sup> What pushes Siegfried over the threshold of being able to kiss her is his recollection of the Woodbird's last words to him, and his ability to grasp meaning that was not initially transparent to him.<sup>121</sup> Only when he has actually sensed fear can he understand that he must overcome those feelings if he is to awaken Brünnhilde as his bride. At that juncture Siegfried feels the inexplicable disorientation and intense physical

sensations that Mime had described when he hoped to instill a sense of fear in Siegfried's imagination in the third scene of act 1. Already then, Wagner linked Siegfried's efforts to imagine fear to the musical embodiment of the sleeping Brünnhilde, hinting that the young hero would remain fearless until he first glimpses her. When he does, he is fully confounded by what he feels and the Woodbird is no longer singing cues to the hero from the wings. By association, the burning sensation that he feels when he first sees Brünnhilde's face is connected to his reaction to the dragon's blood—"Wie Feuer brennt das Blut!"—which allowed Siegfried to understand the Woodbird's words in the first place. Her words thus resurface in Siegfried's awareness at this critical juncture, with sufficient potency that he can, on the third try, actually kiss the sleeping woman before him. Farruscad too succeeds in kissing his wife on the third try, with the offstage magician's encouragement.

In the final autobiographical account of his early career—*Mein Leben*—Wagner finally acknowledged the role of the invisible Groma in *Die Feen*. To consider this a public acknowledgment is, however, misleading. *Mein Leben* was written for King Ludwig II, not for a broad audience. On 12 November 1865, while a guest for eight days at Ludwig's family estate, Hohenschwangau, Wagner read aloud from his autobiography to the King, alias "Parzival."<sup>122</sup> That fall had been dominated by personal stress for Wagner, and his ambitious plans for a theater and singing school in Munich were adrift. Ludwig, under great pressure, would ask him to leave the city in early December. Wagner knew how deeply the king believed in his artistic vision; this was reaffirmed during their time together in Hohenschwangau. His reference to Ludwig as Parzival alludes to the king's redemptive role in backing his career, as well as his motivational role concerning Wagner's recent creation of the prose draft for what would become *Parsifal*. Wagner had thought about this dramatic material for some time and he was able to draft a full conception of his last drama with astonishing speed. With Wagner's fullest description of his Gozzi-based drama in the picture at this time, we shall now examine some of the ways *Parsifal* overlaps with *Die Feen* and *La donna serpente*.

### *La donna serpente and Parsifal*

In response to the young monarch's eagerness concerning the envisioned dramas *Die Sieger* and *Parzival*, Wagner immediately developed an advanced prose draft for the latter. A vast amount of detail springs off the pages he filled in the "Brown Book" from 27 to 30 August 1865. Aspects of the plot still needed refinement, but Wagner worked out the main

scenarios with full-blooded characters. His claim to have already sketched out the opera's three acts in 1857 has been questioned due to lack of surviving evidence. *Parsifal*'s alignment in its broad outlines with the dramatic framework of *Die Feen/La donna serpente* may however help explain how Wagner might indeed have had an outline of the three acts in mind. *Parsifal* shares with *Die Feen* a series of curses, illusions, and stretches of suffering that lead to eventual comprehension and compassion. On the level of dramatic detail and in matters of staging, Wagner seems to have found *La donna serpente* rather valuable for his final opera.

By the late 1850s, Wagner had already deliberated at length on the figure of Kundry, often regarded as his most astonishingly modernistic character. As he wrote to Mathilde Wesendonck from Venice on 2 March 1859, "I have been very busy with *Parzival*: namely the peculiar creation of an ever livelier and spell-binding wonderful world-demonic woman (the Grail messenger). When I actually bring the poem into existence, I must deliver something highly original."<sup>123</sup> He shared no further details about his Grail messenger, but when he came to shape his peculiar creation in prose in 1865 her wild nature and appearance were unlike anything known on opera stages at the time. Beyond her bizarre swings between two contrasting worlds and her near-endless history, Wagner decided that one of Kundry's distinguishing features would be her strangely bestial qualities: "She is treated by the Grail community more like an unusual magical animal than as a human."<sup>124</sup> No one sees her eat. She can disappear suddenly and resurfaces almost lifeless in the Grail realm.<sup>125</sup> When the squires scorn Kundry in act 1 on account of her beastly nature, Gurnemanz takes the opportunity to deliver his first lesson on compassion, before he teaches the swan-killing Parsifal a lesson. Without knowing for certain, Gurnemanz suspects Kundry is cursed and on a long path toward atonement. Kundry's affinity with Gozzi's Cherestani lies fundamentally in her immortality and her periodic shape-shifting into an animal form.<sup>126</sup> These connections become more specific when we contemplate what Cherestani discloses about her nature at the end of act 2 of *La donna serpente*: her condition of immortality has gone hand-in-hand with frequent uncontrollable transformations into the shape of an animal, during which she would suffer cruelty at the hands of men.<sup>127</sup> Wagner did not include any of this text in his parallel scene in *Die Feen*, but it was readily available to him and surely played some role in the genesis of *Parsifal*.

In the prose draft of 1865, Wagner returned to the image of the serpentine woman in conjunction with Kundry. He took care to note that her costume should be a dark red robe drawn together by a marvelous snakeskin belt.<sup>128</sup> Such symbolic costuming details run counter to



the prevailing trend toward historical detail in the later nineteenth century. Instead, they recall the elaborate allegorical costumes of Medusa on Baroque operatic stages. In his letter of 7 September 1865 to Ludwig, he likened Kundry to the snake of Paradise, whose kiss would awaken the awareness of sin. He then set forth the analogy "Adam—Eva: Christus" to "Anfortas—Kundry: Parzival," while appending a warning about the need for caution.<sup>129</sup> Wagner was aware of the risks of playing with such symbolism. Eventually, he explored the musical potential of such imagery in Kundry's motive of seduction (the so-called *Zaubermotiv*), whose circling shape twists around the dissonant interval of the tritone.

What other details from *La donna serpente* had Wagner not yet explored? In the first act, the tale of how Farruscad's people finally found him in the desert is memorable but implausible: the descent down Mount Olympus took nearly two months and over forty million steps, with magical patches to stave off hunger. By contrast with the instantaneous scene changes associated with Cherestani, the narrated trip down Mount Olympus is protracted. In *Parsifal*, Wagner fully enacted this contrast between a long mysterious journey and the rapid disappearance of an illusion. In the march-like setting of the Transformation Music in act 1, Wagner reflected the treading of Parsifal and Gurnemanz, which assumes an uncanny dimension, as if they were drawn from beyond; Parsifal comments, "I scarcely step, but feel myself moving far."<sup>130</sup> As they approach their goal along this "pathless" journey, the forest imagery yields to ascending passageways through rockface, implying the central image of a mountain that bears both Klingsor's and Titurel's worlds on opposite sides.<sup>131</sup>

The destruction of Klingsor's world at the end of act 2, on the other hand, is startlingly dramatic: his castle collapses during an earthquake, exposing a desert.<sup>132</sup> The stage directions correspond precisely to those of the tumultuous transformation at the end of act 1 of *La donna serpente* (which Wagner had not previously adopted), when Farruscad tries to approach Cherestani's castle: "As he wishes to enter the palace, thunder, lightning and an earthquake occur. The palace and garden disappear, and the original darkly desolate desert is restored."<sup>133</sup>

Nearly fifty years after writing *Die Feen*, Wagner realized this radical scene change from *La donna serpente* while bringing Gozzi's marvelously extended if only narrated geographical transformation to life on the stage in Bayreuth in ways that the Venetian playwright could not have imagined. Gradual transitions were not a specialty of Italian Baroque theater. Stage machinery and lighting systems then favored more rapid transformations. By the early nineteenth century, slow,



elaborate scenic transitions involving panoramas had become a specialty. Popular boulevard theaters in Paris were renowned for such special effects.<sup>134</sup> The transformations leading to the Grail temple in *Parsifal* were labor-intensive undertakings, involving much stage machinery that was frustrating to implement.<sup>135</sup> Unlike the extended scenic transitions in *Das Rheingold*, in which steam was to function like a curtain, the transformations in acts 1 and 3 of *Parsifal* were to allow some glimpse of what was happening onstage. Dimmer switches for the gas lighting helped render the scenery indistinct. In comparison with the ambitious special effects undertaken in the 1876 *Ring* performances, such as the projection of images using electric light sources, the stage technology used for the premiere of *Parsifal* was more traditional and more successful.<sup>136</sup> In this sense *Parsifal* was a retake, which helps us to understand Wagner's designation of his last work as a *Bühnenweihfestpiel* (stage consecration play), although the theater had already been formally opened with the *Ring*.

Already in his very first opera Wagner had displayed a keen interest in special lighting effects and enigmatic thresholds. When Arindal's friend poses as his dead father, the lighting is to convey a transformation from the onset of twilight to the dead of night.<sup>137</sup> Lighting also assumed a special role at the appearance of Ada in act 3: the rockface opens to reveal her form in stone, as a statue in a magically lit grotto.<sup>138</sup> The potent image in act 3 of *Die Feen* of Ada encased as if in a Madonna shrine rounds out the many allusions throughout the work to a religiously enhanced notion of transformation. It also begins to offer a deeper explanation as to why Wagner chose this particular kind of transformation for Ada in *Die Feen*. He did not simply bypass Gozzi's snake; he responded by developing a pointedly contrastive feminine persona to the more demonically and sexually charged one.<sup>139</sup> This duality is reflected in *Tannhäuser*, in the opposition of Elisabeth and Venus. Wagner even inscribed the dichotomy into the stage design: when Venus and her grotto disappear, the only object visible in the Wartburg valley landscape is a small Madonna shrine at the base of a mountain.<sup>140</sup> Kundry's appearances in acts 2 and 3 of *Parsifal* reflect this duality most vividly.

Gozzi's desert scenes offered even further untapped material to Wagner as he created his final opera. In the scenes that open the second act of Gozzi's tale, the *commedia* characters describe several changes that have occurred since Cherestani's and Farruscad's fathers have died. The desert has in the process become a much bleaker place, and the weather has turned bizarrely foul. Worst of all, the sumptuous magical food supply has come to an end—the trigger for

the *commedia* characters to abandon the desert altogether. Their breakfast buffet turning into slimy serpents and scorpions is the last straw. On the other hand, the desert has hosted the appearance of Cherestani with her magic castle and garden. In this context, the generous allocation of the central act of *Parsifal* to Klingsor with his illusory magic garden comes as less of a surprise, given that no comparably weighted figure exists in the medieval sources, and the declining situation described by Gozzi's *commedia* characters foreshadows some of the ways the Grail community disintegrates by act 3. On account of Amfortas's refusal to instigate the Grail ceremony, Titurel has died without its magical sustenance and the community of knights has turned into an angry mob. For his part, Gurnemanz has wandered to a remote part of the surrounding land—not exactly a desert, but within the opera a noticeably impoverished locale. Gurnemanz too bemoans the fact that he must now search for his own food, but he has learned from the animals how to find plants.<sup>141</sup>

It may seem surprising or even perverse to compare the sustenance at the center of the Communion ceremonies in *Parsifal* to the magical food in *La donna serpente*.<sup>142</sup> Yet there is much to encourage us to dig beneath the surface of a seemingly straightforward depiction of a religious ceremony. Broader dramatic constellations and scenarios that are not easily located in Wagner's primary dramatic materials for *Parsifal* repeatedly encourage us to recognize Gozzi as influencing his dramatic art through to the end. In this context, the preoccupation with magical sustenance in both *Parsifal* and *La donna serpente* is too obvious to ignore.

What might a link between Gozzi's *commedia* world and the Grail community in *Parsifal* mean? It should encourage a rethinking of the perceived religiosity of the work—a sensitive issue in its reception history. As Robin Holloway has observed: "Concentration on the liturgical element and the perfervid language of guilt and redemption that has from the start provoked on the one hand such derision and on the other such misplaced religiosity, tends to direct the communal hero on a *via dolorosa*, or at least a pilgrim's path." Holloway urges us to perceive a stronger link between *Parsifal* and Wagner's more overtly fairy-tale hero Siegfried, and that *Parsifal* is perhaps "best understood as a super-charged fairy tale." Anticipating entrenched resistance to such an apparently lowbrow perspective on Wagner's last opera, Holloway adds, "This is not so silly as it sounds."<sup>143</sup> In this article I have gone to some length to show the many ways that Wagner's experience with Gozzi's *La donna serpente* worked its way through his mature operatic works, anchoring features of both *Siegfried* and

*Parsifal*. Gozzi's multifaceted theatricality, including his focus on simple theatrical traditions as well as those which emphasize the miraculous, seem to have been big drawing cards for Wagner as he mined Gozzi's drama one last time.

It should be observed that Parsifal's arrival dressed as the Black Knight in act 3 is a pantomime scene involving disguise. The relevant episode in the medieval legends relays Parsifal's brazen defeat in combat of this most formidable of knights. In Wagner's opera, Parsifal simply returns to the Grail realm wearing the Black Knight's armor and Gurnemanz consequently does not recognize him. Parsifal communicates only by physical gesture until he unmask himself, at which point we learn that he has avoided using the spear in combat on his journey. His implied conquest of the Black Knight remains a mystery. Notably, Gurnemanz likens the end of Parsifal's wandering to the end of a curse. Parsifal meanwhile claims to have been following the lament that originally drew him to the Grail, a lament he only now understands, but he cannot envision a way to continue his journey.<sup>144</sup> Like Siegfried and Arindal, he needs assistance to reach his goal; Gurnemanz recognizes that the time has come to lead this old acquaintance once more back to the temple.

Wagner bristled uncomfortably with the notion that Parsifal's path to understanding the crisis in the Grail community should involve posing a question to Amfortas. In Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, the question takes the straightforward form of "What ails thee, uncle?" For Wagner, this was a particularly weak aspect of the legend that highlighted an unthinking type of religious faith—an attitude critiqued within *Parsifal* through the Grail knights' insensitivity to Amfortas's terrible suffering.<sup>145</sup> What could the hero possibly learn from Amfortas's response? In the dramatic framework of *Die Feen*, following Gozzi, the discovery of Ada's name leads to no greater comprehension of who she is—hence the need for further challenges that lead to deeper insights. Since his earliest engagement with *La donna serpente*, Wagner interpreted this understanding as a path to compassion (*Mitleid*), a theme not strongly profiled in Gozzi. As compassion became a central theme in *Parsifal*, Wagner shaped an original interpretation of the medieval legends reflective of this perspective as already shaped in *Die Feen*. He transformed additional elements from Gozzi's *La donna serpente* with such resourcefulness and subtlety that they have long eluded detection from scholars and commentators.

### “How long . . . and yet how similar”: Wagner’s Long Path to *Parsifal*

Wagner’s criticisms of *Die Feen* in later years emerged in connection with the business of making a piano arrangement of the overture. In the spring of 1878, after Rubinstein played through his piano arrangement of the prelude to *Parsifal*, Wagner played the *Feen* Overture with him in a four-hand version and he admitted that it had been well orchestrated.<sup>146</sup> A few weeks earlier, after receiving a version of the *Feen* Overture arranged for one piano, Wagner played through at least part of the score during the evening of 29 March 1878. After noting this in her diary, Cosima’s remarks promptly turned—or returned—to their discussion of Schopenhauer and delusions (*Täuschungen*). The two topics are surely connected, given the prominent role visual illusions play in *Die Feen*. After an unsettled night Wagner woke at 4 a.m., still reflecting on the overture and troubled by the superficiality (*Seichtigkeit*) of his treatment of the opera’s fairy realm.<sup>147</sup> Here at last we come closer to what really bothered Wagner about his earliest opera—that from which he would seek to distance himself—and this self-critique reminds us of the complaints of superficiality leveled at Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer in “Das Judenthum in der Musik” (1850, revised 1869) and in *Oper und Drama* (1850).<sup>148</sup>

In actuality, the lighter, brilliant realm of *Die Feen* that Wagner might have associated most with Mendelssohn is only fleetingly part of his opera. The unsullied glimpse of Ada’s realm in the overture and in the opening chorus is quickly dispelled by news of the desperate, separated lovers. Still, Wagner could not later erase those parts of *Die Feen* that he came to regard as shallow or artificial. He could, however, withhold the score from public eyes. Notable in all of Wagner’s operas from *Holländer* on—the period launched as a break with Meyerbeer’s world of French grand opera—is a critique of superficiality and banality that plays out within the dramas themselves. This often takes the form of aesthetic showdowns or explicit song contests, in the same vein as Gozzi’s story-telling showdowns.

Wagner’s unsettled feelings about parts of *Die Feen* can be regarded as finally working themselves out in *Parsifal* in the Flower Maidens’ scene. Klingsor’s illusions of beauty are akin to evanescent fairies, and their aesthetic superficiality parallels their inability to fully capture Parsifal’s sexual attention. The entire scene is a setup for the appearance of Kundry, whose seduction efforts ultimately fail but are of far greater consequence than those of the Flower Maidens. This scenario was part of Wagner’s earliest conception of the central act of his opera, and the music associated with Klingsor’s illusionistic garden-dwellers, composed in February 1876, was the first music that Wagner designated for use in the opera.<sup>149</sup>



In the autumn of 1877, as Wagner labored on the music for *Parsifal*, the issue of magic and the challenges of its artistic realization much occupied his thoughts.<sup>150</sup> It was around this time that he weighed the possibility of *Die Feen* being published after all. On 6 November, after working through act 1 of *Tannhäuser* with Anton Seidl, he expressed dissatisfaction with the way he had rendered the “*Zauberwelt*” in that work, even in its revised forms.<sup>151</sup> During the following week, on 12 November, he withdrew the main part of the *Feen* score from negotiations with B. Schott's Söhne, only allowing publication of the overture (which he rescinded, too, in the end). The very next day, Wagner began the composition of Gurnemanz's act 1 narration, a passage in *Parsifal* that reveals unmistakable roots in the pair of reflective narratives for Gunther and Gernot in act 1 of *Die Feen*, stemming in turn from Gozzi's *La donna serpente*.

Wagner could just not let go of *Die Feen/La donna serpente*, or, expressed differently: *Die Feen/La donna serpente* held a surprising grip on Wagner. By 23 November he had completed Gurnemanz's narrative, but his health was so compromised that Cosima persuaded him to take a break from his work. The composition of *Parsifal* proved to be an exhausting endeavor. An awareness of Wagner's indebtedness to Gozzi at this late stage of his career not only enhances our understanding of how the composer's first opera and its dramatic source fits into the overall trajectory of his life's work. Of greater significance are the ways we can now recognize *La donna serpente* as stimulating Wagner's engagement with older theatrical practices and aesthetics in ways that challenged him as a composer and theater practitioner in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is strangely fitting that Wagner's life ended in the city of lagoons and theaters that so haunted him, Carlo Gozzi's Venice.

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Far from reflecting a low estimation of his *Die Feen*, Wagner's presentation of the autograph score of *Die Feen* to Ludwig II at the close of 1865 was surely intended as something very special, offering privileged insights into his early career. It was something to sustain the king until *Parsifal* was finished. Any connections Ludwig II might have perceived between *Die Feen* and Wagner's later dramas would have been an asset, not a detriment. By late December, Wagner had already been ousted from Munich and he urgently needed to secure a relationship that had been seriously strained. The king's written response to this Christmas gift suggests that the composer was on target: “The *Feen* score is for me a meaningful, precious treasure for which I cannot thank you enough.”<sup>152</sup>

No matter what perceived weaknesses lie in Wagner's early score, it was granted a place in his self-conception of an artist as he

endeavored to bring the full *Ring* and then *Parsifal* to the stage in Bayreuth. Birthday celebrations at Wahnfried—Wagner’s this time, not Joukowski’s—are again revealing. In honor of his sixty-second birthday, in 1875, Wagner’s children read aloud poems. Isolde, the oldest, recited the following, titled “Die Liebe” (Love):

Wie keiner hast Du mich	Like no one, you alone have sensed
empfunken,	me
Wie keiner hast Du mich	Like no one, you alone serenaded
besungen,	me
Von den Feen bis zu den	From <i>Die Feen</i> to the <i>Nibelungen</i>
Nibelungen	
Warst Du mir treu zu allen	You were true to me in all hours
Stunden,	
Mein Segen ist darum Dein Theil,	My blessing is to be part of you
Die Liebe ruft Dir Heil! <sup>153</sup>	Love calls salvation to you!

A similarly inclusive view of Wagner’s operatic oeuvre surfaces in the composer’s letter to Ludwig of 31 May 1880. Amid much wordplay, Wagner related enthusiastically that Paul von Joukowski would design not just *Parsifal*, but sets and costumes for all thirteen—a number he tied to his birth year, 1813—of his operas, from *Die Feen* to *Parsifal*.<sup>154</sup> Wagner’s ability at this late stage of life to entertain the possibility of a staged production of *Die Feen*, with its elaborate transformations and magical illusions, likely reflects a level of confidence in the production capabilities of his own theater at Bayreuth. Wagner’s experiences from producing the *Ring*, despite challenges and disappointments, would have buoyed his thoughts in this regard. Staging and design ideas for *Parsifal* developed in close partnership with Joukowski drew still closer to the fairy-tale-charged worlds of *Die Feen* and Gozzi’s *La donna serpente*. Still, Joukowski could have had but a partial awareness of the far-ranging significance of Wagner’s tribute to him at his own birthday celebration in 1882, when the composer sang the nearly half-century-old Romanze about the shape-shifting seductive witch Dilnovaz.

## Notes

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1. "Er macht die Partitur fertig; 'es ließ mir keine Ruhe,' sagt er. Die prächtigen Klänge des Tannhäuser-Marsches erklingen, er kommt herein, und—es ist vollbracht!" All references to Cosima Wagner's diaries can be located by date in *Die Tagebücher, 1869–1833*, ed. and annotated by Martin Gregor-Dellin and Dietrich Mack, 2 vols. (Munich and Zurich: Piper, 1976–77); translated into English with an introduction by Geoffrey Skelton as *Cosima Wagner's Diaries* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978–80); hereafter CT. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
2. This is the only performance of any part of the score of *Die Feen* other than the overture noted in Cosima's diaries.
3. In 1888, K. Ferdinand Heckel of Mannheim posthumously published a piano-vocal arrangement of *Die Feen*. The example in this article is taken from that edition, which can be seen online at: [http://imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d0/IMSLP91726-PMLP188631-Wagner\\_-\\_Die\\_Feen.pdf](http://imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d0/IMSLP91726-PMLP188631-Wagner_-_Die_Feen.pdf). The autograph for *Die Feen* was one of several Wagner scores apparently given to Adolf Hitler and their whereabouts have remained unknown ever since, despite tantalizing periodic hints of their survival. Performance materials (with modified orchestration) dating from after Wagner's lifetime serve as the basis for all published full scores, the first of which was edited by Michael Balling (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1912).
4. Citations from Wagner's writings in this essay are from the expanded edition of *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel [1911]), hereafter referenced as SSD with volume and page numbers. Wagner's rationale is part of the introductory text to the first volume: "Weil sie in keiner Weise die Öffentlichkeit berührt hat." SSD, 1:20.
5. After the first volume appeared in 1871, he noted that it was slender and wondered whether he should have included pre-*Das Liebesverbot* dramatic works after all but decided they were too immature (*kindisch*). See CT entry of 16 July 1871.
6. The proposed contract included some other previously unpublished compositions and the poem for *Parsifal*. The relevant exchange of letters is found in volume 2 of *Richard Wagners Briefwechsel mit seinen Verlegern*, ed. Wilhelm Altmann (Mainz: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911).
7. Cosima relayed: "Daß bloß die Ouvertüre für die Herausgabe sich eignete."
8. The two-hand version was completed shortly before 28 March 1878, when Wagner played through the score. The Wagners received the four-hand arrangement not long after, by 15 May. See relevant entries in CT.
9. "Bei Gelegenheit der Ouvertüre zu den 'Feen' sprach sich R. sehr gegen das Herausgeben dieser Jugend-Werke oder Gelegenheits-Kompositionen [aus], 'die noch dazu nicht aus den allerhöchsten Okkasionen entsprossen seien.'"

10. See Thomas S. Grey, "Meister Richard's Apprenticeship: The Early Operas (1833–1840)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner*, ed. Thomas S. Grey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 20–26.
11. Egon Voss, "Die Feen: Eine Oper für Wagners Familie," in his *Wagner und kein Ende* (Zurich and Mainz: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1996), 15–30. A web of personal allusions is involved: Rosalie had performed the role of Gretchen in Goethe's *Faust* in 1831.
12. Voss, *Wagner und kein Ende*, 28 and 29.
13. See the early published assessments reproduced in *Richard Wagner: Die Feen*, ed. Michael von Soden and Andreas Loesch (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1983). The longest and most enthusiastic effort to connect *Die Feen* to Wagner's later works is Harold Shaar's "'Die Feen,' Richard Wagner's First Opera" (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1964). Shaar's study lacks penetrating dramatic insights but is noteworthy for its discussion of harmonic and tonal relationships. By way of contrast, see Eduard Hanslick, "Richard Wagners Jugendoper 'Die Feen,'" in *Musikalisches und Litterarisches (der "Modernen Oper," V. Theil.): Kritiken und Schilderungen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1889), 52–56; repr. as *Eduard Hanslick: Moderne Oper, Teil 5: Musikalisches und Litterarisches, Kritiken und Schilderungen* (Leipzig: Elibron Classics, 2006).
14. Wagner was reliant on a translation of the play by Friedrich A. C. Werthes since he could not fully navigate the Italian original. For a modern edition with critical commentary of this 1777 translation, see Carlo Gozzi: "Die Frau eine Schlange," *Ein tragicomisches Märchen in drey Akten, Aus dem Italienischen übersetzt von F. A. C. Werthes*, ed. and with an afterword by Julia Bohnenengel and Arnd Beise (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2004). All citations from Werthes's translation in the present article are drawn from this edition. The same translation is also included in Soden, *Richard Wagner: Die Feen*. A modern English translation of *La donna serpente* is found in *Five Tales for the Theatre*, ed. and trans. Albert Bermel and Ted Emery (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 185–238; the volume also contains a valuable introduction to the *fiabe*. The original Italian version of *La donna serpente* consulted for this paper is in Carlo Gozzi: *Opera Teatro e Polemiche Teatrali* (Milan: Rizzolo Editore, 1962), 335–407.
15. Among modern commentators, Dieter Borchmeyer has most fully contextualized Wagner's early development within literary and dramatic traditions. See his *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, trans. Daphne Ellis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); and *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theater*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Also see Yvonne Nilges, "Tradition and the Individual Talent in Wagner's Juvenilia," in *Wagner Outside the "Ring": Essays on the Operas, Their Performance, and Their Connections with Other Arts*, ed. John DiGaetani (Jefferson/London: McFarland, 2009), 9–22.
16. Krienitz, *Richard Wagners "Feen"* (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1910). Krienitz was Felix Mottl's assistant. The earlier account of *Die Feen* by Max Koch is superficial and contains many errors (vol. 1 of his *Richard Wagner* [Berlin: Ernst Hofman & Co., 1907], 219–27). Koch reiterates, for instance, the error found in Glasenapp's Wagner biography that Friedrich Heinrich Himmel's 1806 opera *Die*



*Sylphen* is another operatic treatment of Gozzi's *La donna serpente*. It was based on another Gozzi fable: *La Zobeide*.

17. Shakespeare had been embraced so fully by German writers in the later eighteenth century that his status as a cultural icon did not flag during the nineteenth century.

18. Mircea Eliade thus justifies referring to fairy tales as an "easy doublet" for initiation myths. See his *Myth and Reality* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1963), 202.

19. "Es war dieß der bursche der auszieht 'um das fürchten zu lernen' und so dumm ist, es nie lernen zu wollen. Denke Dir meinen schreck, als ich plötzlich erkenne, daß dieser bursche niemand anders ist, als—der junge Siegfried, der den hort gewinnt und Brünnhilde erweckt! Der 'junge Siegfried' hat den ungeheuren Vortheil, daß er den wichtigen Mythos dem publikum im spiel, wie einem kinde ein märchen, beibringt. Alles prägt sich durch scharfe sinnliche Eindrücke plastisch ein, alles wird verstanden."

20. On Gozzi's French models, see David J. Buch's *Magic Flutes & Enchanted Forests: The Supernatural in Eighteenth-Century Musical Theatre* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 209–15; and Giovanni Sparacello, "Aux origines du magique chez Gozzi. Les canevas de magie de Carlo Antonio Veronese à la Comédie-Italienne de Paris (1744–1759)," in *Problemi di critica Goldoniana* (Ravenna, Italy: A. Longo Editore, 2006), 13:255–65. For a more detailed account of the development of Gozzi's theatrical fables and their legacy in operatic adaptations, see John DiGaetani, *Carlo Gozzi: A Life in the 18th-Century Venetian Theatre, an Afterlife in Opera* (London: Jefferson, 2000).

21. For a survey of interpretive approaches to Gozzi's *fiabe* and the uneven ideological thrust of these dramas, see Ted Emery, "The Reactionary Imagination: Ideology and the Form of the Fairy Tale in Gozzi's *Il re corvo* (The King Stag)," in *Out of the Woods: The Origins of the Literary Fairy Tale in Italy and France*, ed. Nancy L. Canepa (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 247–77.

22. The operatic legacy of this phase of Goldoni's theatrical reforms includes his librettos set by the Venetian composer Baldassare Galuppi. One such libretto, *Il mondo della luna* (*The World on the Moon*, 1750), features servants assuming the roles of the nobility in a fabricated lunar society and is best known today in Haydn's 1777 setting. Mozart's Goldoni-influenced collaborations with Lorenzo da Ponte, especially *Don Giovanni*, keep this style of drama in widespread operatic circulation. See Domenico Peitropaolo, ed., *Goldoni and the Musical Theater* (New York: Legas, 1995); Ted Emery, *Goldoni as Librettist: Theatrical Reform and the "Dramma Giocoso Per Musica"* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991); and Daniel Hartz, "Goldoni, Don Giovanni, and the Dramma Giocoso," in *Mozart's Operas*, ed. Thomas Bauman (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1990), 195–205.

23. Goldoni originally sketched the play in 1745 as a *canovaccio*, leaving the greatest possible room for improvisation, but later turned it into a scripted play for publication in 1753.

24. The actor's last name is also rendered as Sacco, the singular form of Sacchi.

25. Gozzi had to accommodate the particular makeup of the actor's company at this stage. The troupe's Dottore (doctor), the character traditionally paired with Pantalone, died in 1749 and was never replaced. Their excellent Tartaglia, Agostino Fiorilli, thus

usually partnered Pantalone. Domenico Pietropaolo, "Commedia dell'arte Elements in Gozzi's *Turandot*," *Quaderni d'italianistica* 20, no. 1 (2000): 9.

26. See Hedwig Hoffmann Rusack's *Gozzi in Germany: A Survey of the Rise and Decline of the Gozzi Vogue in Germany and Austria* (New York: AMS Press, 1966); Helmut Feldman, *Die Fiabe Carlo Gozzis: Die Entstehung einer Gattung und ihre Transposition in das System der deutschen Romantik* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1971); and Rita Unfer Lukoschik, *Der erste deutsche Gozzi: Untersuchungen zu der Rezeption Carlo Gozzis in der deutschen Spätaufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, and Bern: Lang, 1993).

27. The wave of interest in Gozzi's *fiabe* that swelled in the early part of the twentieth century highlighted their relevance to modernist impulses and involved directors such as Vsevolod Meyerhold and Max Reinhardt. Meyerhold's translation of Gozzi's *L'amore delle tre melarance* formed the dramatic basis of Sergei Prokofiev's opera *L'amour des trois oranges* (1919). Gozzi's *Turandot* formed the basis of Puccini's 1926 opera.

28. Adolf Wagner, *Der Rabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1804). The young Wagner surely knew this nuanced translation. His choice to involve a transformation into stone (instead of a snake) might be traced to *Il corvo*, although this alternate metamorphosis has its own rich history outside of Gozzi.

29. See Rusack, *Gozzi in Germany*, 74. Adolf Wagner's aims follow those of August Wilhelm von Schlegel in his fresh translations of the seventeenth-century Spanish playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca.

30. Published later in his collection *Die Serapionsbrüder* (1819/21). For a fuller discussion of Hoffmann and Gozzi's operatic potential, see David Charlton's introduction (169–87) to Martin Clarke's translation of Hoffmann's essay in their collaborative edition *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet, and the Composer, Music Criticism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

31. Wagner may also have been aware that in 1809 Weber had composed incidental music for Schiller's play *Turandot, Prinzessin von China* (1801), which was based on Werthes's translation of Gozzi's *Turandot*.

32. His use of names as similar as Murolld/Morald within *Die Feen* is confusing and serves no obvious purpose, unlike later examples such as Siegmund/Sieglinde.

33. Although not explained in the finale, it can be assumed that the children's immortality will be restored, as is the case in *La donna serpente*. Gozzi does not bring the Fairy King back to life; in his tale the supernatural wife invites her husband and children to join her in her realm. Wagner's choice to treat the King's earlier death as symbolic and reversible at the drama's end aligns with the handling of the children's death as well as with the deaths of principal characters in Gozzi's *Il corvo*.

34. Some of the problems one encounters in Wagner's writings about himself are expertly addressed by Stewart Spencer in his chapter "Autobiographical Writings," in *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner's Life and Music*, ed. Barry Millington (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

35. Wagner began dictating *Mein Leben* to Cosima on 17 July 1865. The material concerning *Die Feen* was likely written in the winter of 1865–66. Wagner requested that eighteen copies of the four volumes be published in the 1870s by G. A. Bonfantini, who

secretly made an additional copy for himself. The edition prepared for widespread publication appeared only in 1911.

36. SSD, 9:258–63. Borchmeyer has drawn attention to the influence of improvisation, as is found in the *commedia*-oriented passages in Gozzi's plays, on Wagner's later ideas about acting and compositional aesthetics. See especially the chapters "Intentionally Random Creativity": Wagner's Theory of Fixed Improvisation" and "Improvisation and Vocational Skill: The Poetics of *Die Meistersinger*" in his *Richard Wagner: Theory and Theater*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

37. See relevant entry in CT. For a broader and detailed account of Wagner's relationship to and experiences in Venice, see John W. Barker's *Wagner and Venice* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

38. "Vom Holländer zum Parsifal, wie groß der Weg und doch wie gleich das Wesen!" CT, 17 October 1877.

39. Tappert's article is reprinted in full in the chapter "Zur Aufführungsgeschichte" in Soden, *Die Feen*, 168–75. In this period, Tappert worked closely with Wagner, helping him to locate parts for his "lost" early symphony in C major (1832) and he did examine musical materials for the *Feen* Overture.

40. "Ich irrte einst, und möcht' es nun verbüßen; Wie mach' ich mich der Jugendsünde frei? Ihr Werk leg' ich demüthig Dir zu Füßen, Daß Deine Gnade ihm Erlöser sei." Translation by Stewart Spencer: "I once transgressed and now would fain atone; But how can I cast off this youthful sin? I humbly lay its work before your feet, That it may find redemption through your grace."

41. Tappert did not himself see the accompanying lines. Instead, he quoted them from a report in the Berlin-based *Vossische Zeitung*, where the claim that it applied to both operas is also found. "Zur Aufführungsgeschichte" in Soden, *Die Feen*, 169.

42. *Die Feen*, ed. Soden and Loesch, 185. The erroneous claim is asserted in all three other articles from 1888 reprinted in this volume.

43. "Die Vaterlandsliebe ist mächtiger, er bricht seinen Eid und verflucht die Gattin." "Richard Wagner in Würzburg," in Soden, *Die Feen*, 192.

44. Sandberger refers to *Rienzi* "mit seinem internationalen Mischmasch" (196). Openly nationalistic and anti-Semitic, Sandberger negatively influenced the career of the Jewish musicologist Alfred Einstein. See Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the End of the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

45. "Die Feen. Romantische Oper in drei Acten von Richard Wagner," in Soden, *Die Feen*, 209.

46. Paul Bekker, for whom *Die Feen* anticipated much of Wagner's artistic development, later regarded this scene as revealing Wagner's special gift for depicting extreme psychological states. See his *Wagner: Das Leben im Werke* (Berlin and Leipzig: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt Stuttgart, 1924), 85–91.

47. Borchmeyer further explores these forward-looking features of *Die Feen* in the chapter "Pre-Echoes of the later Wagner" in his *Drama and the World of Richard Wagner*, 12–16.

48. "Die Feen. Romantische Oper in drei Akten von Rich. Wagner," in Soden, *Die Feen*, 220–48.
49. Krienitz, *Richard Wagners "Die Feen,"* 52–55.
50. Krienitz, *Richard Wagners "Die Feen,"* 58.
51. Krienitz, *Richard Wagners "Die Feen,"* 63.
52. In the substantial front material to her translation of *La Zobeide*, Emma M. Dassori draws attention to some of the peculiarities of Gozzi's stage directions. He wrote them in the future tense and his use of the terms "enter" and "exit" is the reverse of what one might expect, with characters exiting onto the stage and entering the wings. Gozzi also wrote the stage directions for improvised passages in the third person. See Dassori, "Carlo Gozzi's *Zobeide*: An Annotated Translation" (PhD diss., Tufts University, 2008), 73.
53. "Martert sich mit Vorwürfen über seinen Verrat an der Gattin. Erschöpft sinkt er auf einen Stein nieder und schläft ein." Krienitz, *Richard Wagners "Die Feen,"* 44. This exact scene description resurfaces in Schaar's "'Die Feen,' Richard Wagner's First Opera." Elsewhere Krienitz describes Gozzi's elaborate *commedia* scenes more fully. This scene is fully intact in Werthes's translation, so the oversimplification is inexplicable.
54. Susanne Winter offers a detailed analysis of the complex dramaturgy at work in such scenes in her book *Von illusionärer Wirklichkeit und wahrer Illusion: Zu Carlo Gozzis "Fiabe teatrali"* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2007).
55. Werthes's translation: "Stimme, du kommst nicht aus dem Mund meiner Gattin. Grausame Stimme, ich habe beschlossen zu sterben, wenn ich meine Kinder und meine geliebte Gattin nicht wieder sehen soll."
56. Wagner would later pursue this blurred sense of a boundary between reality and illusion in scenes involving unseen voices when Isolde reacts inwardly to the song of the invisible sailor that opens *Tristan und Isolde*.
57. Ada's lament also bears affinities with the vision of Emma's ghost recalled by Euryanthe in "Am letzten Mai, in banger Trennung Stunde." Although invisible, Ada's presence is not mediated by another character, as in Weber's opera.
58. The fairy aspects of the plot of *Die Feen* would naturally have encouraged the young Wagner to be stimulated by Mendelssohn's *Sommernachtstraum* Overture (parts and a four-hand arrangement were published in December 1832 and March 1833, respectively) in a constellation that included at its core Weber (*Oberon*) and Shakespeare as well. Werner Breig finds the harmonic conception of *Die Feen* unthinkable without Mendelssohn's overture, in E major. See Breig, "The Musical Works," trans. Paul Knight and Horst Loeschmann, in *Wagner Handbook*, ed. John Deathridge (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 405. In the aforementioned essay "Die Feen: Romantische Oper in drei Akten," Heinrich Reimann discusses the network of scenarios involving E major in *Die Feen*. Friedrich Lipmann links the prominent use of E major throughout the opera to Leonore's E-major aria in *Fidelio* in his chapter "Die Feen und Das Liebesverbot" in *Wagnerliteratur-Wagnerforschung: Bericht über das Wagner-Symposium München 1983*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Egon Voss (Mainz/London/New York/Tokyo: Schott, 1985), 14–46. Wagner further explored this E-major harmonic association with the supernatural world in *Tannhäuser*.



59. "Und hörest du die Klage, so eile her zu mir." SSD, 11:49. Ada's disembodied voice calling for her rescue is a dramatic precedent for the cry of the Grail for rescue in *Parsifal*: "Rette mich, aus schuldfleckten Händen!" Furthermore, though Wagner did not at first adopt Gozzi's strategy of having the prince recall his wife's cryptic pronouncements, this is a possible model for the role that the prophecy of a redeemer figure plays in *Parsifal*.
60. Berthold Hoeckner stresses the importance of this appeal in Wagner's aesthetic development in the chapter "Elsa's Scream" in *Programming the Absolute: Nineteenth-Century German Music and the Hermeneutics of the Moment* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 115–54.
61. Werthes's translation: "Truffaldin stellt sich, wie einer, der einem Kind Märchen erzählt, und bedient sich oft der Formel: *So ists, mein goldiges Herz!*"
62. See Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991). Her analyses do not consider examples of narratives in Wagner's operas prior to *Holländer*, but the literary and musical dramatic background she examines equally supports Wagner's orientation toward operatic narrative in the 1830s. *Die Feen* is a unique case in which Wagner's dramatic model explicitly contains multiple reflective narratives.
63. His authenticity in reporting these events and his privileged position as witness is underscored by his recall of Ada's profession of love, which he seemingly quotes verbatim; the text is placed in quotation marks. Not only is Gurnemanz a similarly earnest narrator, but the content of his extended act 1 account of the past overlaps with much content from the narratives in this scene in *Die Feen*.
64. For a closer consideration of this aria and its relationship to the Dutchman's act 1 monologue in *Der fliegende Holländer*, see my article "Wagner und das Erbe Carlo Gozzis," *wagnerspectrum* 1 (2010): esp. 61–64.
65. Werthes's translation, which reflects a later Enlightenment perspective, already contains suggestions of a closer relationship between master and servant than in Gozzi's more hierarchical world. These and other related adjustments are discussed in the commentary section of Bohnenengel, Carlo Gozzi: "Die Frau eine Schlange," 64–72. Dorothea Rüland explores differences between the interpersonal relationships in *Die Feen* with those in *La donna serpente* in the first chapter of her *Die Libretti und Schriften des jungen Richard Wagner aus germanistischer Sicht* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and New York: Peter Lang, 1986), 17–37.
66. For more details about this drama, see Barry Millington, "Happy Families: A Wagner Singspiel Rediscovered," *The Wagner Journal* 1, no. 3 (2007): 3–18. The text of Anastasius's tale is found in SSD, 11:328–29.
67. Senta's Ballad at the center of *Der fliegende Holländer* builds on this experimental earlier example. In her diary entry of 13 January 1882, in which Cosima refers to Wagner's performance of the Romanze from *Die Feen*, she describes the song as a ballad.
68. Wagner again explored this restrained, suggestive mode of presentation in *Holländer* when the chorus of women give voice to the question, a capella, in the final refrain of Senta's Ballad in act 2, and later as Erik begins his dream narration. During

his murky, nocturnal visit to Hagen at the beginning of act 2 of *Götterdämmerung*, Alberich exploits the effectiveness of refrain patterns and repeated fragments.

69. Although not described in technical detail, no special effects are involved and we can assume that the costume additions are simply removed (perhaps by someone from behind) and/or are encouraged to fall off by the actor himself.

70. "Gunther kommt in der Gestalt eines alten, ehrwürdigen Priesters, indem er seine Maske durch gravitatischen Gang und Gesang begleitet."

71. The melodramatic tone is akin to that found in act 1, scene 5 of *La donna serpente*.

72. Werthes's translation of Gozzi: "Alles dies geht unter dem Thone einer sanfter Symphonie vor sich, die stark und rauschend ausgeht. Bey diesem Aufzug wacht Farruscad erstaunt auf." The music written for Gozzi's *fiabe teatrali* has not survived. This example of a symphony performed at this very moment would have conspicuously enriched the multimedia nature of Cherestani's appearance. It connects *La donna serpente* to the Venetian operatic tradition and its use of elaborate stage machinery in the very theater in which Gozzi's play was being performed. On a more practical note, the music would have masked sounds of the stage machinery in use.

73. See Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), esp. 338–42; and C. Wood, "Orchestra and Spectacle in the *Tragédie en musique* 1673–1715: Oracle, *Sommeil* and *Tempête*," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 108 (1981–82): 25–46.

74. See Jeffrey Buller's article "Sleep in the Ring," *Opera Quarterly* 12 (1996): 3–22. His framework emphasizes Schopenhauer's writings on sleep and dreams and the ways these elements function in ancient Greek drama, but he fails to acknowledge that the entire text to the *Ring* was written prior to the fall of 1854, when the composer first read the philosopher's writings. Wagner's dramatization of sleep prior to his engagement with Schopenhauer's ideas is a central focus in my forthcoming book *Altered States*. Also see Johanna Dombois's essay exploring how Wagner coordinated stage technology in Bayreuth with aspects of sleep and perception: "Das Auge, das sich wechselnd öffnet und schließt: Zur Szenographie des Wagner-Vorhangs," *wagnerspectrum* 4, no. 2 (2008): 209–35.

75. This ending is freely adapted from Gozzi's transformation in act 3, scene 13: the crypt that houses Cherestani as a snake becomes a chariot (*Triumphwagen*) from which Cherestani emerges as Queen. At the end of his opera, Wagner called instead for a full scene change to the fairy realm.

76. In this essay, Wagner cites the influence of Beethoven and Weber. In *Eine Mittheilung*, he also acknowledged the influence of Marschner. Ludwig Finscher emphasizes Wagner's debt to Marschner's opera *Hans Heiling*, with which *Die Feen* shares some dramatic themes. See his "Wagner der Opernkomponist: Von den Feen zum Rienzi," in *Richard Wagner: Von der Oper zum Musikdrama*, ed. Stefan Kunze (Bern and Munich: Franke Verlag, 1978), 25–29. There are good reasons to sense direct competition behind these resemblances. On 11 December 1833, Wagner wrote to his sister Rosalie with great satisfaction about his opera *Die Feen* while noting his sister's admiration for *Hans Heiling*, which he extensively criticized.

77. "Daß er die Fee, möge sie sich ihm (in gezwungener Verstellung) auch noch so böß und grausam zeigen, nicht ungläubig verstieße." SSD, 4:439.
78. He specifically directs the actor to appear remote and not at ease, initially, in the role-playing—Siegfried is, not naturally inclined toward deception. "Im Hintergrunde auf dem Steine verweilend, betrachtet sie lange, auf seinen Schild gelehnt; dann redet er sie mit verstellter—tieferer—Stimme an." Only in his final address to Notung, with Brünnhilde out of earshot, is Siegfried to sing with his natural voice.
79. The different versions of the conclusion of the *Ring* are included in *Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung: A Companion*, ed. Barry Millington and Stewart Spencer, trans. Stewart Spencer (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1993).
80. Wagner's early idea, when working on *Parsifal*, to endow the deceased Titulef with stirrings of life when *Parsifal* reveals the Grail at the drama's end is in a similar vein.
81. See Otto Strobel, *Richard Wagner: Skizzen und Entwürfe zur Ring-Dichtung mit der Dichtung "Der Junge Siegfried"* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1930), esp. the conclusions of *Die Nibelungensage* (Mythus) and of the prose draft of *Siegfried's Tod*, 3 and 55, respectively. The discussion of the genesis of the *Ring* dramas in this essay refers to prose and poetic versions transcribed in Strobel's volume.
82. The mythic basis of such a transformative fire is told by Apollonius of Rhodes in book 4 of his *Argonautica*, ll. 865–79. Achilles's divine mother tries to immortalize him by encompassing his flesh with fire in a nightly ritual; she anoints his frame with ambrosia by day. One night, Achilles' father Peleus witnesses the boy in flames and the process is interrupted, leaving Achilles' heel as a point of mortal vulnerability. Wagner explored the figure of Achilles in 1847 in association with his in-depth engagement with Iphigenia as depicted by Gluck and Euripides. Wagner's choice to have Siegfried's body magically protected in secret by Brünnhilde, who is so closely associated with a transformative protective fire, may reflect some influence of this version of the story of Achilles.
83. Brünnhilde's actual awakening as a mortal coincides with a modulation from E to C major. As indicated earlier, a tonal relationship between E and C is developed in *Die Feen*, as in act 3 when the mortal Arindal begins his song of love for Ada in C major, which leads to her reanimation as a supernatural figure in E major.
84. The libretto for *Tristan und Isolde* was written after that for *Siegfried's Tod* but its music was composed prior to the musical composition of *Götterdämmerung*.
85. Substantial stretches of the music for *Tristan und Isolde* were composed in Gozzi's Venice. It is perhaps noteworthy that Wagner identified a Venetian gondolier's song as inspiring the "Alte Weise" (*Mein Leben*, 591–92). Ulrich Bartels agrees with Christian Thorau's suggestion that a Swiss folksong idiom also contributed to Wagner's musical realization. Bartels, *Studien zu Wagners 'Tristan und Isolde' anhand der Kompositionsskizze des zweiten und dritten Aktes* (Cologne: Studio, 1991), Part 1, 80.
86. "Niemenen fragt mich wer ich sei? Nur so bin ich für euch erkoren. Fragt Ihr, so bin ich Euch verloren!" *Parcival. Rittergedicht von Wolfram von Eschenbach. Aus dem Mittelhochdeutschen zum ersten male übersetzt von San-Marte* (Dr. hon. phil. Albert Schulz), 3rd ed. (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1887), 1:431, ll. 16–18. This is a later edition of the translation of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parcival* legend that Wagner owned and used.

87. John Deathridge provides a cogent summary of Wagner's rather sudden and unconvincing assertions about the heavy influence of Greek mythology on his work in his chapter "Wagner's Greeks, and Wieland's Too," in *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008), 102–9.
88. A translation of Heine's short story is provided in *Richard Wagner: "Der fliegende Holländer,"* ed. Thomas Grey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 166–69. In his chapter "The Sources and Genesis of the Text" in this volume, Barry Millington surveys related literary material, some of which Wagner surely knew. Millington finds no convincing evidence that any other single source pertaining to the legend served as a dramatic model for Wagner's libretto.
89. The two exceptions, *Das Rheingold* and *Götterdämmerung*, were both initially conceived as three-act dramas. As with the larger shape of the *Ring*, which Wagner first presented as comprising three operas, he revised the plan of the concluding drama so as to include prefatory material that opens with supernatural characters: the Norns. Such a structure is embedded in the opening of Gozzi's first act of *La donna serpente*; the net effect is of a double exposition once the focus changes to the mortal sphere.
90. Rusack, *Gozzi in Germany*, 101.
91. The transitional spaces between supernatural and historical realms in the opening acts of both *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* also involve sleep or dream-related states and complex scenic changes.
92. The description "stürmisch, heftig und düster, wie der Einsame (namentlich der nordischen Hochlande)" is found in Wagner's 1852 essay "Bemerkungen zur Aufführung der Oper: *Der fliegende Holländer*," SSD, 5:160.
93. The link back to *Die Feen* is strengthened by the obvious reworking of musical material from the supernatural apparitions in act 3 of the earlier work for the Dutchman's spectral crew.
94. Deathridge reminds us that Wagner's supposedly full embrace of myth at this time is itself a self-styled myth, concealing his ongoing interest in historical in addition to mythological figures and sources. See his "Wagner Lives," in *Wagner: Beyond Good and Evil*, 12–13.
95. The facilitated rescue involving verbal directions, stage props, and persuasive musical performances is akin to that in *Die Zauberflöte*. Several commentators have noticed similarities between the act 2 duet in *Die Feen* involving Drolla and Gernot with that for Papagena and Papageno in the act 2 finale of *Die Zauberflöte*. Edward Dent drew attention to the influence of Gozzi's *fiabe* on Viennese popular theater during Mozart's last decade there and on his collaboration with Schikaneder. Mozart's close colleague and librettist Lorenzo da Ponte had already become acquainted with Gozzi in Venice. See Dent's letter to the editor, "The Plot of 'The Magic Flute,'" *Music and Letters* 35, no. 2 (April 1954): 175–81; and Giovanni Carli Ballola, "Le Fiabe di Carlo Gozzi nelle strutture teatrali della Zauberflöte," in *Europa im Zeitalter Mozarts*, Schriftenreihe der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts 5 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995), 167–70.
96. The verse draft of *Der junge Siegfried* was completed by June, before he wrote *Eine Mittheilung* in August. For an overview of the drama's genesis, see Daniel Coren, "The



Texts of Wagner's 'Der junge Siegfried' and 'Siegfried,'" *19th-Century Music* 6, no. 1 (Summer, 1981): 17–30.

97. Classic studies of Wagner's use of his sources include Elizabeth Magee, *Richard Wagner and the Nibelungs*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); and Deryck Cooke, *I Saw the World End* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979). Also see Herbert Huber's commentary in *Richard Wagner: Der Ring des Nibelungen, Nach seinem mythologischen, theologischen und philosophischen Gehalt Vers für Vers erklärt* (Weinheim, Germany: VCH, Act Humaniora, 1988).

98. McCreless, *Wagner's "Siegfried": Its Drama, History, and Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 48–49.

99. McCreless, *Wagner's "Siegfried,"* 49.

100. Cherestani alludes to not being completely powerless as she is being turned into a snake. Gozzi's use of her as an offstage voice in scene 5 of act 1 introduces the possibility of her existing in that space when we do not see her. Not Geonca but Cherestani could know the secrets for conquering magical illusions that the offstage voice reveals to Farruscad in act 3.

101. This refrain-based form that shapes a larger dramatic segment of act 3 with connections to early parts of the drama clearly served as a model for passages in *Siegfried* involving a similar constellation of dramatic ideas and tonal associations.

102. Wagner's sophisticated approach to theatrical and musical space in *Die Feen* surrounds Arindal with support, involving solo voices and choruses both on and off the stage, spanning all registers. We find here the basis for Wagner's choral work *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* (1843) and for the two choral Grail scenes of *Parsifal*.

103. This text and its crossing out can be seen on page 102 of Wagner's personal copy of the 1853 private printing of the *Ring* poems, the item catalogued as A II f in the National Archive of the Richard-Wagner-Stiftung Bayreuth.

104. Wagner would further explore this confluence of a maternal embrace with sexual initiation in Kundry's seduction of *Parsifal*.

105. Graham Hunt explores this aspect of act 2 of *Siegfried* in his study "Of Refrains, Fairy-tales, and Compositional Hesitation: Act 2 of Wagner's *Siegfried* Revisited," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 3 (2006): 63–93. Hunt's sense that Wagner already envisioned this formal aspect when he wrote the libretto is reinforced by recognition of the ways *Die Feen* influenced both the libretto and score of *Siegfried*.

106. Wagner's interest in animalistic shape-shifting in *Die Feen* next took root in *Lohengrin*, when he introduced Ortrud with her ability to transform Elsa's brother into a swan—the crucial point of overlap with Wolfram's swan-guided figure. David Gallagher argues that the metamorphosis of men into swans in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* better accounts for Wagner's inspiration to transform Gottfried into a swan than his sometimes-cited familiarity with the Grimms' legends involving swans. See Gallagher's *Metamorphosis, Transformations of the Body and the Influence of Ovid's "Metamorphoses" on Germanic Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2009), 242–45. Elsewhere in his study, Gallagher draws attention to Gozzi's dissemination of Ovid but does not recognize that Wagner himself engaged with Gozzi's dramas. Wagner also employed the motifs of secret identity and shape-shifting involving animals in his *Wieland der Schmied*, first introduced in the form of a brief

synopsis at the end of *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1849) and later developed into a prose draft.

107. Of the possible dragons that Wagner could show on stage, he opted for more serpent-like forms. The depiction of Alberich as a writhing serpent is connected to Wagner's insistence that Fafner as *Lindwurm* be a dragon of the wingless variety. See CT, entry of 3 April 1878.

108. The remaining scene that neither McCreless nor Magee can attribute to usual Ring sources is this opening scene of act 2, the other semicomical scene featuring the sleeping Fafner.

109. Peter Bloom probes Wagner's evident intention to mock oboe players in this part of the scene in his article "Reading Siegfried's Reed," *wagnerspectrum* 3 (2007): 77–91.

110. Magee, *Richard Wagner and the Nibelungs*, 117–18.

111. Following up on Bloom's "Reading Siegfried's Reed," one might suggest that Wagner was making a joke about the limitations or overspecialization of instrumentalists. Siegfried the horn virtuoso cannot play a simple pipe. The horn is of course the more apt heroic instrument.

112. Wagner did however employ a modified version of this noisy awakening scenario in act 3 of *Die Feen* when Arindal is in a deep sleep after his mad scene. Groma's distant muted trombones offstage are ineffective and the fairies later have to shout at Arindal to call him back to reality.

113. "Die Maschine, welche den Wurm darstellt, ist während des Kampfes etwas weiter in den Vordergrund gerückt worden; jetzt ist unter ihr eine neue Versenkung geöffnet, aus welcher der Sänger des Fafner durch ein schwächeres Sprachrohr singt." *Richard Wagner: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 12, no. 2, ed. Klaus Döge (Mainz: Schott, 2008), 150. Many contemporary directors have Fafner come onto the stage in his giant form at this point, emphasizing even more the Wizard-of-Oz nature of his transformation into a dragon.

114. Wagner pursued his fascination with the theatrical potential of offstage voices correlating with an onstage presence in scene 3 of *Das Rheingold*. Alberich's very first use of the Tarnhelm involves him disappearing behind a billow of steam (*Nebelsäule*) and continuing to sing as Mime physically reacts to his blows, the source of which is not seen.

115. David Levin explores Mime's attempted deceptions in detail in his *Richard Wagner, Fritz Lang, and the Nibelungen: The Dramaturgy of Disavowal* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), esp. chapter 2, 30–95.

116. The "straight" or least deceptive initial presentation of this music is Mime's "Sorglose Schmiede" in scene 3 of *Das Rheingold*, when Mime recalls his unfettered life before Alberich's transformation into a powerful and cruel tyrant—the fundamental motivation for Mime to seek revenge through the manipulation of Siegfried.

117. Gernot Gruber has noted that laughter in *Siegfried* is often tied to fatal ends and that the opera's comic dimension relies heavily on the grotesque—distortions so strange that they openly test our ability to believe in them. See his article "Das Lachen im Siegfried," in "*Schlagen Sie die Kraft der Reflexion nicht zu gering an*": Beiträge zu Richard

*Wagners Denken, Werk und Wirken*, ed. Klaus Döge, Christa Jost, and Peter Jost (Mainz: Schott, 2002), 173–81.

118. Magee, *Richard Wagner and the Nibelungs*, 122.

119. Magee, *Richard Wagner and the Nibelungs*, 118.

120. “So saug’ ich mir Leben / aus süßesten Lippen—sollt’ ich auch sterbend vergeh’n!” SSD, 6:166. The threshold that Siegfried and Arindal must overcome in order to kiss their brides is not a feature of *Snow White* (*Schneewittchen*), a fairy tale often brought into discussions of *Siegfried*. In the Grimm brothers’ version, the prince does not restore *Snow White* to consciousness with a kiss; this is a more recent variant popularized through the 1937 Walt Disney animated film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. The awkward comic nature of the scene involving Siegfried results from the fact that he is not faced by an outwardly threatening or deadly image. His response is excessive even if a sexual awakening or some anticipation of the complications of adult relationships were to be considered factors. His melodramatic air is akin to Farruscad’s in act 1, scene 5 of *La donna serpente*.

121. “Die Braut gewinnt, / Brünnhild’ erweckt / ein Feiger nie: / nur wer das Fürchten nicht kennt!” SSD, 6:151.

122. “Gestern Abend las ich Parzival den Anfang der Biographie.” This remark opens an entry in the Brown Book, the elegant notebook that Wagner had begun using on 10 August: *Das Braune Buch: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1865–1882*, Richard Wagner, ed. Joachim Bergfeld (Zurich: Atlantis Musikbuch-Verlag, 1975), 97.

123. “Der Parzival hat mich viel beschäftigt: namentlich geht mir eine eigenthümliche Schöpfung, ein wunderbar weltdämonisches Weib (die Gralsbotin) immer lebendiger und fesselnder auf. Wenn ich diese Dichtung noch einmal zu Stande bringe, müsste ich damit etwas sehr Originelles liefern.” *Richard Wagner an Mathilde Wesendonck: Tagebuchblätter und Briefe 1853–1871*, 42nd ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1908] 1913), 110.

124. “Sie wird von der Ritterschaft weniger als ein Mensch, sondern mehr wie ein seltsames, zauberhaftes Thier behandelt.” *Das Braune Buch*, 64–65.

125. Another of her qualities, her lack of memory of being in one realm when she enters another, is reminiscent of Armilla in the conclusion of Gozzi’s *Il corvo*. When Armilla is brought back to life following the working out of a curse, she has no memory of what happened while the curse was in effect. She states: “You woke me from a heavy sleep, father. Thank you. For the second time you have given me life.” This boundary of memory in the passage from one state to the other is also characteristic of Senta, and of Siegfried in *Götterdämmerung*.

126. Jean-François Condoni scratches the surface of this connection when he links the witch Dilnovaz in *Die Feen* to the character Kundry, but his claim that the latter appears as a wretched old woman—“vieille femme laide”—in acts 1 and 3 does not align with Wagner’s descriptions of Kundry in either act. See his “Le rôle de Gozzi dans la constitution de la dramaturgie wagnérienne,” in *Problemi di critica Goldoniana* (Ravenna: A. Longo Editore, 2006), 13:337.

127. In Werthes’s translation: “Mein Schicksal, Fee zu seyn, misfiel mir; ich fand das loos so grausam, das uns Feen, um uns unsterblich zu erhalten, oft und Lang in Thiere

verwandelt, und bey den Sterblichen den traurigsten Begebenheiten, und nach Jahrhunderten unendlichen Plagen uns Pries giebt" (act 2, scene 12).

128. "... stets sieht man sie nur in ihrem dunkelrothen Gewande, welches sie mit einem wunderlichen Gürtel aus Schlangenhäuten aufschürzt," *Das Braune Buch*, 57. Another possible source of inspiration could be the description of the wild Bacchantes in Euripides' *Bacchae*. They are said to fasten their fawn-skin garments with living snakes for belts.

129. "Die Schlange des Paradieses kennen Sie ja, und ihre lockende Verheissung: 'eritis sicut Deus, scientes bonum et malum.' Adam und Eva wurden 'wissend.' Sie wurden 'der Sünde sich bewusst.' An diesem Bewusstsein hatte das Menschengeschlecht zu büßen in Schmach und Elend, bis es durch Christus erlöst ward, der die Sünde der Menschheit auf sich nahm. Mein Theurer, kann ich in so tiefsinnigen Materien anders als im Gleichniss, durch Vergleichung sprechen? Den inneren Sinn kann doch nur der Hellsehende sich selbst sagen. Adam—Eva: Christus.—Wie wäre es, wenn wir zu ihnen stellten:—'Anfortas—Kundry: Parzival?' Doch mit grosser Behutsamkeit!" *König Ludwig II. und Richard Wagner: Briefwechsel*, ed. Winifred Wagner and Otto Strobel (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1936), 1:174.

130. "Ich schreite kaum,—doch wahn' ich mich schon weit." *SSD*, 10:339.

131. Sources for the Parsifal legends suggested a geographical locale at Montsalvat, in the Spanish mountains west of Barcelona, which accords with the Moorish elements of Klingsor's castle at the beginning of act 2. Ulrike Kienzle explores the geographical dimension of *Parsifal* in her article "Die heilige Topographie in Wagners *Parsifal*," *wagnerspectrum* 4 (2008): 69–89.

132. "Wie durch ein Erdbeben versinkt das Schloß; der Garten verdorrt zur Einöde." *SSD*, 10:363.

133. In Werthes's translation: "In dem er in den Pallast gehen will, entstehen Donner und Blitz, und Erdbeben. Pallast und Garten verschwinden, die erste Einöde kömmt in der grösten Dunkelheit zurück." Atypically, Wagner sought out real places as the basis for designs of both magically charged settings in *Parsifal*: Klingsor's magic garden and the Grail temple. Together with Paul von Joukowski, Wagner found inspiration in two Italian locales: Ravello and Siena, respectively.

134. Patrick Carnegy traces the influence of such traditions on Wagner's approach to the theater in Part 1 of his *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 1–132. For a discussion of growing interest in the panorama in the nineteenth century, see chapter 2 of Oliver Grau, *Virtual Art: From Illusion to Immersion*, trans. Gloria Custance (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003); originally published as *Virtuelle Kunst in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Visuelle Strategien* (Berlin: Reimer, 2001).

135. For details of the production process (and its glitches) that supported these transformations and the realization of other complex aspects of the work at its premiere, see chapter 3 of Stephan Mörsch, *Weihe, Werkstatt, Wirklichkeit: "Parsifal" in Bayreuth 1882–1933* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2009), 77–105. For an overview of the state-of-the-art technical capabilities of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus when it opened, see Carl-Friedrich Baumann, *Bühnentechnik im Festspielhaus Bayreuth* (Munich: Prestel, 1980). Also see Evan Baker's "Richard Wagner and His Search for the Ideal Theatrical Space," in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late*



*Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), 253–91.

136. Wagner remained fascinated by the possibilities of electric light. The magical nature of the effect resided in the bright unearthly quality of the light in comparison with the yellowish hue of gaslight. This was a central ingredient of the illumination of the Grail in acts 1 and 3. The other uses of focused electric light were reserved for Kundry, for her appearance to Parsifal in act 2 and her death at the end of the opera.

137. SSD, 11:16–17, 19. The opening of act 2 of *Götterdämmerung* continues this timeline, tracing from night to dawn, as Alberich surreptitiously visits his sleeping son with persuasive evil intentions.

138. “Auf ihren Wink öffnet sich ein Felsen, in einer kleinen magisch erleuchteten Grotte erblickt man einen Stein von Menschengröße.” SSD, 11:55. One can imagine Ludwig II smiling with approval at this part in the autograph while being towed about in his swan boat in the grotto at Schloss Linderhof, with its high-tech electric lighting and artificially generated waves.

139. This image of the serpent from *La donna serpente* influenced E. T. A. Hoffmann's short story *Der goldne Topf*, which Wagner knew well.

140. “In demselben Vordergrund ist ein Muttergottesbild, zu welchem ein niedriger Bergvorsprung hinaufführt.” SSD, 2:12.

141. “Kräuter und Wurzeln / findet ein Jeder sich selbst, wir lernen's im Walde vom Thier.” SSD, 10:365.

142. The tradition of miracles associated with the Eucharist influenced several versions of the Grail legends. See Richard Barber, *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 141–43. Interesting in this respect is Gozzi's treatment of magical food. A focus on basic necessities such as food is a general characteristic of some characters in the *commedia* tradition. In *La donna serpente*, the specific emphasis on food as a magical entity that appears in the desert suggests the biblical tradition of magical provisions (manna), such as that which sustained Moses and his followers in the desert.

143. Holloway. “Experiencing Music and Imagery in *Parsifal*.” In *On Music: Essays and Diversions, 1963–2003*, reprinted from the ENO Opera Guide series, edited by Nicholas John, 1986. (Brinkworth, Wilts: Claridge Press, 2003), 67.

144. “Zu ihm, daß tiefe Klagen / ich thörig staunend einst vernahm / dem nun ich Heil zu bringen / mich auserlesen wähnen darf.” SSD, 10:367. The lament Parsifal has been following is not just that of Amfortas but above all that of the Grail, as is cited in his response to Kundry's kiss in act 2.

145. Wagner's letter of 29 May 1859 to Mathilde Wesendonck contains his sharp criticism of Wolfram von Eschenbach and the question in particular: “Abenteuer an Abenteuer, giebt mit dem Gralsmotiv curiose und seltsame Vorgänge und Bilder, tappt herum und lässt dem ernst gewordenen die Frage, was er denn eigentlich wollte? Worauf er antworten muss, ja, das weiss ich eigentlich selbst nicht mehr wie der Pfaffe sein Christenthum, das er ja auch am Messaltar aufspielt, ohne zu wissen, um was es sich dabei handelt.—Es ist nicht anders. Wolfram ist eine durchaus unreife Erscheinung. . . . Das mit der ‘Frage’ ist so ganz abgeschmackt und völlig bedeutungslos.” *Richard Wagner an Mathilde Wesendonck*, 146–48.

146. CT, 15 May 1878.

147. "Wie diese Vorstellung der Feen und des Feenreiches eine Seichtigkeit in die Phantasie gebracht; die Ballett-glänzenden Kleider und die Pracht, die nur aus dem wirklichen Leben zu nehmen ist, bringen nichts zu Stand. Woher das kommen mag? Feenreiches." CT, 29 March 1878.

148. The complaint returns regarding Mendelssohn's oratorio *St. Paul* in CT, 18 January 1879: "Leichtigkeit der Form, Seichtigkeit des Inhalts."

149. In the 1850s, when Wagner envisioned Parsifal making an appearance in the third act of *Tristan und Isolde*, he sketched some musical material that is related to the descending interlocking fourths so strongly featured in the Grail scenes in *Parsifal*. Wagner composed "Komm! holder Knabe!" for the Flower Maiden scene by early February 1876, well before the libretto was complete. Alongside the sketch is the inscription: "Amerikanisch sein wollend!" (Wanting to be American!); around that time Wagner had been commissioned to write a march for the American Centennial celebration in Philadelphia. For a detailed study of the evolution of the music for *Parsifal*, see William Kinderman, "The Genesis of the Music," in *A Companion to Wagner's "Parsifal,"* ed. William Kinderman and Katherine R. Syer (Rochester, NY: Camden House/Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 133–75.

150. In *Parsifal*, Wagner stressed the pervasiveness of dark supernatural forces through motivic inflection, and the dissonant transformation of thematic materials associated with the Grail realm. William Kinderman explores this strategy in his "Dramatic Recapitulation and Tonal Pairing in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* and *Parsifal*," in *The Second Practice of Nineteenth-Century Tonality*, ed. William Kinderman and Harald Krebs (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 178–214.

151. The details of the events of these days are drawn from CT.

152. Letter of 24 December 1865: "Ein innig werthes Kleinod ist mir die Partitur der 'Feen'; kann ich Ihnen genug für dieselbe danken." *König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 1936–39), 252.

153. The poems were also sent to Ludwig. See *König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner*, 213–14.

154. *König Ludwig II und Richard Wagner*, 179.

# Musical Assimilation and “the German Element” at the Cincinnati Sängerbund, 1879

Karen Ahlquist

In June 1879, Cincinnati, Ohio, heard its first performance of the five-year-old Verdi Requiem. Held in the pride of the city, the new Music Hall, the concert featured professional soloists and orchestra and a mixed chorus of almost four hundred singers. The concert's structure and ambiance was modeled after that of the city's newly established and successful May Festival. But the producing organization was not the elite-run May Musical Festival Association, and the conductor was not its music director, Theodore Thomas. Rather, the performance highlighted a festival of the German *Nordamerikanische Sängerbund*, and the conductor was a local leader of German male choirs, Carl Barus.

The Sängerbund was a Midwest federation of male choruses founded in Cincinnati in 1849, which organized a biennial Sängerbund (singers' festival), gathering choruses to a host city every other June. During each event, local organizers vied to outdo their predecessors in hospitality to visiting singers, performance quality, decorations, and entertainment throughout the week. Although music professionals were essential to the festival's success, large committees drawn from the member choruses in the host city provided the leadership, organization, decision-making, and hard work all equally necessary to pulling it off.

By choosing Cincinnati, the Sängerbund competed with the May Festival, which was founded in 1873 and held again in 1875 and 1878.<sup>1</sup> Local German singers had sung in the May Festival's concerts, and its structure of seven formal programs was well known in the city. Nevertheless, in presenting the 1879 Sängerbund, Cincinnati's largest immigrant group wanted to put on an explicitly *German* musical event, even while inviting English-speakers to participate and attend. Thus the Sängerbund would expose tensions and necessitate compromises on a wide range of questions between the “American” community, whose

leaders ran the May Festival, and Cincinnati's prominent German population—its “German element.” The Germans’ activities and statements on important social and musical issues helped them hold the May Festival's influence in check, define the word “festival” on their own terms, and set themselves apart from their Anglo neighbors.

This essay uses the 1879 Sangerfest to uncover, at least in part, the complex nature of European influence on American musical life in the post-Civil War era. By asking why a male choral organization seeking to promote German culture in the United States would present a large *mixed* chorus work by an *Italian* composer, the essay explores questions of repertoire choice for large, high-profile artistic events. More broadly, an examination of the features of the Sangerfest shows how language, religion, beliefs about the purpose of public culture, and assertions of ownership of cultural tradition each played a part in debates over the character and acceptability of the Bund's huge effort.

These debates offer an opportunity to rethink important aspects of Western art music in the nineteenth-century United States. In his influential book *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, historian Lawrence Levine has posited a process he has called “sacralization of culture” as an ideology of idealism and reverent social ambiance for high culture in the United States, which he linked with the formation of a socioeconomic upper class. In related work, sociologist Paul DiMaggio located institutional and financial support of formal artistic efforts to motivations of exclusiveness.<sup>2</sup> In fact, art music in the United States today is by many routinely referred to as *elite*.<sup>3</sup> These scholars did not discuss ethnicity, and it was probably self-evident to them that the elites they discussed were Anglo-American. Certainly, most of the Cincinnati May Festival leadership was of English heritage, and the best-known narratives of Cincinnati's cultural development are centered on institutions that they established. Nonetheless, ethnicity played a part in the social process of establishing Cincinnati as a musical city: with so many German-American musicians—both professional and nonprofessional—active in the nineteenth-century United States, the Cincinnati experience helps create a space for “ethnicity” in the understanding of European music's place in American life.

And so I would like to consider the 1879 Sangerfest as the Germans themselves did (that is, as a representation of a national or ethnic group—an approach I see as historically appropriate). The study of “German influence” in cities such as Cincinnati calls attention not only to composers with German last names, or even well-known German-American musical leaders such as conductor Theodore Thomas, but to ordinary Germans and German-Americans as well. Historian Kathleen Conzen argues that this “ethnic” designation, which



is rarely applied today to Americans of northern and western European heritage, served them well. In particular, she shows how festive culture—"parades, mass assemblies, and ritual performances that were so central a part of the German-American definition of celebration"—helped create the idea of the ethnic group in a nascent pluralistic society. Through musical events such as the *Sängerfest*, the Cincinnati Germans could attract attention and proclaim cultural uniqueness and parity with the Anglo population. The choices they made putting the festival together musically and socially helped them mark boundaries between what Conzen calls their "core" ethnic identity and commonalities with the surrounding population.<sup>4</sup>

Drawing on the work of Conzen and others, Russell Kazal explores the erosion of German ethnicity from the 1890s (as he notes, well before the anti-German backlash of World War I) in favor of a generic white identity divided between "old stock" and "ethnic" groups. As he demonstrates, German-Americans were members of both groups, distinguished from each other by religion and class.<sup>5</sup> Works by authors such as Conzen and Kazal emphasize the clear identity that this immigrant population and its descendents aimed to present to American society. Their studies also temper the idea of assimilation (to an Anglo-based "American" norm) as an inevitable product of generation change. Instead of assuming the inevitability of cultural shifts, these authors present change as a dynamic process whose pace depends equally on outside influence and actions of the immigrant group itself. Festivals such as the 1879 *Sängerfest* show the complexities of that process at work.

As Cincinnati's largest immigrant community, the Germans had the clout to resist Anglo expectations and put their assessment of American society into action. Widespread beliefs about Germans as "the people of music" gave them a label they were astute enough to exploit. Thus their story contributes to an understanding of what is often called "cultural capital." Not the stereotypical "tired and poor" struggling to survive, Cincinnati's German-American citizens of the 1870s included energetic workers and thinkers with a strong sense of their ability to serve their new country. Their understanding of culture included artistic expression but was not limited to it. Distinguishing themselves from English-speaking community leaders who aspired to a sacralized concert life, they used music to shape, assert, defend, and celebrate cultural difference on their own terms.

The work behind the *Sängerfest*, contributed by German bakers, bankers, blacksmiths, brewers, construction workers, homemakers, journalists, merchants, musicians, religious leaders, shoemakers, tanners,

teachers, woodworkers, and others, reminds us that no repertoire is sustained without effort.<sup>6</sup> Hence, Cincinnati's Germans expand our thinking about who counts as a historical agent. Endeavors such as this one show the performing arts as widely practiced, culturally embedded, and sometimes central to a society's understanding of itself. The historical agency of both the German- and English-speaking communities, in the form of disputes on the meaning of the European musical legacy and its appropriate social setting, helps us reassess the musical and social underpinnings of the European tradition in the United States.

And finally, with this study I want to consider the music listed in the festival's programs irrespective of its contribution (or lack thereof) to canon formation in American musical life. Understanding the growth of German-centered art music in the United States has been tied to symphony orchestras and their music. As tables 2 and 3 in this essay show, however, the Cincinnati Germans had a broader agenda: to perpetuate a range of music, much of it new, to be highlighted, understood, respected, and enjoyed on a variety of terms. Through the festival repertoire, one can start to understand the scope, nature, and limits of "German influence" on American musical life.

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From the late eighteenth century, cultural nationalism had been growing among the educated—the *Bildungsbürger*—throughout German-speaking Europe. One of its best-known spokesmen, philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), based his notion of culture on a language-oriented concept of *das Volk*, the people; as Herder himself wrote, "Unless we have a *Volk*, we lack also a public, a nation, a language, and a literature."<sup>7</sup> From the mid-eighteenth century, however, German literary culture began to incorporate an understanding of the musician's role in shaping a German nation.<sup>8</sup> But as Celia Applegate argues, it remained for the nineteenth century to win for music "a secure place among those who championed Germany's cultural integrity," a landmark reached with Felix Mendelssohn's 1829 performance of Bach's *Matthew Passion*.<sup>9</sup> Over the course of the century, musical amateurs (in Applegate's example, Berlin choral singers), along with journalists and other writers, fostered the notion that being German could be recognized through music—indeed, that "the Nation could in fact be performed."<sup>10</sup> German immigration and colonization spread this argument worldwide; by the unification of 1871, Germans were seen internationally as the "people of music," a label due only in part to their famous composers. Efforts of concert organizers, musicians, critics, historians, and educators, among others, promoted German music in private and public settings and

linked the idea of high musical quality with German depth of character, history, and aesthetic value.<sup>11</sup>

A German national culture via music making and canon formation could not be realized in the United States. Simply put, Herder's idea of in-the-soil national identity could not work in polyglot American society. Nevertheless, by the mid-nineteenth century some pieces of this ideology were crossing the Atlantic, brought by immigrant musicians, amateur and professional alike. Moreover, regular communication and home ties between Germans in the United States and those in the Fatherland helped create "islands of Germanness" on foreign soil, and the German government continued to regard emigrants as its citizens.<sup>12</sup> With such a degree of old-country cultural maintenance, Germans in cities such as Cincinnati were likely to understand music on their own national terms. At a time of political contention in Germany itself, musical contributions could help German emigrants negotiate between their heritage and American society.

The German musical tradition was obviously more accessible and attractive as a marker of German identity than language or literature. In this way, music could help create an American culture at large that incorporated important aspects of German heritage. By the 1850s, music also helped Germans foster a sense of superiority that included social as well as cultural elements that they could use as "civilizers" of their new homeland. As a German-American writer argued in 1873, "German music takes soul and feeling; the American has neither. The American is too 'fast' to experience music as anything other than a harmless pastime."<sup>13</sup>

The possibility of such German domination was quite real in some areas, for Germans settled in large numbers in the East and Midwest.<sup>14</sup> With almost 30 percent of its population German-born, by 1860 Cincinnati had become known, along with Milwaukee and St. Louis, as a third point of the "German triangle." The city's next largest immigrant group, the Irish, was half its size at about 14 percent. As the century progressed and Cincinnati grew, the percentage of foreign-born declined. The "German element," however, remained the largest percentage through the end of the century—by 1890, 57.4 percent of Cincinnatians were of German birth or descent.<sup>15</sup>

The Germans brought their language, social traditions, old-country local differences and disputes, music, and beer. In doing so, they changed the face of Cincinnati's economy, society, and culture.<sup>16</sup> German was a strong second language throughout the nineteenth century, taught in the public schools (including elementary schools) until 1918.<sup>17</sup> Performance programs were sometimes bilingual; the press provided overnight translations of public speeches; crossover vocabulary dotted the newspapers,



especially in advertising, and an occasional article even appeared in the opposite language press. Belief in a culture's embeddedness in language was strong in some circles, and groups like Heinrich Rattermann's influential German literary club and journal, *Der deutsche Pionier*, promoted German-American writing as a source of an ongoing German contribution to American (presented as increasingly Germanified) cultural life.<sup>18</sup> Cincinnati even had its own diplomat, Carl Adae, consul for several German states, international banker, and board member of the Cincinnati May Festival. As historian Corinna Hörst puts it, "While Cincinnati was never a *German* city, it certainly included multiple German elements which occasionally remained separate from the city's native-born or Anglo-Saxon constituency and at other times were woven into or even identified as part of the city's mainstream."<sup>19</sup>

This separate-but-linked character of Cincinnati's German-American history can be seen in the city's developing musical life. Central to that life was the male chorus, a pillar of pre-1848 musical nationalism that had spawned regional organizations and festivals throughout German-speaking Europe. The German male chorus tradition was known for its social customs, often centered in halls built for rehearsals, concerts, dances, communal meals, sports and games, reading, conversation, and, of course, drink. Nonsinging "passive" members—male and female both—could take advantage of the social opportunities. And in fact, the line between a singing society and a nonmusical group could be thin; the gymnastic societies (*Turnvereine*) in particular often had choruses, and in 1868, the Cincinnati Männerchor absorbed a "reading and cultivation society" (*Lese- und Bildungsverein*), acquiring its membership, library, and debts.<sup>20</sup> Nonsinging members formed the audience for in-house concerts and were an important source of revenue for the groups' programs. The choruses sponsored social events such as the five balls advertised for the night before Ash Wednesday in 1875.<sup>21</sup> And finally, they were not always male. Because some of its members took an interest in amateur opera performances, the Cincinnati Männerchor accepted women in 1860 and, in 1873, absorbed the mixed chorus Cäcilien Verein, acquiring with its singers a piano and a music library.<sup>22</sup>

As in Germany, male chorus repertoire traditionally consisted of a cappella strophic songs by composers from German-speaking Europe, including the prolific Franz Abt, Johann Herbeck, Karl Zöllner, and Robert Schumann (for examples, see table 2). Concerts, however, often also included solo vocal and instrumental performances ranging from sonatas and operatic arias to popular songs of the time. Finally, festival performances featured visiting choruses individually (sometimes in



competition) and also presented pieces for the assembled singers together.

Long viewed as pillars of German life and community, these groups offered members a social-musical link far beyond anything American choruses needed or aspired to supply. They allowed immigrants to bond as Germans in their new country, irrespective of barriers such as religion, regional origin, social status, education, or occupation. (And in fact, evidence exists that male choral culture in Germany itself helped overcome otherwise intractable religious differences.<sup>23</sup>) In the United States, the choral groups and their musical displays in public allowed singers and their associates to present a carefully shaped German identity, both for the outside population and for their own enjoyment.<sup>24</sup>

With the German unification completed in 1871, however, immigrants such as these singers began to modify their notions of "Germanness" in American society. Although they overwhelmingly welcomed the Franco-Prussian War, which united the country politically, the Prussian-based, authoritarian leadership of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck was less popular, especially as it unfolded its policies. Friedrich Hecker (1811–81), a prominent veteran of the 1848 revolution and the American Civil War, noted in a victory speech that the new constitution had no bill of rights and no salary provision for legislators, thereby limiting seats in parliament to the wealthy. Other commentators decried the extent of police power, the lack of a free press, conscription, anti-socialist laws, and Jew-baiting in Bismarck's empire.<sup>25</sup>

Thus German-Americans increasingly distinguished between political loyalty and cultural tradition, and many a German male chorus member was also an American patriot. In Pittsburgh, a chorus required applicants for membership to hold immigration papers; and full members who were not on their way to becoming U.S. citizens would be cut from the group.<sup>26</sup> In Cincinnati, *Sängerfest* leaders invited Ohio governor Rutherford B. Hayes to speak at the opening ceremony in 1870. He accepted the invitation. The conflict between the embrace of American political principles and the belief in German superiority in important areas of social and cultural life affected debates on the value of assimilation to American norms, which had long been topics in the burgeoning German-American press.

The German singers maintained that their musical contribution to the United States incorporated its supporting social framework and insisted that a performance was not just about "the music itself." In an opening ceremony speech at the 1870 Cincinnati *Sängerfest*, rabbi Max Lilienthal (who shared the stage with Governor Hayes) asserted that "union and fraternity—twin children of music" could overcome "narrow-

hearted nationalism” to create festivals in service of social, artistic, and political goals. He considered the goals—and the Germans’ gift—part of a fair trade: “For liberty, which you gave us, we give you art; for equality, which honors us alike, we return sociability, by which we know and love one another.” By connecting social and musical aspects of the festival, he asserted, Germans could offer their “priceless boon” of music, so that “the old fatherland may also contribute its share to the greatness of Columbia.”<sup>27</sup>

These social and musical connections informed the 1879 festival’s structure, activities, and presentation in the local German press. By surpassing the quality of the previous festivals, this one would “bring not only the local *Deutschtum* but the entire *Deutschtum* of the United States to high honor, raising the level of respect they receive in the eyes of the native-born to a not inconsiderable degree.” In doing so, it would increase the love of music and singing, foster sociability, undermine prejudice, spark German versus American choral competition, promote festivals as important disseminators of a love of music, and make *Sängerfests* regular events—“monuments to the Grand and True, which our *Deutschtum* has transplanted from the old Fatherland to its new home.”<sup>28</sup>

Such ideas refer not only to the idea of German musical superiority but also to quite specific beliefs about their social contribution to American life. Sunday social activities and beer consumption, integrated into the lives of most Germans, helped a society balance work and leisure in ways many of them thought Anglo-Americans did not. German immigrant men sometimes asserted that overly pious American women denied their husbands the pleasures of drinking and smoking.<sup>29</sup> And despite the six-day workweek standard at the time, English-speakers often objected to Germans taking their pleasure on Sunday at the expense of rest and Christian observance. “The principle that Christianity is part of the common law is fast disappearing wherever they [the Germans] settle,” wrote a commentator in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Equally contentious was the German reputation for overconsumption of alcoholic beverages, especially beer.<sup>30</sup> In the antebellum period, Cincinnati had become the center of the area’s drink trade and, conversely, of its temperance movement. But with the German population dominating political wards in the “Over-the-Rhine” district by 1850 and brewing becoming one of the city’s major industries, legal questions surrounding the sale and consumption of beer affected local political life.<sup>31</sup>

These social and religious issues influenced Cincinnati’s musical culture and repertoire in the 1870s and had an effect on the German festival in particular. In short, traditional practices began to change. In Germany, a *Sängerfest* had been a large gathering of male choruses

who sang secular music, often a cappella, and sometimes politically oriented music in a show of unity across political and cultural boundaries. It rarely featured music from the art repertoire, and nothing was meant to illustrate German musical superiority.<sup>32</sup> But in the United States, the German population had no need for such politically oriented events, and festivals originally designed to gather singers from a wide geographical area began to assert purely musical values, offering formal concerts of mixed chorus music along with its traditional songs. In places ranging from New York City to towns in Texas, programs after 1865 began to include overtures, music for soloists and orchestra, or large works such as oratorios. The orchestras ranged from amateur "pickup" groups to professional ensembles and some of the most famous singers performed.<sup>33</sup> In all cases, however, male choral music appeared on *Sängerfest* programs, and a *Sängerbund* managed the festival. In this way, the German male choruses kept organizational and social structures intact, even as they offered activities and music aimed at the English-speaking population and created performance opportunities for female singers.

The Nordamerikanische *Sängerbund* was one of several American manifestations of the German male chorus phenomenon. As the festival movement in Germany reached its climax in 1848, the first Cincinnati male chorus festival was held in 1849. Featuring three local groups and choruses from Louisville, Kentucky, and Madison, Indiana, it inspired the founding of the *Sängerbund*.<sup>34</sup> Subsequent *Sängerbund* festivals were held in Cincinnati in 1851, 1853, 1856, and 1870. The 1870 *Sängerfest* was particularly large and successful. It attracted an English- as well as German-speaking audience, thousands of visitors, and national press attention. It was identified as the inspiration behind the May Festival, which was first held in 1873 (table 1). Equally important, it inspired the building of a large performance space, the *Sängerhalle*, subsequently used for industrial expositions and the first two May Festivals.<sup>35</sup>

Led by the Cincinnati Musical Festival Association (CMFA), a self-appointed committee of socially well-placed and civic-minded Cincinnatians, the May Festival departed significantly from the *Sängerfest* model. Essentially a concentrated week of concerts, it aimed to "elevate the standard of Choral and Instrumental Music, and to bring about harmony of action between the Music Societies of this country and especially of the West."<sup>36</sup> To that end, early May Festival programs featured works by well-known composers both living and dead, such as Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Liszt, along with local premieres of music by composers such as Bach and Gluck and opera excerpts by Mozart and—especially—Wagner. The festival association acquired as music director the formidable German-American conductor Theodore

Table 1.    A Decade of Festivals, 1870–80

Date	Name	Number in its own festival sequence	City
1870	Sängerfest of the Nordamerikanische Sängerbund	17	Cincinnati
1872	Sängerfest	18	St. Louis
1873	May Festival	1	Cincinnati
1874	Sängerfest	19	Cleveland
1875	May Festival	2	Cincinnati
1877	Sängerfest	20	Louisville
1878	May Festival	3	Cincinnati
1879	Sängerfest	21	Cincinnati
1880	May Festival	4	Cincinnati

Thomas, who had been touring nationally with his professional orchestra, introducing small towns and cities to the idea of “great music,” the respect to which it was entitled, and the power of the orchestra itself.<sup>37</sup> German though he was, Thomas was no friend of the *Sängerfest*. Rather, as a self-proclaimed canonizer, he helped establish many of the nuances of taste that distinguished degrees of worthiness among individual pieces and styles. As he explained to the May Festival leadership, “I wish the evening pieces to be pure and clean without being heavy [and] principally made up from standard works of our great masters. Those for the matinees as light as good taste will allow.”<sup>38</sup> Thus, for example, the first May Festival offered excerpts from Gluck’s *Orfeo* in the evening and Meyerbeer’s *Étoile du nord* and *Dinorah* in the afternoon. No music by Verdi was heard on any evening concert before 1879.

Although under Anglo-American leadership, the first three May Festivals made use of German singers, both local and out-of-town, who performed together with English-speakers. A well-regarded German-born conductor, Otto Singer, prepared the chorus for Thomas. The Thomas Orchestra, which performed instrumental works and accompanied the chorus, was supplemented with local players. A few local soloists, both English and German, shared the stage with distinguished outsiders such as Annie Louise Cary. The festival week ended with an informal concert on Saturday afternoon; unlike the German festivals, the May Festival offered no Sunday events. Nor was alcohol sold at the concert hall, as had been done at the 1870 *Sängerfest*.

The May Festival offered musically aware Germans a local model they would be hard pressed to ignore, and the *Sängerbund* began to



rethink its own practice. With 1,600 singers, its 1874 Sngerfest in Cleveland was reported an artistic failure. In its wake, the Bund decided to exclude choruses of fewer than twelve members, require certification of competence from participating choruses, and add works for mixed voices to its programs. By 1877, the Bund commented that its Louisville festival was "really the first musical festival the 'Saengerbund' ever had."<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the German press asserted in 1879 that the Fest would equal or exceed the musical achievements of the city's three May Festivals.<sup>40</sup> Under Cincinnati's Carl Barus, who had conducted some of the Louisville programs, the 1879 event was poised to meet raised expectations on the path the May Festival had already established.<sup>41</sup>

The changes attracted the attention of the English-language press. Recognizing that a Sngerfest would have its social aspects, writers nevertheless emphasized a shift in the balance between musical and social expectations. On the ambitious program, an editorial writer remarked, "[The 1870 Sngerfest] was an assembly of friends who sang. Now it is an assembly of singers who are friends."<sup>42</sup> The Germans worked hard on both sides of the equation, mixing new and difficult music with important elements of the German idea of a festival. In doing so, they achieved a major goal—to attract the attention of the city's population as a whole and direct that attention onto the character and capacities of German America—indeed, to claim the city's Germans as worthy participants in Cincinnati's march toward musical distinction. Much of the English commentary at the outset suggests that Anglo Cincinnati marched with them.<sup>43</sup>

As in 1870, the festival week began with a Wednesday afternoon procession and ended with a Sunday picnic. The opening parade offers an idea of the scope of the festival and the excitement it generated. It wound through streets of homes and business and public buildings lavishly decorated voluntarily (or at the expense of the Sngerbund or the public) and ended under an arch leading to the concert site, Music Hall, itself festooned with a nineteen-by-twenty-four-foot American flag. The parade was enormous: one report assessed it as three miles long.<sup>44</sup> Spectators saw choruses, the police and national guard, the fire department with its trucks, regiments of Civil War veterans, and veterans of the German military, each group behind its colorful banner. There were bands, some costumed and one on horseback; workers', social, and benevolent societies; a brewery wagon offering free beer; horse-drawn wagon floats, one of which showed characters from Wagner's operas; clubs and lodges from out of town; occupational groups; German aid societies; diplomats; local dignitaries; festival conductors and committee members; "a van of Teutons in *Tracht* [traditional costume]"; "the good

ship Reuben Springer" (a fifty-foot ornamental ship named for Music Hall's chief donor); at least one costumed dog; and a line of advertising wagons at the end.<sup>45</sup> Two women on wagons depicted Germania and America, while other women were seen in carriages. But only men marched, "of course."<sup>46</sup> The public schools, county government, and (on the mayor's recommendation) most businesses were closed. A newspaper claimed the next day that a half million people had been present.<sup>47</sup> The descriptions of the event suggest that the claim may have been reasonable.

The Sunday picnic was preceded by a smaller morning parade to the picnic grounds. Like Wednesday's advertising wagons, the picnic—actually a carnival with music, speeches, games, dancing, illumination of the grounds, and fireworks—added to the festival's bottom line. Individual vendors bid at an auction for the privilege of setting up attractions such as shooting galleries, a wheel of fortune, and concession stands offering wurst, pretzels, cigars, peanuts, and ice cream, among other enterprises. Fees ranged from five dollars for a balloon stand to six hundred dollars for the most expensive (and presumably the largest) of the picnic's fourteen bars.<sup>48</sup>

Central to the German tradition was an invitation to visiting singers and the hosting of guests: the festival comprised forty-six choruses from fourteen towns and cities, including twenty-one local groups. St. Louis, for example, sent five choruses and a band. All of the visiting performers were male except the lead soprano soloist and the female members of mixed choruses from Indianapolis and Louisville. Hospitality was paramount: the singers were welcomed, housed, fed, and entertained as guests of their Cincinnati hosts. They received free tickets to the Sunday picnic and free admission to rehearsals and concerts.<sup>49</sup> The German press listed each chorus's *Lokal*, a restaurant, bar, or beer garden where its members could be found by friends and *Sängerbrüder*.<sup>50</sup> The visiting Germans were invited to "Kommers," parties given usually by local choral groups but occasionally by out-of-town choruses as well. These events featured tableaux vivants, comic speeches, concerts, *Tafelmusik*, musical jokes, toasts, dancing, and of course, food and drink.<sup>51</sup> Women were provided for: the mixed chorus of the Cincinnati Männerchor invited the mixed Louisville and Indianapolis groups to a Kommers, while the mixed Cincinnati Orpheus hosted them on a boat trip.<sup>52</sup> Three local Swiss societies gave a celebration in honor of Swiss visitors. The city offered demonstrations of its new fire trucks and rescue equipment. Tourist excursions, boat tours, and free late-afternoon and evening concerts and serenades (some by visiting choruses and bands) were also given.<sup>53</sup> Cincinnati was jammed.

Although such activities helped create a festival as such, however, the *Sängerfest* was presented first and most prominently as a musical event. Relative to its population, Cincinnati's musical resources were ample, and many of them came from the German community. These resources allowed organizers to set out a hefty program with a reasonable expectation of pulling it off. Among the festival's organizers were conductors and their choruses. Festival music director Carl Barus, a former conductor of the English-speaking Harmonic Society and the Cincinnati Männerchor, was in 1879 conductor of both the all-male and the mixed Orpheus choruses, and the all-male Druiden Sängerchor. Otto Singer was choral director for the May Festival and conducted the Harmonic Society and the all-male and mixed Cincinnati Männerchor choirs. The German choruses were members of a new organization, the Cincinnati Sängerbund, founded after the Louisville festival to study the mixed chorus music for the current event, thus creating a local base of 378 singers.<sup>54</sup> Another local conductor, Wilhelm Ekert, visited Louisville and Indianapolis to assess the preparation of the visiting choruses from these cities.<sup>55</sup> And in an important change, all four evening concerts included music for both male and mixed choruses.

With this strategy, the city's German choruses could reasonably hope to succeed with large and challenging works, exactly the way the May Festival had begun to do. This goal was a change even from the 1877 *Sängerfest*, which included no full-program compositions.<sup>56</sup> Further, the smaller visiting male choruses' skills were not overtaxed, for most of them sang only in the Thursday and Saturday concerts. The choruses were provided copies of the repertoire, published locally by John Church and bound in festival program order. They were also required to send reports to assure the festival leadership that the singers were making adequate progress learning the joint compositions. The reports were published in the German press.<sup>57</sup> The social welcome, appropriate musical challenges, and prefestival preparation promoted success on both social and musical terms.

The German community's orchestral resources were likewise ample. An orchestra performed all seven festival concerts, four of which included one or more pieces for orchestra alone. Festival music director Barus had conducted the professional Cincinnati Philharmonic, which ceased operations in 1872 when a new group, under an American-born cellist, Michael Brand (1843–1906), formed under the name Cincinnati Grand Orchestra.<sup>58</sup> This group had performed the children's concert at the 1873 May Festival, other concerts and festivals, and informal entertainment events. It formed the nucleus of the *Sängerfest* orchestra (and eventually the Cincinnati Symphony). But it had been largely rejected



by the May Festival in favor of Theodore Thomas and his traveling orchestra, at Thomas's request.<sup>59</sup>

Soloists were also among the key festival performers and were chosen with audience appeal in mind. The lead soprano was Dresden opera singer Melita Otto-Alvsleben (1842–93), who came from Europe for the festival. However, four other female singers, all Cincinnati-born, professionally trained, and well known to local audiences, performed solos of their own and solo parts in the choral pieces. The press saw all of them as sources of local pride. The four male soloists—two tenors, a baritone, and a bass—were all visitors. All four had performed at the May Festival; thus, like the local women, they were well known in the city. While specific reasons for the repertoire choices are not known, a look at the two repertoire tables (tables 2 and 3) suggests links between this large number of soloists and the large number of pieces with solo parts. The repertoire also suggests an interest in hearing contemporary singing styles, especially dramatic parts for women in the works by Verdi, Wagner, and Gade.

The Fest took on the May Festival's seven-event pattern—four evening concerts and three matinees running from Wednesday to Saturday evening. Unlike at the May Festival, however, the matinees featured soloists and orchestra only—no chorus. This plan allowed for more choral rehearsal time if needed, while also permitting singers to enjoy their usual Sängerbund activities or go to a daytime concert. The first program was the traditional ceremonial reception concert with speeches and the passing of the Bund banner from the Louisville president to his Cincinnati successor. The chorus, however, consisted not of the usual local male choruses performing together, but of a “body of gray bearded men,” the Pioneer Singers of Cincinnati.<sup>60</sup> Made up of men who had sung in festivals for at least twenty-five years, the chorus was organized “for the especial purpose to recall into memory the old festivals of the Sängerbund.”<sup>61</sup> It sang small works by Abt (or Otto) and Zöllner (table 2).

New since 1870 was the second part of the evening: a complete performance, in German, of Mendelssohn's oratorio *St. Paul*—the first large, mixed choral work given at a Sängerbund. The Germans did not sing alone, however. In what was probably also a Sängerbund first, sixty-three members of the largely Anglo Harmonic Society (whose president, George Ward Nichols, was also the May Festival chairman) sang the oratorio with the festival chorus.<sup>62</sup>

*St. Paul* was the Sängerbund's link with what many Germans considered “their” oratorio tradition. Exemplified in the United States by works of Handel and Mendelssohn, among others, the oratorio genre



Table 2. Male Chorus Music Sung at the Cincinnati Sängerfest, 1879

Composer	Title	Additional performing forces
Franz Abt (1819–85)	"Fahnenlied"* [possibly by Julius Ottol]	None
Ferdinand Hiller (1811–85)	<i>Oster Morgen</i>	Soprano solo, orchestra
F. Joetze or Hermann Goetz (1840–76) <sup>a</sup>	"Flieg aus, mein Lied"	None
Ferdinand Möhring (1816–87)	<i>Deutscher Krieger Schwur und Gebet</i>	TTBB solos (baritone principal), orchestra
Robert Schumann (1810–56)	<i>Das Glück von Edenhall</i> (1853)	Tenor and bass solos, orchestra
Friedrich Wilhelm Tschirch (1818–92) <sup>b</sup>	"Gott, Vaterland, Liebe" (1858)	TTBB solos
Karl Zöllner (1800–60)	"Sängergruss"*	None

These works were sung at the reception concert and the three other evening performances. Pieces sung by individual choruses at the closing concert on Saturday are not listed. Works marked with an asterisk were sung by the Pioneer Singers of Cincinnati, the others by the assembled male singers. All pieces include TTBB choral parts.

<sup>a</sup>Goetz's biography is given in the *Abend-Post*, 9 June 1879, 4. He published at least one set of male choruses. See Matthias Wiegandt, "Goetz, Hermann [Gustav]," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil* vol. 7, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), cols. 1214–17. All other Cincinnati sources write "Joetze," a name not otherwise found.

<sup>b</sup>Tschirch was a guest at male choral festivals in the United States and wrote a book, *Meine Reise nach Amerika* (Magdeburg, 1870).

Table 3.    Other Choral Music Sung at the Cincinnati Sängerfest, 1879

Title	Composer	Additional performing forces	Performance language
<i>Die Kreuzfahrer</i> [Danish: <i>Korsfarene</i> ] (1865–66)	Niels Gade (1817–90)	Mezzo-soprano, tenor	German
<i>Die Königin von Saba</i> (1871), grand march <sup>a</sup>	Karl Goldmark (1830–1915)	[orchestra only]	German
<i>St. Paul</i> (1836)	Felix Mendelssohn (1809–47)	SATB soloists	German
“ <i>Einer Entschlafenen</i> ” (1873)	Joachim Raff (1822–82)	Soprano	German
<i>Das verlorene Paradies</i> (1855–56), part II (of 3)	Anton Rubinstein (1829–94)	Soprano, tenor, bass soloists	German
<i>Requiem</i> (1874)	Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901)	SATB soloists	Latin
<i>Der fliegende Holländer</i> (1841), Spinning Song	Richard Wagner (1813–83)	Mezzo-soprano, chorus of women only	German

These works were sung at the four evening festival concerts: the reception concert, and the three formal performances. All include mixed chorus and orchestra unless otherwise noted.

<sup>a</sup>The first full performance took place in 1875, and the work was published in 1876.

was perhaps the most obvious musical "gift" the Germans could offer English-speaking Americans. The latter had, however, been performing from this repertoire for decades.<sup>63</sup> Including *St. Paul* in what had been a speech-dominated ceremony punctuated with short musical interludes gave the festival a chance to demonstrate its respect for "serious" music. In doing so, the Sängerbund made an important statement about its changing priorities and offered a performance English-speakers could see as appropriate and perhaps even appealing.

With the first main concert, however, the Bund brought the Fatherland to the fore. In contrast to the mellow, reflective Mendelssohn work, Thursday's concert offered patriotic texts set to stirring music by composers who some of the Germans and most of the English-speakers in the audience would not have known. As a German reviewer remarked, the program was a big change from a well-known work such as *St. Paul*, but it offered enough variety to suit all tastes.<sup>64</sup> The a cappella pieces were in the traditional male chorus style—largely homorhythmic in texture, tonal with chromatic inflection, and emotionally clear. The Goetz, Möhring, and Tschirch works celebrated the German warrior, flag, language, religious feeling, and music in a nationalistic style. The rest of the Thursday program featured religious themes: Easter and the Creation (Hiller and Rubinstein, respectively; tables 2 and 3).

It is easy to critique the festival music of the lesser-known composers and make assumptions about the pieces individual choruses sang at the Saturday concert. Although their most expected fault—exaggerated chromatic inflection—occurs occasionally, failures of taste are, in fact, relatively rare.<sup>65</sup> More common faults by today's standards are structural: excesses of cadential formula relative to the size of a piece, especially at section endings that can come across as unnecessarily long and bombastic. And indeed, some works seem to attempt to extend simple material (in the manner of Beethoven perhaps) beyond its capacity to create genuine development rather than mere spinning out. Nevertheless, except for three a cappella strophic songs, all of the works are through-composed concert pieces, emotionally and rhetorically appropriate and stylistically au courant for German music at a time of transition.<sup>66</sup>

A good example of this repertoire is Ferdinand Möhring's *Deutscher Krieger Schwur und Gebet* (German Warriors' Oath and Prayer). One of many works of art created around the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the piece, which was performed twice at the 1879 Sängerfest, impressed audiences with its dramatic use of the current idiom.<sup>67</sup> Identified in the festival program as a "*characteristische Tongemälde*" (characteristic tone painting) and essentially a dramatic cantata, it probably ran about twelve minutes in performance. The work is in two main sections—the oath and

the prayer—each subdivided into smaller units alternating between the soldiers (the chorus) and their officer (the baritone soloist).<sup>68</sup> One can well imagine it opening a staged opera on the Franco-Prussian War from the German perspective: the soldiers (around a campfire) raise their glasses to the enemy's defeat, the officer drinks to the enemy's death, the soldiers swear their oath, the officer calls them to prayer, and they pray. The solo parts include lyric melody and recitative, and the prayer is in chorale style, either a cappella or with a patterned orchestral accompaniment in the manner of Mendelssohn. The three-verse oath stands at the center of the scene (ex. 1). Each verse is in two parts: an expansive *alla breve con fuoco* in minor, which depicts the wrath of the Germans against the French (mm. 1–28), and the oath itself (mm. 29–45), in the parallel major, *grandioso*. In the latter, military motives (dotted rhythms in march tempo and a trumpet figure in triplets) lead to and incorporate the repeated central text, “*Wir haben geschworen*” (We have sworn).

By 1879 the Franco-Prussian War was long over. However, German-speakers in the festival audience (and the singers who had learned the music) would understand and appreciate the piece's militarism and political appeal. Irrespective of politics, it also had the capacity to thrill anyone who heard it. As the first festival piece sung by the full male chorus, it thrilled the audience, inspiring comments even in the English press on “the solid body of tone which rolled forth from the chorus” that “seemed to shake the very walls. . . . It was a grand thing to hear.”<sup>69</sup>

In its dramatic content, the *Warriors' Oath* was typical of the *Sängerfest*. Whether for male, mixed, or female chorus, all of the through-composed pieces offered a balance between artistic complexity and popular appeal. Like Möhring's piece, Robert Schumann's choral ballade *Das Glück von Edenhall* features syllabic text declamation with motives drawn from the rhythms of individual words, chordal texture, and an extensive, energetic opening and closing. The excerpt from Gade's oratorio *Die Kreuzfahrer* (The Crusaders) included a scena and aria for dramatic mezzo-soprano, a duet of failed seduction, and choruses of sirens and soldiers. The spinning song from Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer*, which gave the female choral singers a small compensation for the mass of music for men, followed the tradition of opera excerpts performed at the May Festivals.

In this programming context, one may begin to understand the choice of the Verdi Requiem. Today it fills a concert; in 1879 it shared the Friday bill with both the Schumann choral ballade and a repetition of Möhring's *Warriors' Oath*. And finally, Saturday evening brought a return to the German male festival tradition with seven pieces for a



Alla breve con fuoco  $\text{♩} = 132$

Tenor I, II  
Bass I, II  
Orchestra

Und kommt er stolz ein Herr der Welt, der  
das Ge - schick am Zü - gel - hält, sein Hoch  
- muth soll zer split - tern. Zer - mal - men wird' ihn doch die  
Zer -

Example 1. Ferdinand Möhring, *Deutscher Krieger Schwur und Gebet* (German Warriors' Oath and Prayer), three-verse oath.

15 *sf*

deut-sche Faust die auf den Feind her-nie-der saust, her-nie-der saust,

-mal-men wird ihn doch die deut-sche Faust die auf den Feind her-

20



nie-der saust in Schlach-ten-un-ge-wit-tern, in Schlach-ten-un-ge-wit-tern, in

-nie-der saust,

25

Schlach-ten-un-ge-wit-tern. Zur

Example 1. (Continued).

Grandioso, die  wie vorher die 

29 Ein wenig zuruckhaltend

Fah - ne die deut - sche Treu - e schwor, wir hal - ten die Fah - ne hoch ein -

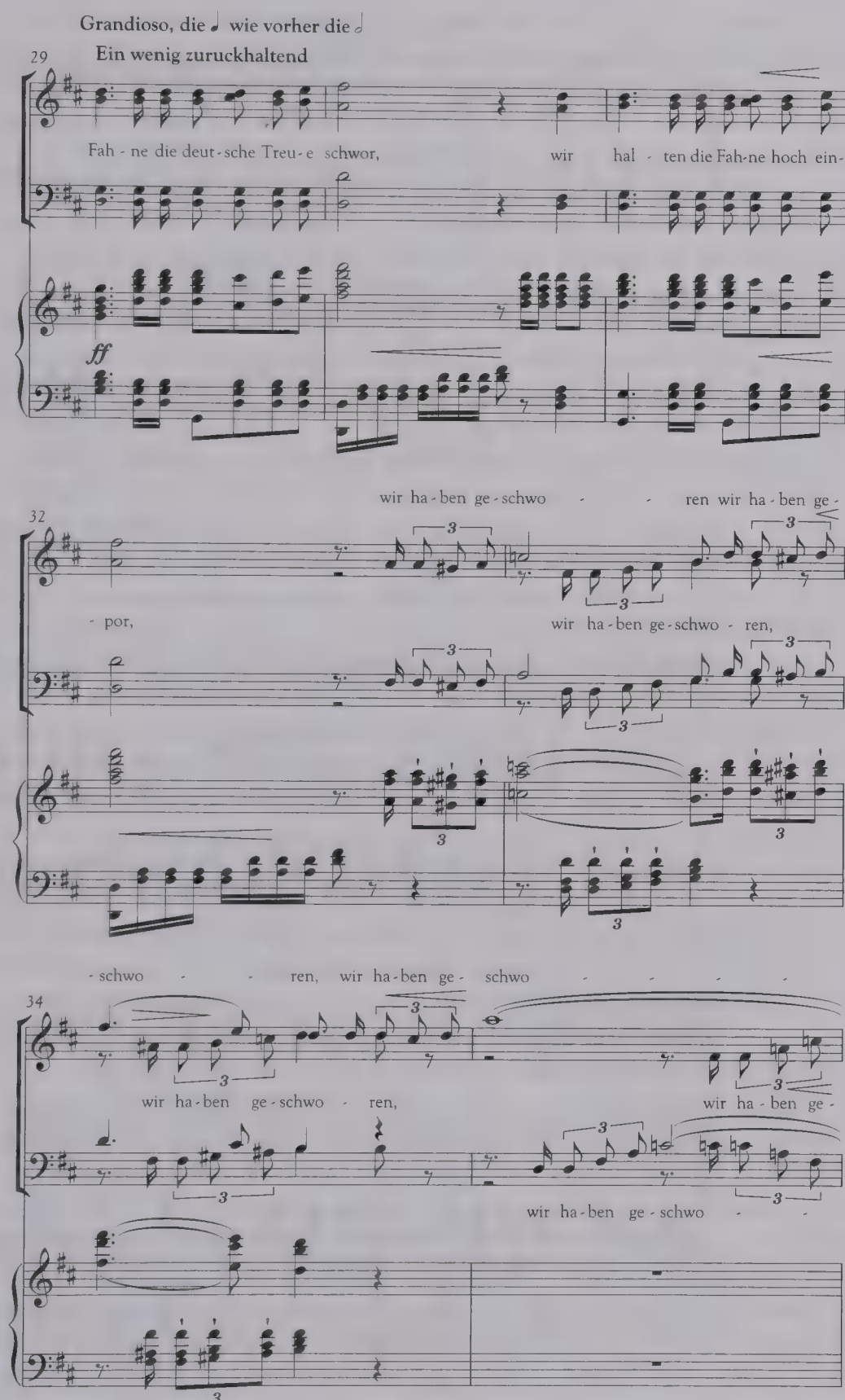
32 wir ha - ben ge - schwor - ren wir ha - ben ge -

por, wir ha - ben ge - schwor - ren,

34 - schwor - ren, wir ha - ben ge - schwor - ren, wir ha - ben ge -

wir ha - ben ge - schwor - ren, wir ha - ben ge -

wir ha - ben ge - schwor - ren



Example 1. (Continued).

36 ren, ge - schwo ren!

- schwo - ren, ge - schwo ren! Zur Fah - ne die deut - sche Treu - e

ren, ge - schwo ren!

40 schwor, wir hal - ten die Fah - ne hoch ein - por, wir ha - ben ge-

43 - schwo - ren, ge - schwo ren.

The musical score consists of three systems, each with vocal staves and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#).  
 System 1 (measures 36-39): The vocal parts sing 'ren, ge - schwo ren!' and '- schwo - ren, ge - schwo ren! Zur Fah - ne die deut - sche Treu - e'. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady bass line in the left hand. A forte (f) dynamic marking is present.  
 System 2 (measures 40-42): The vocal parts sing 'schwor, wir hal - ten die Fah - ne hoch ein - por, wir ha - ben ge-'. The piano accompaniment continues with similar textures, including triplets.  
 System 3 (measures 43-45): The vocal parts sing '- schwo - ren, ge - schwo ren.'. The piano accompaniment features chords and triplets, ending with a sustained chord in the right hand and a half note in the left hand.

Example 1. (Continued).



cappella male chorus sung by individual visiting groups. The small pieces were interspersed with music for chorus and orchestra, including a mixed chorus miniature by Joachim Raff, Gade's cantata, two opera excerpts (table 3), and three vocal solos.

In a world of German choral music, the Verdi Requiem stood out as the most anomalous composition of the week. Seen today as a pillar of choral literature that excites and moves audiences, in its first decade (from 1874), the Requiem was famous in large measure for the controversies that surrounded it. In Germany and Great Britain, it had been anticipated as a wild-card work from Italy—a Latin mass by the long-popular but often critically maligned composer of tuneful operas such as *Il Trovatore*. A Cologne newspaper writer hearing about the piece undoubtedly spoke for many when he called it "hardly to be expected."<sup>70</sup> Not surprisingly, then, an initial round of performances, some conducted by Verdi himself, could not alone establish it on either side of the Atlantic.<sup>71</sup>

Although the composer's operas had been well known and widely performed in American cities since the 1840s, the arrival of Verdi's Requiem in the United States was similarly less than auspicious.<sup>72</sup> The operas themselves were controversial: early in their career, they were charged with failure to offer the moral lessons expected as part of theatrical reform. Subsequently they were accused of neither offering uplift nor meeting the aesthetic standards being fostered at the May Festival.<sup>73</sup> On these terms, the Requiem's style and the composer's reputation were out of sync with the purported cultural position of a large concert work on a religious text. That fact, along with the relative difficulty of access to performance materials, would have kept it out of consideration for the May Festivals of 1875 and 1878. A big choral work such as the Requiem needed a musical community willing to sustain it through locally based productions. This was a tall order, and the path of this unlikely composition in its first decade was a twisted one.

The Requiem was "hardly to be expected" from the Sängerbund either. The German male choruses tended to perform smaller works, and most groups would have lacked the resources for such an undertaking even in a festival setting. However, while no direct evidence of the rationale for its choice has been found, it is possible to imagine the purposes the Requiem may have served. It filled a program slot patterned after the last two May Festivals: a well-known oratorio early in the week, paired later on with a large novelty. In 1875 Mendelssohn's *Elijah* had been paired with Liszt's *Prometheus*, in 1878 Handel's *Messiah* with both Berlioz's *Romeo and Juliet* and the Liszt *Missa solemnis*. The idea of pairing the established (the Sängerbund's *St. Paul*) with the unheard may

have encouraged the German organizations to take a chance on a local premiere.<sup>74</sup>

By performing the Requiem, neither German nor English-speakers sang in their native language, a choice that both denoted inclusiveness rather than Germano-centrism and offered a concession from the advocates of German-language maintenance in the new country. Indeed, a journalist for the English-language *Gazette* (probably Henry Edward Krehbiel) called the festival as a whole “an opportunity of widening the scope of [the Germans’] mission, so that they will not alone promote a love for the German art among the Germans, but for the universal musical art among all our population.”<sup>75</sup> While this statement may in fact promote the idea of German art as universal, the Sangerfest’s investment in the Verdi work suggests instead curiosity about something new and a tempering of German musical chauvinism.

The choice may also be linked with the Requiem’s position in Germany itself. During the government-led anti-Catholic campaign, the *Kulturkampf*, the piece had been performed under Verdi’s direction in Cologne, a center of Catholic resurgence. Even Cincinnati’s English press named this performance (not the Boston Handel and Haydn Society performances of 1878) as the cue for the current programming.<sup>76</sup> With this history known, the Sangerfest could be seen both as supporting Catholicism in Germany and inviting comparison with the musical prowess of the Fatherland.

Finally, with the Requiem the Sangerbund could make its own aesthetic statement. The May Festival had set up clear distinctions between music deemed appropriate for daytime versus evening concerts, relegating Verdi’s works to matinee programs only. At the Sangerfest, the Requiem’s color and excitement could be seen as positive attributes, both on their own account and as an emblem of the Bund’s willingness to embrace music of a composer widely understood as enjoyable but noticeably “other.” From this perspective, the work could be compared not to the uplifting oratorios of Handel and Mendelssohn or to music for a church service, but to Verdi’s own operas. Thus, for example, the Requiem soprano soloist’s foray over the chorus to high C in the final fugue, followed by her weak utterance of “libera me” (deliver me) at the close, could be well understood by any listener familiar with the soprano death scenes in *Traviata* or *Rigoletto*. Cincinnati reviewers in fact grasped and accepted the blend of religious expression and operatic style. For one, the end of the piece “[leaves] behind a solemn and sublime memory in the hearts of the listeners.”<sup>77</sup> For another, “The solemnity of sacred music is relieved by touches almost operatic, making a production of life, beauty, harmony and impressive grandeur.”<sup>78</sup>

As these press comments attest, the Requiem's impact was immediate. It brought down the house and led to a shower of praise for conductor Barus, including the undecorous (by May Festival standards) throwing of floral wreaths after individual movements.<sup>79</sup> The Requiem also took in the largest amount of any Sngerfest concert, about \$4,800.<sup>80</sup> It was repeated for Barus's benefit in November of 1880 with Thomas conducting.<sup>81</sup>

Most of the German press pronounced the Fest a hit musically and socially—a triumph for *Deutschtum* in America.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, despite ample press encouragement and the Verdi performance's success, it failed to break even and had to ask its guarantors for some of their volunteered underwriting funds.<sup>83</sup> The financial failure was not for lack of effort. Attendance by English-speaking Americans had been encouraged: the best families were going, it was reported, and it would be embarrassing if the festival were left to the Germans alone.<sup>84</sup> Equally important was the editorial downplaying of conviviality, drink, and overt German nationalism to make the festival seem characteristic, yet respectable.<sup>85</sup> However, at least one newspaper speculated that German claims of the festival's respectability had not entirely been believed, keeping many English-speakers away.<sup>86</sup>

The balance between the Sngerfest's social and musical character was a sensitive issue in both communities and led to conflicting assessments of its success. The Germans, whose willingness to alter festival customs to appease the Anglos was not absolute, nevertheless emphasized the peaceful enjoyment of the Sunday picnic, the week's event most likely to exceed Anglo expectations for proper behavior. A German paper called the picnic's 20,000 participants "a single great family" and claimed that the police asserted they had never seen such a peaceful gathering.<sup>87</sup> The other side's idea of "peaceful," however, was something else. Resolved to evaluate the festival as a whole, the English-language papers commented as fully on the social circumstances as on the music itself. As an editorial writer summarized:

While the programmes of the Saengerfest show from year to year a steady advance in musical taste and culture, and an increasing capacity to attack and effectively render the most difficult compositions, the Saengerfest has lost none of its eminently social features. . . . It is not a feast of music alone; it is a time for public rejoicing, congratulation and hilarity. . . . In estimating the success of the Saengerfest, therefore, it is not sufficient to consider its musical features exclusively, though these are primary; but all the social and spectacular incidents must be taken account of.<sup>88</sup>

The writer went on to label the "social and spectacular" aspects as specifically German in origin without referring to the music except in terms of taste.



Not surprisingly, the nonmusical elements were the most often criticized, with the picnic vigorously protested on behalf of churches near the picnic grounds. A Methodist preacher, Rev. Pearson, condemned not only the picnic, but the seeming indifference of local officials even as "this city [was] degraded before the eyes of the nation." He continued, "The public law . . . was framed to give to Christian people the right to meet undisturbedly in their various places of worship on the Sabbath, and to secure an orderly and moral observance of the day by a cessation from all common labor and public amusements." Nor was he satisfied with the opening procession, claiming that "our streets [were] turned into a vast beer garden, and by those [the guest choruses] whom we delighted to honor— . . . a beer fest with a song bait." Finally, he criticized the city's Germans, who, "by their public silence, permit the honored name of their nation to become but a stench in the nostrils of the community because of the boisterous clamor and indecent self-assertion of the lowest class."<sup>89</sup>

Other papers weighed in on the issue. The *Gazette* supported Rev. Pearson's position implicitly by publishing detailed reports of drunkenness and arrests. A sectarian weekly paper, the German-language Methodist *Christliche Apologete*, applauded the festival but sadly decried the prominence of alcohol as a marker of the German character [*Wesen*].<sup>90</sup> Its English equivalent, the *Western Christian Advocate*, went farther, claiming that at the Wednesday procession, "mothers upon the sidewalks gave beer to the infants in their arms" and calling on "the better class of German citizens to say that they do not approve of these disgraceful proceedings."<sup>91</sup> Other English-language dailies were more sanguine, acknowledging drunkenness but agreeing with the German press that given the large number of participants, the picnic was orderly.<sup>92</sup> An English paper even asserted that most of the picnic offenders against decency were Americans and argued that restricting Sunday activities would not eliminate decadence in the city.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, an instance of alleged drunkenness during a festival performance by tenor soloist Alexander Bischoff (who published a letter claiming he was ill) allowed English papers to compliment the Germans for promptly removing him from the stage.<sup>94</sup>

Although the English sectarian weeklies pronounced the Fest "a failure as a whole," they sometimes brought its apparent cross-purposes to the fore on cultural rather than moral grounds.<sup>95</sup> If a *Sängerfest* is to be a reunion of the German-born in the new country and a celebration of *Gemütlichkeit*, asserted the *American Israelite*, so be it. If it is to be a set of serious concerts, that would be welcome. But if it is so "Teutonic-German that other people made themselves scarce," the Americans



cannot be faulted for failure to attend. And it cannot purport to "teach" them about great music while offering male chorus repertoire performed by amateurs.<sup>96</sup> The *Catholic Telegraph* derided "the patronizing tone in which certain German papers here and elsewhere spoke of the festival as a means of 'educating the Americans,'" calling the claim "not only offensive, but untrue." The *Israelite* also tried to turn German chauvinism on its head by questioning the music itself: "Years ago, when there was no music in America, it was very acceptable to hear of a *Maennerchor* the pleasant German songs. But now when churches and opera-houses produce the very best music . . . that kind of music will not take. That which was intended for amusement and fun becomes unpopular when it assumes the air of gravity, importance and solemnity."<sup>97</sup>

Given the scope and ambition of the festival music, not all of this criticism was entirely fair. In particular, the *Israelite* asserted that the Germans presented too much of a high-culture tone when the strongest other complaints maintained that the festival had not been high-culture enough. Such a mixture of criticism exposed what might be called a no-win situation for the Sangerfest organizers: presenting a hybrid event in a city where social standards were beginning to follow new, "higher" musical attitudes. The Sangerfest leadership's lack of control over participants at nonconcert events meant that the festival's message to the city was of necessity a mixed one. As much as the Germans might try, there was simply no way the Anglo press or population were prepared to accept their effort as representing Cincinnati's culture at large or as worthy of their highest respect. The Sangerbund board noticed: incensed at the *Israelite*'s disapproval, it issued a resolution expressing deepest contempt (*tiefster Verrathung*) for the criticism's unnamed author and censoring the paper's editor, Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, for publishing it.<sup>98</sup>

The Bund may have anticipated kinder treatment from the *Israelite*, whose point of view could be expected to differ from that of a conservative Protestant publication. But a German journalist from Chicago (where the next festival had already been scheduled) also questioned the Sangerfest's ambiance: congratulations and cheers for the Sangerfest notwithstanding, the German "song and beer festival" was soon likely to be restructured as "an Anglo-American music festival with the inevitable 'stars' and related trappings."<sup>99</sup>

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Many English-speakers in Cincinnati were poised to applaud this prediction. Although they could well imagine the 1879 event as a Sangerfest as had been celebrated in Germany, in the American environment it

could not be successful as such. Its obviously “German” characteristics—the processions, decorations, hospitality to large numbers of visitors, and even the picnic—could, if efforts were made to produce them with adequate attention to decorum, be seen as harmless, or even welcome traditions. Nevertheless, despite widespread enthusiasm for events such as the opening parade, Anglo criticism and disappointing concert attendance suggest that a vision of a common, American, German-influenced, musical high culture could not accommodate these markers of German identity. Even the careers of two prominent conductors, Thomas and Barus, illustrate the problem for Germans in American musical life—the former wanting to separate the music from a social setting he saw as inappropriate, and the latter working with groups who saw the German milieu as central to their purpose in musical performance.

From the American vantage point, the musical and social elements of the *Sängerfest* needed to go their separate ways. The conviviality remained associated with the ethnic group. As many Americans today enjoy being Irish on 17 March, many nineteenth-century Cincinnatians could enjoy being German for a week every few years in June. On the other hand, respectful performances of large pieces of music were products of Anglo views of “good” music as “classical,” but not necessarily “German” art.

As a large-scale public event with a relaxed atmosphere, the *Sängerfest* could not also be an example of sacralized culture. As such, it was less suited to the “almost severely classical” music the May Festivals had performed (for example, works by Bach and Gluck).<sup>100</sup> Hence a new and controversial work like Verdi’s *Requiem* found a place at the *Sängerfest* sooner than works whose canonic claims were higher. The *Requiem*’s subsequent history in Cincinnati supports this assertion: despite hundreds of local singers who had prepared the work in 1879, it waited through five more May Festivals—until 1890—before Thomas chose to put it on the program. Ironically perhaps, even though Germans had composed many of the *Sängerfest*’s best-received compositions, the Bund organizers had no interest in a museum environment. And in fact, much of its repertoire—including music by respected living composers such as Gade, Hiller, Raff, and Rubinstein—never crossed from the German organizations into the developing international art repertoire.

The Bund bet on a balance between art-based programming and its own social message. It lost the bet—the *Sängerfest*’s social events helped the Germans sustain their links with the Fatherland and across various social, regional, and religious boundaries. These events also

reminded Cincinnati's "American" population of a cultural power the Germans would insist on expressing on their own terms; but the protests against German chauvinism and the tepid response to the festival among the Anglo population undermined their expectation of entitlement to the music's ownership. As outsiders saw it, the Germans failed to honor the music as it deserved. One wonders whether an understanding of that failure discouraged Cincinnati's Germans from hosting another Sängersfest for twenty years.

In the wake of the festival, the Cincinnati Germans' uniqueness was still obvious to the community at large. But their failed assertion of social and cultural power furthered their adaptation to an Anglo-based model of "serious" musical life. The local "people of music" lost some of their hold on the art as a cultural marker and sign of superiority, weakening ties between a German-centered repertoire and the "German element" itself.

## Notes

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1. On the first three festivals, see Henry E. Krehbiel, "Historical," in *An Account of the Fourth Musical Festival* (Cincinnati, OH: Aldine, 1880), 7–18; Theodore Thomas, *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography*, ed. George P. Upton (1905; New York: Da Capo, 1964), 78–82; Robert C. Vitz, "'Im wunderschönen Monat Mai': Organizing the Great Cincinnati May Festival of 1878," *American Music* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1986): 309–27; Vitz, *The Queen and the Arts: Cultural Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), 86–100; Ezra Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 48–49, 54–58, 63–66, and 85–88; and Thomas Cahall, "Jewels in the Queen's Crown: The Fine and Performing Arts in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1865–1919" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1991), 223–55.

2. Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Paul DiMaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America," *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1982): 33–50.
3. For attempts to fill out the discussion of elitism, see, for example, my essay "Mrs. Potiphar at the Opera: Satire, Idealism, and Cultural Authority in Post-Civil War New York," in *Music and Culture in America, 1861–1918*, ed. Michael Saffle (New York: Garland, 1998), 29–51; Michael Broyles, *"Music of the Highest Class": Elitism and Populism in Antebellum Boston* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy: Music and Emotions in Transatlantic Relations, 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Ralph P. Locke, "Music Lovers, Patrons, and the 'Sacralization' of Culture in America," *19th-Century Music* 17 (Fall 1993): 149–73. Sacralization has been an ongoing theme in the work of Joseph Horowitz. For recent examples (with reference to Levine and DiMaggio), see his *Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall* (New York: Norton, 2005), 88–91, 250–53, and *passim*.
4. Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 44–76, here 45; on core identity, see Conzen, "German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1:133.
5. Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).
6. On working-class occupations, see Steven J. Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 136.
7. Quoted in James J. Sheehan, *German History 1770–1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 165.
8. Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 6, 51.
9. Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 54.
10. Applegate, *Bach in Berlin*, 82, 92–93, 99; quotation, 237.
11. Bernd Sponheuer, "Reconstructing Ideal Types of the 'German' in Music," in *Music and German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 40–41; Applegate and Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music': Genealogy of an Identity," in the same volume, 1–35, here 32; Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, "Trumpeting Down the Walls of Jericho: The Politics of Art, Music, and Emotion in German-American Relations, 1870–1920," *Journal of Social History* 36 (March 2003): 588–91, 606.
12. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin, eds., introduction to *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 11–12; Howard Sargent, "Diasporic Citizens: Germans Abroad in the Framing of German Citizenship Law," in *The Heimat Abroad*, 17, 20, 26.



13. Julian O. Schulz, "Die deutsche Musik und ihre Zukunft in Amerika," *Der deutsche Pionier* 5 (1873): 187. The word "fast" is in English in the original text. See also Conzen, "German-Americans," 136; Thomas Lekan, "German Landscape: Local Promotion of the Heimat Abroad," in *The Heimat Abroad*, 144–45.
14. Corinna Hörst notes that while 30 percent of Germans in the United States lived in cities in 1850, in Germany itself only 8 percent did so. "'More than Ordinary': The Female Migration Experience and German Immigrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati" (PhD diss., Miami University [of Ohio], 1998), 47.
15. Hörst, "'More than Ordinary,'" 49, and chart drawn on Census Office Statistics, United States Department of the Interior, 48.
16. On local and regional religious disputes from Germany in Ohio, see Anne Höndgen, "Community Versus Separation: A Northwest German Emigrant Region in Nineteenth-Century Ohio," in *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2004), 18–43. On German beer, see William L. Downard, *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: A Social and Economic History* ([Athens?]: Ohio University Press, 1973). See also note 31.
17. German–English bilingual education was widely offered in cities with substantial populations of German heritage and was usually available to most white students. See Paul Fessler, "The Political and Pedagogical in Bilingual Education: Yesterday and Today," in *German-American Immigration*, 273–91.
18. Donna-Christine Sell, "Heinrich A. Rattermann," in *Guide to the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1979), 8–9.
19. Hörst, "More than Ordinary," 65 (emphasis original).
20. Heinrich Siebel, "Kurze historische Skizze des Cincinnati Maennerchor" (Cincinnati: Heinrich Siebel, 1882), 6.
21. Cited from the *Freie Presse* in the Joseph Holliday papers, Box 6, Folder 11, CHS.
22. Siebel, "Kurze historische Skizzen," 6, 10.
23. Friedhelm Brusniak, "Männerchorwesen und Konfession von 1800 bis in den Vormärz," in *"Heil deutschem Wort und Sang!": Nationalidentität und Gesangskultur in der deutschen Geschichte. Tagungsbericht Feuchtwangen 1994* (Augsburg: Dr. Bernd Wissner, 1995), 123–40.
24. Suzanne Snyder, "The Männerchor Tradition in the United States: A Historical Analysis of Its Contribution to American Musical Culture" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1991), 24–25; Heike Bungert, "Singen und ethnische Identität: Die Sängerfeste der Deutschamerikaner als Medium der Ethnizitätsbildung, 1848–1914," conference paper, Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, 2004.
25. Hans L. Trefousse, "The German-American Immigrants and the Newly Founded Reich," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, 1:164–66.
26. Snyder, "Männerchor Tradition," 27.

27. Quoted (in translation) in the *Daily Gazette*, 16 June 1870, 1. Bavarian-born Lilienthal was rabbi of Cincinnati's congregation Bene Yeshurun. Jonathan D. Sarna and Nancy H. Klein, *The Jews of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1989), 50.
28. *Volksblatt*, 11 June 1879, 4. See also the *Volksfreund*, 12 June 1879, 4.
29. Hörst, "More than Ordinary," 171–72, 189.
30. J. J. Lalor, "The Germans in the West," *Atlantic Monthly* 32 (1873): 469.
31. Cincinnati had a canal, dubbed "the Rhine," beyond which many Germans settled. Filled in, in 1919, its path is Central Parkway today. On alcohol, see Jed Dannenbaum, *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washingtonian Revival to the WCTU* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Downard, *Cincinnati Brewing Industry*, chapters 2, 3, and 5. For brewing's rise in rank among Cincinnati's industries, see Ross, *Workers on the Edge*, 77.
32. On the German male chorus movement contrasted with mixed choral organizations and festivals, see Karen Ahlquist, "Men and Women of the Chorus: Music, Governance, and Opportunity in 19th-Century German-Speaking Europe," in *Chorus and Community*, ed. Karen Ahlquist (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 265–92; Friedhelm Brusniak, "Chor und Chormusik," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), cols. 100–2; Dieter Düding, *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus in Deutschland (1808–1847): Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1984); Düding, "The Nineteenth-Century German Nationalist Movement as a Movement of Societies," in *Nation-Building in Central Europe*, ed. Hagen Schulze (Leamington Spa, UK: Berg, 1987), 19–49; Snyder, "Männerchor Tradition," 77–81.
33. For example, the Louisville Sängerfest of 1877 included the finale from Wagner's opera *Rienzi* and Mendelssohn's Psalm 42 (program, Rattermann Collection, University of Illinois Library). See also Snyder, "Männerchor Tradition," 239–55.
34. William Osborne, *Music in Ohio* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004), 344–45. NASB chorus membership ran from Buffalo to Nebraska. The name *Nordamerikanische* was possible because no other areas had yet organized their choruses into federations.
35. *Times*, 13 June 1879, 2.
36. Cincinnati Musical Festival [first May Festival] program, 1873, 3.
37. Even while serving as founding conductor of the Chicago Symphony (1891), Thomas remained May Festival musical director until his death in January 1905. His role in establishing the symphony orchestra as a goal for a cultured American city has been widely acknowledged: Philip Hart calls the first chapter of his history of the American symphony orchestra "Before Thomas." See Hart, *Orpheus in the New World: The Symphony Orchestra as an American Cultural Institution. Its Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Norton, 1973), chapter 2; Thomas, *Theodore Thomas*; Rose Fay Thomas, *Memoirs of Theodore Thomas* (1911; Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971); Charles Edward Russell, *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas* (1920; Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971); Schabas, *Theodore Thomas*; Horowitz, *Classical Music in America*, 32–37, 163–71, and *passim*. Horowitz calls Thomas a "national force" (34).

38. Letter to CMFA agent C. C. Miller, 7 February 1873; CMFA papers, Box 1, Folder 14, CHS.
39. "Historical Sketch of the German Saengerbund of North America," in *Deutscher Saengerbund of North America. 21st Saengerfest, Cincinnati, Ohio, 11–18 June 1879* (Cincinnati, OH: Mecklenborg and Rosenthal, 1879), 11; Eugene Leuning, "The Art of Singing and Music in America. Historical Sketch," in *The City of Milwaukee Guide to the "Cream City" for Visitors and Citizens . . . Souvenir of the 24th Saengerfest of the North-American Saengerbund at Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Caspar and Zahn, 1886), 20.
40. *Abend-Post*, 7 June 1879, 4; *Volksfreund*, 7 June 1879, 5.
41. *Deutscher Sngerbund von Nordamerika, . . . 21. Gesangfest, Cincinnati, Ohio, 11–15. Juni 1879* [program], 13; *Volksfreund*, 5 June 1879, 4; *Freie Presse*, 9 June 1879, 1; *Volksblatt*, 11 June 1879, 4; 14 June 1879, 2; *Abend-Presse*, 5 June 1879, 1; 9 June 1879, 1; *Abend-Post*, 11 June 1879, 4; *Louisville Anzeiger*, given in the *Freie Presse*, 14 June 1879, 1.
42. *Times*, 3 June 1879, 2.
43. *Star*, 2 June 1879, 4; *Gazette*, 5 June 1879, 10; *Commercial*, 7 June 1879, 10; *Enquirer*, 11 June 1879, 4.
44. "Fest Zeitung," *Volksblatt*, 12 June 1879, 1. The "Fest Zeitung" was a set of supplementary issues published daily during the festival week.
45. *Commercial*, 12 June 1879, 2. For other reports, see the *Volksfreund*, 7 June 1879, 5; 10 June 1879, 4; 12 June 1879, 4–5; *Gazette*, 12 June 1879, 1; *Abend-Presse*, 11 June 1879, 2; "Fest Zeitung," *Volksblatt*, 11 June 1879, 1.
46. *Commercial*, 12 June 1879, 2.
47. *Volksfreund*, 7 June 1879, 5; 12 June 1879, 5; *Commercial*, 12 June 1879, 1. For other reports on the procession, see 11 June 1879, 1, 6; *Star*, 9 June 1879, 1; 10 June 1879, 1; 11 June 1879, 1; 12 June 1879, 3; *Freie Presse*, 12 June 1879, 5; *Cleveland Anzeiger*, given in the *Freie Presse*, 14 June 1879, 1.
48. *Enquirer*, 15 June 1879, 8; *Volksfreund*, 7 June 1879, 5; *Gazette*, 7 June 1879, 10; 16 June 1879, 8; *Volksblatt*, 14 June 1879, 2; 16 June 1879, 5; *Freie Presse*, 16 June 1879, 5.
49. *Abend-Post*, 7 June 1879, 1; *Commercial*, 10 June 1879, 8; 11 June 1879, 1; *Gazette*, 11 June 1879, 8.
50. *Volksfreund*, 11 June 1879, 1.
51. *Volksfreund*, 10 June 1879, 4; 13 June 1879, 5; 14 June 1879, 4; *Abend-Post*, *Beilage*, 13 June 1879, 1; 14 June 1879, 14; *Abend-Presse*, 11 June 1879, 2; 13 June 1879, 2; "Fest Zeitung," *Volksfreund*, 13 June 1879, 1.
52. "Fest Zeitung," *Volksblatt*, 14 June 1879, 1.
53. *Volksfreund*, 7 June 1879, 5; 14 June 1879, 4; *Abend-Post*, 12 June 1879, 4; *Volksblatt*, 13 June 1879, 2; "Fest Zeitung," *Volksblatt*, 14 June 1879, 1.
54. Sngerfest program, 84–88.
55. Sngerfest program, 11–15; chorus lists, 67–88; *Gazette*, 6 June 1879, 8.

56. *North-American Saengerbund. Louisville Festival* [program]. Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois Library.
57. *Abend-Presse*, 5 June 1879, 4.
58. *Church's Musical Visitor*, November 1872; *Deutscher Sängerbund von Nordamerika* (program), 15. On the Cincinnati Grand Orchestra, see Karen Ahlquist, "Playing for the Big Time: Musicians, Concerts, and Reputation-Building in Cincinnati, 1872–82," *Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era* 9, no. 2 (April 2010), 145–65.
59. In 1879, Thomas resided in Cincinnati, having taken a short-lived music directorship of the Cincinnati College of Music. He spent the Sängerfest week in Chicago with his orchestra but was back for a series of outdoor concerts by the following Tuesday. *Enquirer*, 13 June 1879, 8; *Star*, 16 June 1879, 4.
60. *Gazette*, 12 June 1879, 2.
61. *German Saengerbund of North America. Twenty-first Saengerfest* (program), 23. The Pionier Verein had been founded by Heinrich Rattermann in 1869 to recall the achievements of German immigrants from before the 1848 revolutions.
62. *German Saengerbund of North America. Twenty-first Saengerfest* (program), 67–88.
63. *St. Paul* had been performed in Cincinnati as early as 1857 by the Cäcilienverein. *Abend-Post*, 7 June 1879, 4; *Gazette*, 7 June 1879, 10; *Volksfreund*, 7 June 1879, 5. The conductor in 1857 was Alsatian immigrant Frederic Louis Ritter, the author of *Music in America* (New York: Scribner, 1883).
64. *Abend-Post*, 13 June 1879, 4.
65. On criticism of sentimental a cappella "Liedertafelei," see Brusniak, "Chor und Chormusik," cols. 796, 803. On performance style, see Snyder, "Männerchor Tradition," 64.
66. The strophic a cappella works are Goetz's "Flieg aus, mein Lied," Zöllner's "Sängergruss," and presumably Abt's "Fahnenlied." I have yet to locate the Abt piece.
67. On the piece as an example of German patriotism, see the *Abend-Post*, June 13, 1879: 4; *Volksfreund*, 18 June 1879, 4.
68. *Festgesänge für das 21st [sic] Gesangs-fest des ersten Deutschen Sängerbundes von Nord America*, piano vocal score (Cincinnati: John Church, 1878). Music Library, University of Illinois.
69. *Commercial*, 13 June 1879, 5.
70. *Kölnische Zeitung* (August Guckeisen), 12 December 1875, 3.
71. Gundula Kreuzer, "'Oper im Kirchengewande'? Verdi's Requiem and the Anxieties of the Young German Empire," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 399–449; Karen Ahlquist, "'Hardly to be Expected': The Verdi Requiem in the United States, 1874–80," conference paper, International Musicological Society, 2002.
72. George Martin, *Verdi at the Golden Gate: Opera and San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Katherine K. Preston, *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).



73. Karen Ahlquist, *Democracy at the Opera: Music, Theater, and Culture in New York City, 1815–60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), especially chapters 2 (theatrical reform), 6 (Verdi reception), and 7 (uplift and canon formation).
74. The Cincinnati Männerchor had performed extracts of *St. Paul* in the 1870s. Männerchor scrapbook, CHS.
75. *Gazette*, 5 June 1879, 10. After leaving Cincinnati, Krehbiel (1854–1923) became an influential critic at the *New York Tribune*.
76. *Gazette*, 10 June 1879, 4. The article incorrectly names two 1874 New York productions as the only American predecessors to the Sängerbund effort. In fact, there had also been five performances in Chicago (Beethoven Society), a Boston partial performance (Church of the Immaculate Conception), and two Boston Handel and Haydn Society performances. See W. S. B. Mathews, review for the *Chicago Times*, reprinted in the *Gazette*, 12 June 1879, 2; Ahlquist, "Hardly to be Expected."
77. *Abend-Post*, 14 June 1879, 4.
78. *Star*, 14 June 1879, 2.
79. *Commercial*, 14 June 1879, 6, 4 [sic]; *Gazette*, 14 June 1879, 4; *Volksfreund*, 14 June 1879, 4; *Star*, 14 June 1879, 2; "Fest-Zeitung," *Freie Presse*, 14 June 1879, 1; "Fest Zeitung," *Volksblatt*, 14 June 1879, 1; *Abend-Post*, 14 June 1879, 4.
80. *Volksfreund*, 14 June 1879, 4.
81. *Enquirer*, 30 November 1880, 4; Snyder, "Männerchor Tradition," 73–76.
82. *Volksblatt*, 12 June 1879, 4; 16 June 1879, 5; *Volksfreund*, 12 June 1879, 4; *Abend-Presse*, 16 June 1879, 4; *Freie Presse*, 16 June 1879, 4.
83. *Commercial*, 29 June 1879, 10. As of Friday, the *Enquirer* estimated an average of eight hundred empty seats per concert (13 June 1879, 8). German accounts put the deficit at \$9,000 on an outlay of \$34,000 (*Freie Presse*, 17 June 1879, 4).
84. *Commercial*, 7 June 1879, 10; 10 June 1879, 8.
85. *Gazette*, 7 June 1879, 4; *Commercial*, 7 June 1879, 10; *Enquirer*, Friday, 13 June 1879, 8; *Star*, 14 June 1879, 2.
86. *Enquirer*, 13 June 1879, 8; 15 June 1879, 8.
87. *Freie Presse*, 16 June 1879, 5. For similar assessments, see the *Abend-Post*, 16 June 1879, 4; *Abend-Presse*, 16 June 1879, 3; *Volksblatt*, 16 June 1879, 5.
88. *Commercial*, 14 June 1879, 6.
89. *Gazette*, 16 June 1879, 8.
90. *Der christliche Apologete*, 16 June 1879, 188.
91. *Western Christian Advocate*, 18 June 1879, 196. For similar comments, see the *Christian Herald and Presbyterian*, 25 June 1879, 4.
92. *Gazette*, 16 June 1879, 8; *Enquirer*, 16 June 1879, 4; *Commercial*, 16 June 1879, 5.
93. *Times*, 17 June 1879, 2.

94. *Enquirer*, 14 June 1879, 4; *Commercial*, 15 June 1879, 7. For German accounts, see the "Fest Zeitung," *Volksblatt*, 14 June 1879, 1; *Volksblatt*, 14 June 1879, 2; *Abend-Post*, 14 June 1879, 4. Bischoff's letter is in the *Freie Presse*, 17 June 1879, 4.
95. *Catholic Telegraph*, 19 June 1879, 4.
96. *American Israelite*, 20 June 1879, 4.
97. *Catholic Telegraph*, 19 June 1879, 4; *American Israelite*, 20 June 1879, 4.
98. Given in the *Volksfreund*, 27 June 1879, 4; *Volksblatt*, 26 June 1879, 5; translated in the *Commercial*, 28 June 1879, 10; *Abend-Post*, 30 June 1879, 4.
99. *Chicago Neue Freie Presse*, given in the *Abend-Post*, 18 June 1879, 2.
100. *Commercial*, 8 May 1873, 1.

# Musical Voyages and Their Baggage: Orientalism in Music and Critical Musicology

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## Definitions of Orientalism

The word “orientalism,” largely as a result of Edward Said’s 1978 book, has in recent decades generated a good deal of attention in musicology, music criticism and in critical writing about the other arts.<sup>1</sup> Inconveniently, though, the word has a long history and more than one meaning. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1973) gives the most traditional one, tucking *orientalism* under the word *orient* with the brief, bland definition “oriental character, style, or quality,” with *orientalist* being “one versed in oriental languages and literature.” This is close to the definition that Said famously interrogated and unpacked, documenting and meditating upon the myriad ways in which the study of the languages, literatures, and cultures of the eastern world could amount to the appropriation, control, and ultimately marginalization and trivialization of those cultures and peoples—which might or might not include those of Africa, but certainly would include the Middle East, Far East, and the Indian subcontinent. Said’s exposé study, even given certain flaws and broad-brush oversimplifications, was pathbreaking in that it deconstructed what was often unreflectively considered to be a great constellation of respected academic disciplines, calling attention to their often unacademic—even inhumane—foundational assumptions and (in some measure) imperial goals.

It is in this and related senses that “orientalism” is now most often used, and critical perspectives that occupy themselves with orientalism and its consequences have for some time been called *postcolonial*. Postcolonial criticism, generally speaking, seeks to identify and resistantly read artworks and documents in which an “oriental” flavor or undercurrent is present and thereby working in a subliminal, nonneutral way. Given the relationship of postcolonial music criticism to the broader area of cultural criticism, such “oriental” spice is rarely considered to be benign or beneficial, and this has resulted in a gradual reduction of the complexities and layers of meaning

into a single, damning idea. Said's postcolonial sensibility is reflected in the third definition offered by *Webster's Dictionary* (2009): "a viewpoint, as held by someone in the West, in which Asia or specifically the Arabic Middle East is seen variously as exotic, mysterious, irrational, etc.: [a] term used to impute a patronizing attitude."

A secondary, but also traditional, definition complicates matters even further. Similar to but broader than such terms as "arabesque" (use of geometric patterns based on those of Islamic art) and "chinoiserie" (patterns of decoration derived from Chinese art), "orientalism" can refer to a variety of ornate kinds of decoration, often vividly colored, that evoke the art or architecture of far-off Asian or Middle Eastern lands and peoples. It is because of the perceived tastelessness or triviality of such art that the term was used dismissively in musical circles well before Said's book. Igor Stravinsky, for example, wrote, "Nor could I take César Cui's orientalism seriously. 'Russian music,' or 'Hungarian' or 'Spanish,' or any other of the national nineteenth-century kind is, all of it, as thin as local color, and as boring."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in 1952, the critic Joseph Kerman turned an unblinking eye on Puccini's *Turandot*: "there is no organic reason for the bogus orientalism lacquered over every page of the score; it provides local color or exoticism for its own sake, but also, more deeply, a chance for the artist to wriggle out of his irresponsibility."<sup>3</sup> This passage is from Kerman's neo-Wagnerian critique *Opera as Drama*, where there is more of the same, and his boldness about making such critical pronouncements influenced generations of younger writers (postcolonialists prominent among them). The current result of this evolving use of the word is that little remains, at least in critical studies, of the earlier and more respectable meanings that referred to academic fields of study and branches of knowledge.

Thus, in 1995, Susan McClary could include orientalism—with no further explanation—among the noxious bigotries: discussing Charles Rosen's treatment of the operas of Bellini and Meyerbeer in his book *The Romantic Generation*, she expresses surprise that he "does not take issue with these operas because he finds in them something ideologically pernicious, such as anti-Semitism, orientalism, or misogyny; rather he grounds his criticism in old-fashioned hierarchies of taste."<sup>4</sup> George Lipsitz uses the term in a similarly loose way about David Byrne's song "Loco de amor":

When Byrne sings lyrics that describe love as "like a pizza in the rain" and then calls out to "my little wild thing," he has the great Cuban exile singer Celia Cruz answer him in Yoruba as she sings "yen yere cumbe." In traditional Cuban music, Yoruba lyrics resonate with collective



memories of slavery and racism[;] they reinsert distinctly African identity back into collective national culture. But in Byrne's song, Cruz's Yoruba passage signifies only primitivism, exoticism, orientalism; she is an all-purpose "other" summoned up to symbolize Byrne's delight in musical difference on the west side of Manhattan.<sup>5</sup>

Neither McClary's nor Lipsitz's trio of -isms is as neatly equivalent as the authors imply, and it is regrettable, if unsurprising, that Lipsitz in particular would confidently assert that the Yoruba passage "only" signifies those ideas—needlessly limiting the interpretive possibilities of a transcultural musical moment to a forbidding few.

An accurate capsule definition of orientalism is, therefore, problematic. Relying in large part on nonfiction sources (in *Orientalism*, at least; that would change in his subsequent work), Said built the case for the variety of more and less subtle ways that orientalism, as an attitude and belief system, evolved and manifested itself in culture and society. As Ralph P. Locke has pointed out, though, Said was much more careful when addressing creative works, admitting and even welcoming the play of artistic creativity in works that in certain ways reflected the imperial worldview;<sup>6</sup> a good example of his (relatively infrequent) postcolonial music criticism is the sober treatment of Verdi's *Aida* in his 1993 book *Culture and Imperialism*.<sup>7</sup> In view of the complexities of both the definition of the word "orientalism" and the way it has been used to designate disciplines or critical frames of reference, then, it is hard to imagine that the responsible discussion of the subject would simply equate it, even in its narrowest critical meaning, with anti-Semitism or misogyny.

Ironically, it was Said himself who explicitly did just that, early in *Orientalism*:

By an almost inescapable logic, I have found myself writing the history of a strange, secret sharer of western anti-Semitism. That anti-Semitism and, as I have discussed it in its Islamic branch, Orientalism resemble each other very closely is a historical, cultural, and political truth that needs only to be mentioned to an Arab Palestinian for its irony to be perfectly understood.<sup>8</sup>

To complicate matters still further, the secondary definition of orientalism as a species of decoration suggests a good deal of overlap between some uses of the term and the more general concept of musical exoticism, which I have defined elsewhere as "the borrowing or use of materials that evoke distant locales or exotic frames of reference."<sup>9</sup> This overlap is due to the apparent parallel between designs or colors that evoke middle- or far-eastern decorative practice and cognate musical effects that suggest

those same distant places and/or cultures. What is more, works that use musical gestures to suggest specific people, places, or cultures are often put in a separate, problematic critical category: separate because of the unstated, unproven, yet (seemingly) widely held assumption that there exists some kind of standard, definable, more normative style that does not evoke identity or place so specifically, and problematic because of the longstanding tradition, already observed in the Stravinsky and Kerman quotes above, that local color automatically implies cheapness, ephemerality, and compositional weakness. A more recent term is *transcultural music*, which preserves the culture- or ethnicity-bridging aspects of a mixed musical style while deemphasizing the power-relation aspects (that it is necessarily A who appropriates—"colonizes"—and exoticizes B). For all the heat generated, though, the vexed question of terminology is probably insoluble. Each term overlaps somewhat with the others, and each carries a certain amount of baggage, and is therefore susceptible to certain predictable patterns of criticism.

### **Edward Said and Orientalism in Music**

The terminological problem means, unavoidably, that there is no consistent and definitive usage establishing whether "orientalism in music" is (1) simply, a specific variety of musical exoticism, or (2) more broadly, a productive critical tool for investigating the wide variety of ways in which music is embedded in and reflects, converses with, or perhaps comments upon its wider culture, or (3) a more limited facet of postcolonial criticism, relevant only as long as the criticism stays on topic and deals with a small segment of the repertoire, whether cultivated, vernacular, or in between. (An overview of the field will bear out that last, harshly framed possibility.) For clarity's sake, I will use "orientalism" in connection with music that comments upon, "disciplines," "appropriates" and so forth the cultures of the middle and far east, "postcolonial criticism" to refer to Saidian and post-Saidian critical work that identifies and engages with such musical approaches, and "transcultural music" for music that references more than one culture, of any time and place, whether using musical devices derived from the land or culture in question or wholly imagined ones, and regardless of power relationship.

To begin with Edward Said: it would take a certain lack of fairness—folly even—to expect perfect philosophical and ideological consistency throughout a scholar-critic's entire life and thought. To Said we owe the idea of orientalism as criticism, indeed in large part the idea of a discipline per se as a form of appropriation and even colonization of its subject (this was the case painstakingly made in *Orientalism*). But while

his eye was focused on the colonialist implications of western ideologies, he also had a deep personal investment in western culture. "For objective reasons that I had no control over," he wrote in *Culture and Imperialism*, "I grew up as an Arab with a western education. Ever since I can remember, I have felt that I belonged to both worlds, without being completely of either one or the other."<sup>10</sup> Said's political activism reflected the one and his lifelong engagement with western art and literature testified to the importance of the other, and the two impulses cross-fertilized each other in interesting ways. His music criticism, though, often did not address issues of east and west, of exile, and of appropriation, which so absorbed him in other areas.<sup>11</sup> This should not necessarily surprise us; Said himself observed elsewhere that

No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white [sic], or Black, or Western, or Oriental.<sup>12</sup>

Yet it is not this simple. Realizing that each of us is more than "purely one thing" is a potentially liberating development, in this era of identity hyper-awareness, reactive politics, and too-credulous discipleship, but blaming imperialism for the idea of pure, undiluted identities seems odd. It is hard to imagine that an inhabitant of (for example) a European village, where everyone he knew shared his nationality, language, locality of origin, and religion, did not register an instantaneous us-and-them reaction when he first encountered a *Landsknecht*, foreign pilgrim, or Jew. Said's inclination to credit imperialism for an identity awareness that clearly dates back to the ancient world suggests that, in his psyche, the nuanced literary and arts critic and the diasporic Arab activist were probably sympathetic but not intellectually consistent. This makes quoting him, or even characterizing his thought about a subject such as music, a dicey business. Nicholas Cook, for example, noted that while postcolonial writers in other areas criticized the inflexibility of his conception, "in musicology the Saidian model has more often than not been accepted without demur." Cook describes Said's outlook (which he archly but tellingly calls the "received Saidian model") as being characterized by a "suspicion of cross-cultural understanding," because "music is just one of the means [with which] the west has fortified itself [and he quotes Said here] 'against change and a supposed contamination

brought forward threateningly by the very existence of the Other. In addition such defensiveness permits a comforting retreat into an essentialized, basically unchanging Self.”<sup>13</sup>

There are, however, plenty of places where Said himself transcends this, his own supposed model. In the conclusion of *Culture and Imperialism*, he acknowledges (ever the pedagogue, to his honor and credit) that students should of course insist on their own identities and the dignities of their individual traditions, but that

we need to go on and to situate these in a geography of other identities, peoples, cultures, and then to study how, despite their differences, they have always overlapped one another, through unhierarchical influence, crossing, incorporation, recollection, deliberate forgetfulness, and, of course, conflict.<sup>14</sup>

*Overlap, unhierarchical influence, crossing, incorporation, deliberate forgetfulness.* This is hardly the doctrine of a rigid binarist. His description of his chosen literary subject-works is likewise critically contrapuntal, to use one of his most felicitous concepts; as would befit artworks by complex, imperfect humans produced and grounded in infinitely more complex and imperfect human cultures, they are “estimable and admirable works of art and learning, in which I and many other readers take pleasure and from which we derive profit . . . the challenge is to connect them not only with that pleasure and profit but also with the imperial process of which they were manifestly and unconcealedly a part.”<sup>15</sup>

There is no question that the musical works about which Said wrote would fall into the same categories of the estimable and admirable as did his beloved works of literature. A pianist himself who studied in Cairo under Ignace Tiegerman (a legendary and reclusive student of the even more legendary Ignace Friedman), he remained a devotee of the western concert repertoire his entire life. Said certainly had more to say about music than a rigidly postcolonial approach could accommodate, and so in musical discussions he did not limit himself to polarities of self and other, east and west, colonizer and colonized. He did not necessarily avoid the subject—the aforementioned study of *Aida* is one example of principled postcolonial music criticism, and his bicultural outlook certainly informs his perspective on John Adams’s opera *The Death of Klinghoffer*.<sup>16</sup> Taken as a whole, though, his writing affirms music’s cultural multivalence by venturing far beyond postcolonial criticism’s essentially binary framework.



### Said's Followers: Narrowing the Critical Vista

This was not the case with many of Said's followers, who—in musical critiques, at least—have focused on the aspects of his thought that pertained to oppositional relationships and uneven power differentials rather than those (as found in the examples quoted above) highlighting the myriad different kinds of relationships between humans and human cultures, including overlap, sharing, and transformation as much as conquest and appropriation. For example, one early development in postcolonial criticism was the awareness and subsequent critical interrogation of the special position held by women in the great imagined realm of the Orient. This position had numerous aspects: artwork-like embodiment of exotic beauty, figure of mystery and royal intrigue, object of desire, creature of unimaginable pleasures—to your undetected eye (otherwise known as the “male gaze”), to you as tourist or adventurer, to her sisters in the harem, to the sultan, to anyone and everyone in every way that the supposedly familiar and predictable western woman might be imagined to disappoint . . . and this is but a partial list. Of course, imagining Oriental Woman this way had a long literary history already, stretching back to the Crusades probably; musical examples include the Suleika of Schubert's unfinished opera *Der Graf von Gleichen* (1826–28) and the Sulima of Brahms's *Die schöne Magelone* cycle of romances (1861–69), which sets poems interspersed in a Ludwig Tieck novella of 1796. (The stereotype of Muslim woman as object of pleasure was kept campily alive even into the late twentieth century in the Cadfael murder mysteries of Ellis Peters [Edith Pargeter].)

So the relationship between Oriental and Woman was recognized and developed by a variety of people, including Ralph P. Locke and Linda Phyllis Austern<sup>17</sup> among others, and Oriental Woman, Oriental-topos-as-Woman,<sup>18</sup> and Woman-as-de-facto-Oriental have all received substantial critical attention. From the more aggressive and sometimes methodologically casual earlier writings on the subject (much-discussed books by Catherine Clément and Susan McClary come to mind here<sup>19</sup>) to more measured later studies, the greater Oriental/Woman trope has become one of the dominant strains in postcolonial criticism.<sup>20</sup> This reflects the tenor of the wider postcolonial literature that does not deal with music, a substantial share of which has been devoted to the larger gender issues associated with orientalism.

Another persistent issue, this one dating back to well before postcolonial critique of transcultural music, has to do with the choice of musical materials for the transculturation process. It has long been acknowledged in the literature on musical exoticism that musical

verisimilitude is not necessarily relevant in transcultural music, and that in musical evocations of distant places there is often little attempt to use actual musical materials from those specific “strange lands and people” (to borrow Robert Schumann’s evocative phrase). A token gesture or two might be brought into service, but most often composers were seen to adopt the generalized wrong-note and contrary-to-normative exoticizing practices (e.g., drones, simplistic or awkward melodies, shocking and ungrammatical harmonic gestures) that date back to the eighteenth-century pastoral and before. This pattern has migrated from the various Indian and other “savage” characters in baroque opera to imaginary Janissaries of “Turkish” music to the enlightened Bedouins of Félicien David’s pseudo-Arabic ode-symphony *Le Désert*. Jann Pasler reports on an episode in the early twentieth century where Vincent d’Indy explicitly advised Albert Roussel to compose his “Hindu Symphony” (the orchestral work *Evocations*, which has a chorus in its final movement) with his own poetic impressions in mind and not to pay much heed to musical exactitude. Roussel himself wanted to keep the actual location vague: “Even though these *Evocations* were inspired by India, I am anxious that the country remain vague. India, Tibet, Indochina, China, Persia, it doesn’t matter.”<sup>21</sup>

Postcolonial criticism tends to see this as one-size-fits-all exoticism, the orientalist’s musical reduction of the Other to a childish, simplistic music no different from that of other Others. That such a reduction reflected a profound disrespect for the culture being evoked would be, of course, a predictable and easy accusation to make. It is worth remembering, though, that the opposite approach tends to garner equally bitter criticism. Compositional attempts at ethnographic exactitude, or at least some effort to approximate or draw upon the sound of the Other, can easily be interpreted as composers’ appropriations of subaltern discourse for their own colonializing projects—criticism that composers today still routinely feel it necessary to forestall. Composer Michael Tenzer has acknowledged the complexities of such musico-cultural encounters, observing that we must seek to “distinguish between hybrid musics that are exploitive and those that are genuine, those that are slapdash and those designed with care, those that are experimental novelties and those with the potential to endure.”<sup>22</sup> George Crumb openly celebrates globality and transculturation in the wider musical world:

One very important aspect of our contemporary musical culture—some might say the supremely important aspect—is its extension in the historical and geographical senses to a degree unknown in the past. . . . The geographical extension means, of course, that the total musical culture

of Planet Earth is “coming together,” as it were. An American or European composer, for example, now has access to the music of various Asian, African, and South American cultures. . . . Unquestionably our contemporary world of music is far richer, in a sense, than earlier periods, due to the historical and geographical extensions of culture to which I have referred.<sup>23</sup>

The passion with which the case is argued demonstrates how fraught an area it still is. Many critics interested in orientalism in music have planted their flags on the postcolonial side of the critical divide, with the result that in a surprisingly large number of writings, musical transculturation itself is treated as an ethical breach, with musicians placed in a curious double-bind: it is wrong if one abstracts the Other’s musical gestures for purposes of evoking him or her or their culture, and also wrong if one uses gestures created out of whole cloth or borrowed from standard exotic (so to speak) vocabularies for the same purpose. Given that western lack of interest in and (worse) disdain for nonwestern cultures has long been a prominent trope in cultural criticism, especially in discussions of educational curricula, it seems particularly unjust to limit musicians in a way that poets, prose authors, and other artists would never be.

One clear demonstration of this rush to judgment is John Richardson’s earnest assurance, in his 1999 study of Philip Glass’s *Akhnaten*, that there *are*, actually, appropriate uses of musical representation, as defined by political agenda, but that they are hard to find. He deemphasizes that aspect of Glass’s opera, observing that it did indeed have “some moments when the music does seem to connote ‘ancient Egyptian-ness’ in a relatively indirect way (in the use of reed and percussion instruments; in the use of ‘lowered’ second and third degrees of the scale; etc.).”<sup>24</sup> Richardson then addresses the broader problem of cultural representation in music:

It is possible . . . to treat non-Euro-American subject matter in a manner that does not simply reinscribe orientalist prejudice but that actively challenges it. Admittedly, there have been very few representations of this kind in classical music, but to acknowledge them when they do occur would arguably strengthen rather than undermine the very important, indeed crucial, project of postcolonial criticism.

Philip Brett’s discussion of the influence of gamelan music on Benjamin Britten makes a valuable contribution in this respect. For Britten, “oriental” music offered an idealized imaginary space (in the Lacanian sense)

where the oppressive constraints of his own culture regarding gender did not apply.<sup>25</sup>

The florid phrase “an idealized imaginary free space where the oppressive constraints of his own culture regarding gender did not apply” likely refers to gay male sexuality, given what is known about Benjamin Britten and the critical perspective of Philip Brett. A skeptic might note, however, that the euphemism “oppressive constraints of his own culture” could as well be applied to, say, the much-celebrated pleasures of the harem—for the male and perhaps some of the females—and polygamy in general, which western culture also frowns upon and openly legislates against. Would that “idealized imaginary space” fall into the same category? Hardly; the seraglio is precisely the kind of gender colonization that provokes harsh scrutiny when it is identified in “Turkish” operas. So to the postcolonial critic, the validity or worth of transcultural music does not have to do with its compositional craft, artistic strategies, or quality of material; to use a hoary phrase, it depends on whose ox is being gored.

Orientalism in music, in this light, is less about the music than it is about orientalism, which—in its post-Saidian sense—means the critical imperative to confront, interrogate, and resist the ideologically imperial and colonial. So the use of any kind of musical exoticism is by definition ideologically suspect, unless mitigating circumstances rehabilitate it. Of course, to make sure the reader does not get the wrong idea, Richardson—presumably seriously—clarifies:

But this does not imply that we should let Glass off the orientalist hook altogether; it is possible that *Akhnaten*, like other representations of the non-Euro-North American world in recent opera (Adams’s *Nixon in China* and *The Death of Klinghoffer* and Reich’s *The Cave* are obvious examples) in some way “reflects the unequal distribution of power among the nations of the world.” Simply by dint of the massive production and distribution machinery that backs them up, these composers are arguably complicit in some way in the orientalist/capitalist-imperialist project.<sup>26</sup>

And so Richardson arrives at a kind of Original Sin: that such operas exist at all is proof of their involvement with “the orientalist/capitalist-imperialist project” and the attendant complicity (= guilt) of their composers. Clearly, the kind of cartoonish postcolonialism suggested by such a locution is untethered from the music it purports to be engaging, and the preemptive disavowal of transcultural musics that don’t pass ideological litmus tests is more draconian even than the aesthetic snobbery of



criticism past (McClary's "old-fashioned hierarchies of taste"). Common sense dictates that it is impossible to proscribe, limit, or in any way regulate the cultural conversations that transcultural musics by definition embody and provide; attempts to do so reduce criticism, postcolonial, or any other kind, to ideological gate-keeping, which is neither its proper function nor its right.

Not all authors have taken this extreme position. Derek Scott's "Orientalism and Musical Style" offers a survey of both musical exotica and the ways in which such music both essentializes its subjects and also, paradoxically, refers to other exotic musics rather than that of the people in question.<sup>27</sup> (This is the natural result of the evocation of Others via nonspecific but widely understood "exotic" gestures like drones and jingling ornaments.) Ralph P. Locke, perhaps our most careful writer and thinker on exoticism, orientalism, and postcolonialism in music, has repeatedly wrestled with the issues attendant on representation in music, starting with his aforementioned *Samson et Dalila* study and, more recently, teasing out the various sub-issues in "Exoticism and Orientalism in Music: Problems for the Worldly Critic," his contribution to the *Said Festschrift* edited by Paul A. Bové.<sup>28</sup> Two very significant contributions, to my mind, are Locke's articles on Verdi's *Aida*, which both answer, in a sense, Said's treatment of that opera in *Culture and Imperialism* and demonstrate the ways in which a truly contrapuntal critic can use the conceptual framework of orientalist awareness and postcolonial critique to illuminate a celebrated, problematic work without assuming a stance that amounts to proscription.<sup>29</sup> "*Aida* and Nine Readings of Empire" is particularly helpful in that it posits not one but nine different orientalist readings, from the most literal (Egypt is Ancient Egypt; Ethiopia is Nubia, and "orientalism" is relevant in its decorative sense) to the most symbolic ("Ancient Egypt" represents any abusive power, and the opera functions as commentary upon "any situation in which an overwhelming power structure comes into conflict with basic principles of human rights"<sup>30</sup>). On the way, there are interpretations involving the ancient world and modern Egypt (or the "timeless middle east"), Risorgimento Italy, any imperial power within Europe, and any European imperial power operating outside Europe. The concerns are present, in other words, but so is the gloriously maddening counterpoint of thick cultural context in which the opera grew. The self-and-other possibilities are undeniably present but are also varied and shifting, as is to be expected from a work of musical theater that has clearly transcended its immediate environment and context. I believe that there is a relative paucity of such studies in the area of postcolonial music criticism; many writers seem to be more comfortable with forceful

single interpretations than with positing a variety of persuasive possibilities, orientalism-informed or not.

It is this doctrinaire postcolonialism that is most unblinkingly put forward by Matthew Head. Initially developed in his book *Orientalism, Masquerade, and Mozart's Turkish Music* in 2000, Head's postcolonial position was crystallized in a 2003 piece in *Music Analysis*, which is in some measure a review (so stated) of my own work on musical exoticism: *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (1993) and the edited volume *The Exotic in Western Music* (1998). It is the oppositional model that seems to govern Head's view, primarily: "Music's affiliation with Orientalism is made poignant by Western culture's habit of Othering its own musical practices," he writes (though acknowledging in an endnote that the concept of a Western culture is "a hugely problematic field saturated with assumptions of an enclosed, purified, homogeneous, and developmentally as well as historically autonomous realm").<sup>31</sup> The obvious ironies here are that the nonexistence of a monolithic "western" culture (1) does not stop him from using such a construct (though he does so "blushingly"), and (2) in doing so he—apparently wittingly—steps into precisely the critical bear-traps that the postcolonial subdiscipline purportedly seeks to avoid. Most crucially, the perspective that demands more nuanced and polyphonic views of the Other and his or her culture, religion, appearance and so on effectively forbids, owing to the convenience of the binaristic paradigm, such conceptions from ever being formulated.

This particular strain of postcolonialist criticism recognizes no neutral observation or inquiry or even the possibility of learning about something unfamiliar; even naming and categorizing are acts of appropriation and hegemony. For Head, then, Michael V. Pisani's study of representations of American Indians<sup>32</sup> falls short because the author "prefers to address the politics of representation at the level of what representations have to 'say' about their subjects." Pisani did proceed outward from the music—many would consider this a wise approach for a musicologist to take—but his entire chapter is devoted to the conversation between a particular repertoire and the cultural currents it engages, not "the music itself." Still, Head explains, if Pisani's piece "is to be seen to be responsibly self-aware,"

then any focus on the "content" or representations needs to be augmented by some questioning of the politics of representation itself as an act of identification and/or mastery. Hence if, as Pisani states, representations of Native American Indians are "cultural artifacts," then surely their "cultural" character inheres in their textuality and modes of

performance as much as in their face-value messages. Can we really distinguish so clearly between how white America has organized its indigenous population textually and how it has organized them politically and militarily?<sup>33</sup>

That Pisani's piece was the first systematic treatment of the music of the American Indianist school, both the musical gestures themselves and their cultural resonances, therefore mattered not at all. Unless his research into a musical style encompassed a thoroughgoing critique of U.S. government policies toward American Indians, it is—*explicitly*—not “to be seen to be responsibly self-aware.” No matter how unfamiliar and in need of review such musical dialects have become, identifying and explaining them for the modern reader merely constitute more orientalism on the part of the writer, and complicity in the colonizing process: “The taxonomic approach to orientalism’s already taxonomic knowledge goes hand in hand with a reductive and essentializing treatment of music’s already reductive and essentializing signs for the Other.”<sup>34</sup> Pisani and I (and, for that matter, Franz Liszt) are criticized for this,<sup>35</sup> though the need for actual language competency in order for informed critique to be practicable—our stated goal, since these are, after all, historical musical dialects—is never really acknowledged.

The very forcefulness and the narrowness of the task Head sets himself and the forcefulness of the way he goes about begin, ultimately, to weaken his effect. For example, it is with a certain forced flair that he engages in the rhetorical sleight-of-hand that makes Susan McClary—among the steeliest cultural critics, and as we have seen one very sensitive to Orientalist stereotypes—an orientalist herself (i.e., the oppositional model again). Head is speaking of McClary's 1992 Cambridge Opera Guide to Bizet's *Carmen*:

Resisting the tendency of orientalizing to disempower and stigmatize its subjects, McClary figured the Otherness of Bizet's *Carmen* as empowering, Carmen's transgression of moral and musical-aesthetic norms as proto-feminist. This celebratory approach recuperated Carmen's ethnic, sexual, and musical difference as modes of resistance to a regime of bourgeois female normativity. Through this argument's reverse discourse in which the abject is reclaimed and championed—McClary recuperated the opera for those modern audiences who find its fear of female sexuality objectionable and/or banal. Yet this shift notwithstanding, McClary, in fine orientalist fashion, still “used” Carmen as a figure of desire—her account of Carmen as a fantasy of bourgeois male heterosexual patriarchy is flipped over into a feminist desire for an ancestral female figure, for an icon of the liberated and self-determining woman. Carmen's identity as



a Spanish “gypsy” [sic] begins to appear as a mask for another: the twentieth-century American feminist as represented by McClary herself, or her narrative voice. McClary colonized Carmen in a meta-orientalist reading that marshals one of the fundamental orientalist figures: the acceptance of the culture of the Other as a utopian form of existence free from the repression and restraints of one’s own society. In short, even reappropriations and re-readings of orientalist texts do not necessarily escape orientalist predispositions.<sup>36</sup>

Positioning McClary as an orientalist herself is hard to take seriously. Head seems, here, to have given the game away: whenever there is an oppositional point of view, one’s opponent can always be put in the rhetorical position of “Othering” something, of “colonizing” something, and thereby of committing the very sins s/he seeks to identify and excoriate. The person making such an identification, of course, wins by identifying the opponent as a *de facto* orientalist and/or colonizing entity.

It is, finally, the imperatives of the polarized postcolonialist view of power relations that lead Head to deemphasize the music itself in this critical effort. Writing about my 1998 anthology *The Exotic in Western Music*, he observes that

while several of the essays . . . preserve an urgent sense of the potential magnitude of the field, the majority appear content to retreat from the forthright arguments of the early 1990s in which orientalism was read as a cultural branch of imperialism (imperialism at home in the relations between the sexes and abroad in the form of overseas intervention, domination, and empire). A tone of defensiveness, a lack of explicitness about critical framework and a recourse to “the musical” as apparently furnishing some realm free of culture and ideology, amount to an unscholarly resistance to, rather than explicit engagement with, postcolonial and, more broadly, cultural theory. There is no *scholarly* [emphasis in original] escape route from this theory because the existing literature, within and beyond musicology, has already made it relevant.<sup>37</sup>

So recourse to “the musical” (in writing about music, remember) is now but a defensive strategy enabling writers to avoid “culture and ideology,” which can only be addressed, it seems, on his own terms. These terms include lumping feminist and gender concerns (“imperialism at home in the relations between the sexes”) together with cultural and geopolitical ones (“and abroad in the form of overseas intervention, domination, and empire”). Engagement on terms other than these amounts to “unscholarly resistance,” because “there is no *scholarly* escape route from this theory” and its imperatives. After quoting the second half of the



passage above in his opening editorial in the journal, editor Jonathan Cross—apparently of the opinion that Head did not quite state the case strongly enough—glossed it this way: “In other words, like it or not, even die-hard formalists have been shown that they have no choice but to sit up and attend what has been going on in the world around them.”<sup>38</sup>

One has to wonder who these nefarious die-hard formalists are—they certainly make a more convenient abstraction than identifiable reality, and none are addressed in Head’s article. It is not “formalists” to whom Head directs, as a *révérence*, a closing wag of the finger:

Indeed, orientalism receives its own academic currency as a topic as a result of colonial and postcolonial realities, however distant scholars feel these to be from their own career paths, publication pressures, and musical experiences. Thus to raise the question of orientalism in respect of musical practices and beliefs today, only to don one’s pith hat against theory, is actually to close down the adventure of interpretation and sign up for a musicological safari.<sup>39</sup>

It would be too easy to point out, with tongue in cheek, that Head seems to have become quite the colonialist himself, Othering those with a different critical perspective and colonizing the entire landscape for his own project. The use of a pith-helmeted caricature for those not on board with him is the most obvious example of Othering via stereotype, but he goes into more detail: they are “scholars” in the paragraph above but (as we saw before) they are “unscholarly” and they have “no scholarly escape route” from cultural theory. The real master-stroke consisted of de-legitimizing Susan McClary’s feminist criticism of Bizet’s *Carmen*, dismissing her as an orientalist herself (the context borders on name-calling), then appropriating the entire area of gender studies, especially her feminist concerns, by subsuming it under the postcolonialist project (“imperialism at home in the relations between the sexes”). Thus, Head’s own postcolonial project—the Greater Good, in other words, with its historical inevitability—must take precedence over the particular, the local, the personal, and even the musical, because of its “academic currency,” because “the existing literature . . . has already made it relevant.” Because there is a lot of talk about something, in other words, it must be the only conversation to have.

Head’s strident rhetoric here requires me to observe that he seems to have confused his own critical perspective with hard science or higher mathematics. Criticism offers ideas and interpretations that may

or may not enlighten those who reflect upon them, but they do not offer hard facts that must be included in a growing body of basic knowledge. The fact that particular critical works exist does *not* mean that all future writing on related subjects has to acknowledge and engage them or be adjudged incomplete. That much is written about a perspective, however forcefully, does not by definition legitimize or canonize it. This abstract principle is as true for binary postcolonialism as it is for, say, Creation Science or a geocentric view of our solar system. Head seems to feel that his imperatives should perforce trump other scholars' (though he clearly considers them to be unscholarly) "career paths, publication pressures, and musical experiences," which is a strangely self-centered approach for a critic to take. No critical perspective, obviously, merits this kind of exceptional status.

To return to musical concerns: musical realities and experiences have long been transcultural, much as Said pointed out in the passage about identities quoted above, because human beings and cultures at their most narrow cannot come close to the zero-dimensional identities necessary for a second-wave postcolonialist argument. It is one of the primary roles of the responsible music scholar to address and explain *how music works*—to borrow an apposite phrase from Ian Bent's article under the subject entry "Analysis" in the *New Grove II* (1:528)—though my working definition would also encompass cultural confluences, cross-currents, juxtapositions, and so forth. The challenge is that music is certainly not less complex than any other art, and a wide variety of musical works, culturally comfortable and culturally uncomfortable, continue to speak to us. *What* and *how* and *why* are at the heart of what we need to be addressing. Of course, this does not mean that we hunker behind "the music itself" and imagine that we are properly limiting ourselves to our own rightful purview. Quite the contrary: addressing the multiplicity of identities and cultural conversations in transcultural music is a scholarly and critical necessity. But because the stylistic elements of transcultural works are precisely those that tend to be avoided by analysts, warnings such as Cross's about "strict formalism" ring hollow. (The real questions would be 1) why such perennially popular works are avoided by analysts, and 2) how a stylistically inclusive analysis of transcultural music might work, but these must be pursued elsewhere.)

What cannot be suffered is for scholars of any kind, musical or otherwise, to subvert all conversations about a particular repertoire to the imperatives of a single critical agenda, be it the "crucial project of postcolonial criticism" (Richardson) or any other. That approach produces propaganda, not scholarship, and the dismissals of differing approaches (whether with subtle implications of racism, as with the pith-helmet

remark, or with accusations of abdicated responsibilities) hardly strengthen the case. Scholarly integrity requires more than staking out one's own piece of the imaginary intellectual high ground. One suspects that the monothematic sonata-without-development that postcolonial music criticism seems to have become would have made even Edward Said wince.

### "To Review and Recalibrate"

The primary failing of postcolonial criticism in music is that if it is not focusing on unequal power relations, hegemonies (physical and cultural), and the ensuing colonizations, then it seems not to address its purpose. Musical references to other peoples or places are treated with suspicion, as various writers (including some cited here) demonstrate. What postcolonial criticism is not equipped to do is address transcultural music where there is no perceived power differential, or at least none of interest. Chopin's apotheoses of Italian operatic *bel canto*, for example, or Liszt's virtuosic evocations of vernacular Italian songs and dances are clearly transcultural, but since a case cannot be persuasively made that these lionized composer-virtuosi were reducing or essentializing Italians via the stylistic markers of their music, such works are ignored. Spain offers an even more problematic example; Spanish exoticism via musical markers is an old, old tradition, but the power differential kept changing. "Spain" might evoke the glories of Moorish Al-Andalus, the Spanish imperial cruelty in the new world, the rigidity of Most Catholic Spain in the Counter-Reformation, Enlightenment condescension about the decrepitude of a long-vanquished and formerly feared power, a colorful but harmless tourist spot of later decades, or (going full circle) the remnant of an ancient and glorious golden age of power, civilization, and even *convivencia*. The cultural complexities are forbidding, so aside from James Parakilas's definitive study "How Spain Got a Soul,"<sup>40</sup> people tend to stay away from the subject, despite the obvious cultural and musical richness. Unless the relationship between the cultures being musically juxtaposed is of an exploitative kind, postcolonial criticism has little to offer, and is thus of marginal relevance—shrill denials to the contrary—for the vast majority of transcultural music. And it is precisely this point which enables a sage voice to talk us back from the critical ledge.

Glenn Watkins has recently reminded the entire critical community that what he calls the "old Orientalism question"—"Who is colonizing who?"—seems almost quaintly out of date if one considers the omnidirectional globalism of musical dissemination.<sup>41</sup> Asian orchestras

throw themselves at western classical repertoire with an urgent abandon that is too often lacking here, numerous composers use both the gestural vocabularies and musical processes of differing musics for cultural and artistic explorations, and a variety of east–west projects (Yo-Yo Ma’s *Silk Road* endeavors, compositions of Tan Dun and Michael Tenzer, and so on) illustrate that the less freighted concepts of cultural transfer, borrowing, encounter, and even gift exchange have more to offer the wide world of transcultural music criticism than hegemony and appropriation. Watkins quotes some pertinent words of Karlheinz Stockhausen:

If a European is moved by a piece of Indian music, he discovers the Indian within himself. If a Japanese is touched by some European music, he finds within himself a European from the period when this music was born out of the inner pressures of an absolutely specific historical moment. . . . The great shock occurs when someone who approached an unfamiliar culture with harmless curiosity is so moved by this experience that he or she falls head over heels in love with it.<sup>42</sup>

I consider the experience of falling head over heels in love with an unfamiliar kind of music to be a universal experience among musicians. Yet read from a postcolonial perspective, Stockhausen’s thoughts would provoke harsh criticism: can there be an “Indian within” myself, if I am not an Indian? (Can it be aught but appropriative masquerade, in other words?) Colonization of the Other’s very identity aside, is it even possible to “approach an unfamiliar culture with harmless curiosity” when the very act of naming, as we have been told, is already a kind of appropriation? Surely such curiosity can never be harmless because exposure to an unfamiliar culture will require translation and explanation—themselves acts of colonization—and individuals’ “musical experiences” are only of marginal relevance to current critical imperatives . . .

No need to belabor the point further. Watkins wisely observes that current postcolonial perspectives suggest that “there is a need to review and recalibrate the cultural assets that have accrued to the West through [the] extended two-way interface with the Orient,”<sup>43</sup> and I would agree, though I tend to think that it is postcolonialism itself that needs review and recalibration, given the demonstrable post-Saidian flattening of perspective on Occidental–Oriental interaction. Music criticism based on Orientalist currents is not necessarily wrong, but its applicability is too limited, methodologically and culturally, to be broadly useful. Musical transculturation itself probably dates back to the first intentional sounding of vocal or instrumental pitches for pleasure or art,



to the first time a primitive human found another's music interesting or alluring, and it goes in all directions: master to slave (and vice versa), colonizer and colonized (and vice versa), north–south and east–west (and vice versa), majority–minority (and vice versa). The real imperative, to my mind, is to fashion some critical approaches and vocabularies that do not disfigure their musical–cultural subjects by engaging them only in the context of a particular nonmusical agenda.

## Notes

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1. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978; New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
2. Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1960), 59.
3. Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama* [1952], 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 206.
4. Susan McClary, review of Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, *Notes* 96, no. 52 (June 1996): 1142.
5. George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Post-modernism, and the Poetics of Place* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 60–61.
6. Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34–35. His entire second chapter, “Questions of Value” (23–42), is especially helpful in situating Said's book in the context of his later work on the subject and that of other critics.
7. Edward Said, “The Empire at Work: Verdi's *Aida*,” in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993; New York: Knopf, 1994), 111–32.
8. Said, *Orientalism*, 27–28. Said is sober but not blind about *Aida* and what he considers to be its imperial undercurrents.
9. Jonathan Bellman, “Introduction,” in *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), ix.
10. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxvi.
11. See Said, *Music at the Limits* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), an anthology of his music criticism.
12. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 336.

13. Nicholas Cook, "Encountering the Other, Redefining the Self: Hindostannie Airs, Haydn's Folksong Settings, and the 'Common Practice' Style," in *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s–1940s*, ed. Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 15. The Said passage Cook quotes is from *Musical Elaborations* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1991), 52.
14. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 330–31.
15. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiv.
16. Said, *Music at the Limits*, 134–39.
17. Ralph P. Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3 (1991): 261–302, is a definitive early treatment, and he has written a great deal on the subject since that piece; Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Forreine Conceites and Wandring Devises': The Exotic, the Erotic, and the Feminine," in Bellman, ed., *The Exotic in Western Music*.
18. Orient itself as Woman received substantial attention from Said's *Orientalism* onward; Jann Pasler identifies this pattern in the music of Maurice Delage in "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction in the Wake of the 'Yellow Peril,'" in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgina Born and David Hedsmondhalgh (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).
19. Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: "Carmen"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
20. See also Joep Bor, "Mamia, Ammani, and Other Bayadères: Europe's Portrayal of India's Temple Dancers," in *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s–1940s: Portrayal of the East*, and Claire Mabilat, *Orientalism and Representations of Music in the Nineteenth-Century British Popular Arts* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), especially Chapter 2, "Sexualizing the Other."
21. Pasler, "Race, Orientalism, and Distinction," 94. Pasler's analysis of Roussel's travel sketchbook from this time (1909–10) suggests that he seemed consistently more interested in material that could be developed compositionally than in the faithful transcription of the music he encountered.
22. Michael Tenzer, "Orientalism, Western Music, and Crosscultural Contact," published in the program book for the festival weekend *East Meets West* (Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 8–11 February 1996), and *Orientalism* (Brooklyn Philharmonic Orchestra at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, 16–18 February 1996), 13.
23. George Crumb, "Music: Does It Have a Future?" [*The Kenyon Review*, Summer 1980], *The Official George Crumb Home Page*, <http://www.georgecrumb.net/future.html> (accessed 30 November 2009).
24. John Richardson, *Singing Archaeology: Philip Glass's "Akhnaten"* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1999), 195.
25. Richardson, *Singing Archaeology*, 196.

26. Richardson, *Singing Archaeology*, 195. The quoted words in the middle of the passage are from Ralph P. Locke, "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila*," 285.
27. "Orientalism and Musical Style" [1997] is Chapter 7 of Derek B. Scott, *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
28. Paul A. Bové, ed., *Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power* (Durham: Durham University Press, 2000).
29. Ralph P. Locke, "Beyond the Exotic: How 'Eastern' Is *Aida*?," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 17, no. 2 (July 2005): 105–39; and Locke, "*Aida* and Nine Readings of Empire," *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 3, no. 1 (March 2006): 45–72. Much of Locke's thought is to be found in revised form in his recent *Musical Exoticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
30. Locke, "*Aida* and Nine Readings," 49.
31. Matthew Head, "Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory," *Music Analysis* 22, nos. 1–2 (2003): 216 and 227n8.
32. The study in question is Michael V. Pisani, "'I'm an Indian Too': Creating Native American Identities in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Music," in Bellman, ed., *The Exotic in Western Music*, 218–57. Pisani subsequently published a book devoted to the subject, *Imagining Native America in Music* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
33. Head, "Musicology on Safari," 222.
34. Head, "Musicology on Safari," 223.
35. Head, "Musicology on Safari," 223, and *Orientalism, Masquerade, and Mozart's Turkish Music* (London: Royal Musical Association, 2000), 16. Thomas Bauman, curiously, is not criticized, although his 1987 Cambridge Opera Guide to Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail* provides just such a taxonomy of "Turkish" Style gestures in order to fulfill its analytical task.
36. Head, "Musicology on Safari," 217.
37. Head, "Musicology on Safari," 218.
38. Jonathan Cross, Editorial, *Music Analysis* 22, nos. 1–2 (2003): 2.
39. Head, "Musicology on Safari," 227. Head is not the only such stridently prescriptive voice; Grant Olwage, reviewing a recent anthology of studies on Orientalism in British music, opined that many of the essays were "for the most part too literal in their interpretations and somewhat naïve in their nod to cultural theory, with which scholarship tackling the weighty issues of race and power must by force engage." Grant Olwage, review of *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s–1940s: Portrayal of the East*, ed. Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon, in *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 540–42.
40. James Parakilas, "How Spain Got a Soul," in Bellman, ed., *The Exotic in Western Music*, 137–93.

41. Glenn Watkins, "Beyond Orientalism?," in *On Bunker's Hill: Essays in Honor of J. Bunker Clark*, ed. William A. Everett and Paul R. Laird (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2007), 299–308.
42. Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Beyond Global Village Polyphony," in *Towards a Cosmic Music: Texts by Karlheinz Stockhausen*, trans. Tim Nevill (Longmead, UK: Element, 1989), 24–25, 30–31; quoted in Watkins, "Beyond Orientalism?," 301.
43. Watkins, "Beyond Orientalism?," 302.

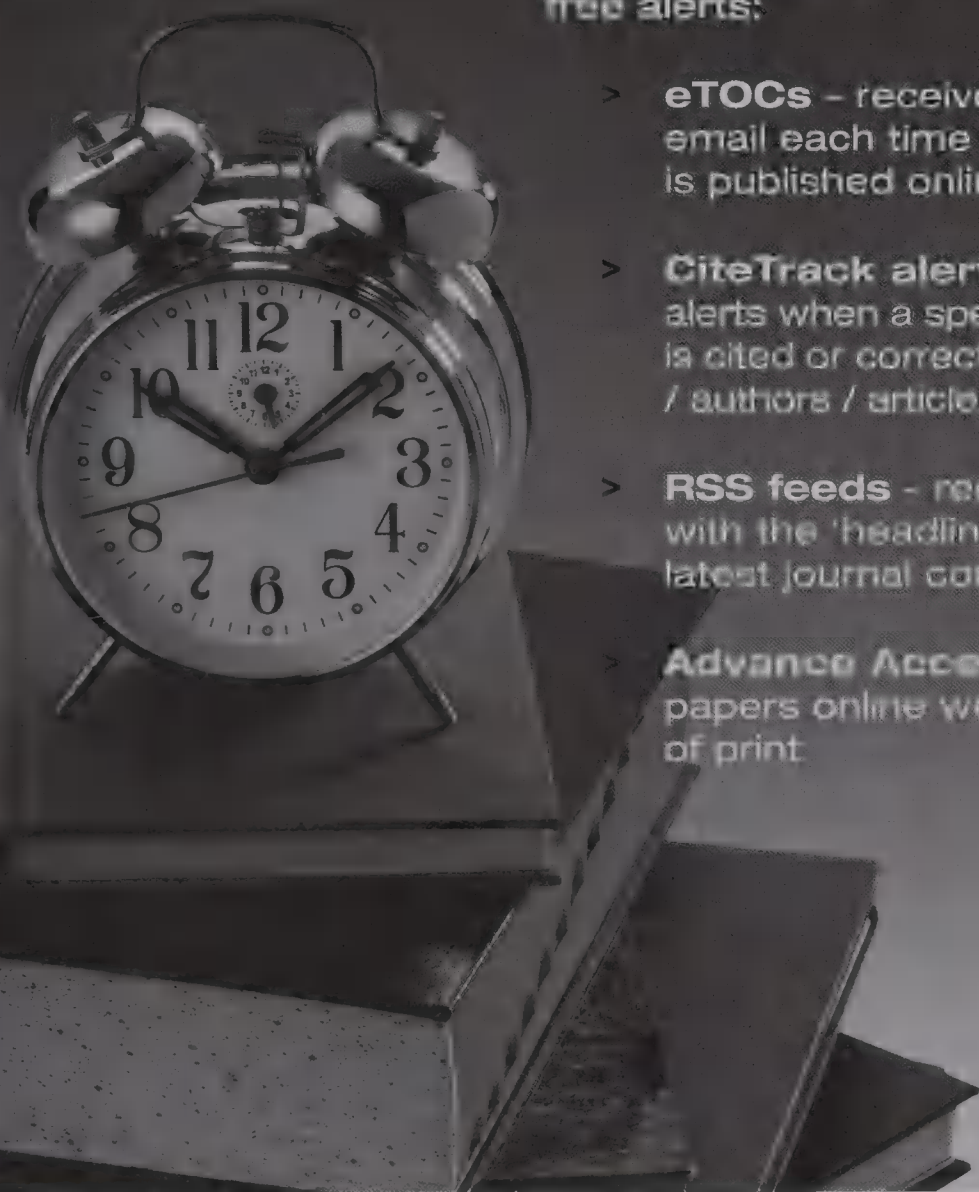


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**On the Cover:** Leonard Bernstein (l), Cantor David J. Putterman, and Max Helfman. Premiere of Bernstein's *Hashkivenu* at the Central Park Synagogue, 11 May 1945. David J. Putterman Music Collection, Box 11. Image provided by The Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary.

# The Musical Quarterly

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# The Jewish Question in Music

Leon Botstein

## I

Three articles in this issue of MQ treat some aspect of the “Jewish question” in European history. True to the mission of the journal, each does so in a manner directly pertinent to the history of music. Three different centuries come under discussion—the fifteenth century of the “Cados, cados” motet, the eighteenth century of Bach, and the nineteenth century, during which Joseph Joachim made his career. The first article seeks to solve a long-standing controversial riddle about a unique musical document. The one on Bach undertakes to amplify the politics of theology and tolerance in Leipzig in an effort to understand the context of Bach’s setting of the text of the *St. John Passion*, a work frequently derided for its apparent anti-Semitic character. The Joachim article confronts biographical claims.

All three contributions amply confirm the continuing allure among scholars of questions about the role played by Jews and anti-Semitism in the musical life of Europe and North America. The establishment of a special study group within the American Musicological Society (AMS) and the continuing flow of scholarship, including Philip V. Bohlman’s fine collection *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New* (Chicago University Press, 2008) and Ruth HaCohen *The Music Libel Against the Jews* (Yale University Press, 2012), which reconfigures the evolution of anti-Semitism and distinct Jewish and Christian cultures in terms of sound and music, further attest to the intense engagement with understanding the intersection between Jews and musical life and culture in European history.

The 2011 AMS Meeting featured a set of papers devoted to “The Jewish Connection.” According to the published abstracts, in one paper, the appreciation for music and musical culture (including the work of J. S. Bach) among wealthy Jews in Berlin well before Felix Mendelssohn’s 1829 performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* was examined. In a second paper, an analysis of the “Jewish” original scenario for Leonard Bernstein’s *West Side Story* was the subject. In the initial scenario, Jews on the East Side were pitted against Catholics. There was even a Passover Seder scene.

The Berlin topic concerns “Jewish participation,” and the habits and tastes within an elite group of Jews are precisely located. The account of the genesis of *West Side Story* raises larger issues of ethnicity and identity in post-World War II America well beyond Bernstein’s biography. Stereotypes of ethnicity as well as their musical signifiers and clichés are scrutinized. Insofar as the artists influenced the shift in the story’s venue and protagonists, how might we evaluate the “Jewish” aspect of that process? How might we differentiate between the Jews involved in this project (between, for example, Leonard Bernstein, a middle-class Boston-area Jew with a modified traditional upbringing, and Arthur Levine [Laurents] from Brooklyn, who was exposed to a more Orthodox environment) on a host of issues, including the idea of New York and the role of Jews in its life? The *West Side Story* research challenges the reception and criticism of not only a particular work, but also its genre insofar as the American musical of the period was an influential factor in defining cultural stereotypes. This topic has also been provocatively explored by Raymond Knapp in *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton University Press, 2005).

These timely examples all suggest the vast array of issues that fall into the proverbial basket the AMS chose to call “The Jewish Connection” but that more traditionally has been understood as “The Jewish Question” in history. But do any of the papers presented at the AMS or the three articles in this issue of MQ have a valid subject in common that justifies their being lumped together? What exactly qualifies as the subject of the “Jewish Connection”? What explanatory meaning does the term “Jewish” convey? What does it actually tell us and signify (to invoke that exhausted and overused word)? What are the shared issues and questions its presence invokes? These are the sorts of questions generally applied to “identity”-based scholarship.

Do the historical actors’ identities as we choose to construe them—as Jews for our purposes—justify the inquiry into them as part of a wider project beyond the history of Berlin or late eighteenth-century urban music (and Bach) patronage, amateurism, and reception history? Or does the project participate in a tacit framing of a more ambitious historical subject: the Jews, whose coherence extends over centuries beyond regional and national boundaries? Is the overarching subject of the study just the musical tastes of Berlin Jewry before 1829, and if not, what might lend this segment of the Berlin elite its significance? Larger questions seem indeed to be at stake— notions about German Jewry, European Jewry, *Bildung*, and the role of culture, all suggestive of a common history and fate for Jews.

Do we not also seek to illuminate something about social processes we call assimilation and acculturation and other generalized theses about connections and interactions between Christians and Jews, specifically between German Jewry and German culture? Do we believe that a better grasp of them can play a role in explaining the seemingly inexplicable: the tragic end under Nazi rule? Do these ambitions emerge from what we can find in the historical record, or are they superimpositions located in our own politics and construct of identity and the ways in which we seek to understand the Holocaust?

Is the subject of the *West Side Story* research an attempt to understand how a hit musical came into being, or whether changing the setting was a key to the work's incredible success? Or is the subject rather Bernstein's manner of thinking of himself as a Jew in America? Does the material illuminate New York's image as a "Jewish" city or anti-Semitic tension in New York? And what is the significance of the reasons for the change in venue and in the ethnicity of the protagonists? Are the answers from historical research related to some historical factor that can be termed the "Jewish" factor? And if the music in *West Side Story* "works" now, with little change, as a marker among the majority for the Puerto Rican, does that have anything to do with that "Jewish" factor, particularly within the realm of American theater music, its appropriation, or the Broadway musical and its popularity and significance in the 1950s?

Or perhaps there is no "Jewish" question, nothing at all beyond the coincidence that the individuals and groups under study, no matter the time and place, were considered and were "Jews." But is this valid description "Jewish" a marker of something held in common by Jews? Does it tell us something special, any more than calling someone from the eighteenth century a "German" and someone from the mid-twentieth century also a "German." Such labels (particularly "Jew") surely are problematic, empirically speaking. Their meaning is historically contingent and highly variable, if not murky.

As is repeatedly asserted (although in little more than an act of ritual self-protection), it is nearly impossible to define and undertake the study of any aspect of the history of Jews in Europe without grappling with the brutal facts of their ultimate fate: the successful extermination of peoples and cultures between 1933 and 1945. But those peoples and cultures, in terms of their variety and differentiation, have largely been forgotten. The Jews in history are no longer defined by their own choices, by who they were and how they lived. They have been redefined reductively as objects of history and rounded up (and this is an intentionally provocative metaphor) by historians along the very terms



adopted by their enemies. The Jews and the Jewish life in Europe historians now turn to, as an aggregate, are artificial, a blunt fiction of coherence whose definition stems from the criteria used by Nazis for segregation and slaughter.

The coherence we now assume about who is a Jew as a proper object of analysis has been extended backward, well beyond the lives of the real victims of the years 1933–45. The analytic coherence of the Jew and the Jewish as a subject suffers therefore from an overdependence on the views not only of the Nazis, but of anti-Semites. Consider how readily we use the polemics of Richard Wagner to define the subject in an interrogation of the historical role of Jews in musical life. Despite the undeniable ubiquity of anti-Semitism in European history, particularly during the past three hundred years, the views of anti-Semites did not necessarily overlap with or impede efforts among Jews to differentiate and self-define themselves. The variety of Jewish life in Europe either has been ignored, distorted, and devalued in favor of a belief that being a Jew was always subject to an involuntary reality that demanded some dynamic of internalization that trumped all efforts to escape that reality. Underlying the legitimation of the category of “Jews” in history, however they defined themselves, is an anti-Semitic bias turned on its head: a quite modern genealogical and racial definition, because the ubiquity of anti-Semitism (itself left undifferentiated as a historical reality) has bestowed a deep structural commonality that can be discovered in retrospect as historically significant. Given the chaotic and differentiated complexity of life and history—even twentieth-century history—this might well be seen as far less likely to be true.

America’s role as a safe haven and successful diaspora also defines the way we look backward into the Jewish question, even in Europe. The experience of immigration and the ways in which Jews came to be understood as a group in America (as a religion rather than a dispersed nation) itself seem to justify a claim of a common subject, even though anti-Semitism in America has its own distinct history. Given slavery and its aftermath, its context can be seen as radically different from any European parallel. But what, then, is sufficiently persuasive to aggregate, even for America, the Sephardic, the German Jewish, and all of Eastern European immigration? What binds all Jews who came to this country into one subject that overrides region, class, place of origin, language, variety of religious practice, and other factors?

One further determinant of how the Jew as historical subject is now defined and understood bears mentioning: the prism of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and the complex dynamics of Arab-Israeli relationships. The extent to which the politics of a “Jewish”



state (as Israel is understood) become problematic in the culture of university life can distort historical scholarship about Jews and the Jewish question. These factors will influence—whether we like it or not—how Jews, Jewishness, Judaism, and anti-Semitism are treated and understood, even unwittingly, as historical subjects.

A parallel can be adduced to the way sexuality, and particularly homosexuality, has been understood as a historical subject. When Maynard Solomon published his path-breaking work on Schubert in the 1980s and early 1990s, revealing the likelihood that Schubert was homosexual, the controversy that ensued was less motivated by disputes over the plausibility of the scholarship than by the cultural-political context of Solomon's work. A well-worn Victorian-era myth about Schubert's forlorn unrequited heterosexual private life (best exemplified by Heinrich Berté's 1916 operetta *Das Dreimäderlhaus*) came under siege.

At the same time, one might easily have accepted Solomon's findings without its modern interpretive consequences. One need not introduce the manner in which sexual preference, sexual behavior, and, indeed, subjectivity and identity are now understood into the context of the early nineteenth century. It can be argued that all these factors, even sexuality itself, were construed quite differently in early-nineteenth-century Vienna. In an age when Byron was a figure lionized throughout Europe, and aesthetic sensibility and refinement were still masculine attributes in aristocratic and elite urban populations (a heritage of the eighteenth century) and bisexuality commonplace, the relationship of sexual life to the public sphere and the understanding of sexuality in relationship to the definition of the person or identity were all quite different. Homosexual and homoerotic activity carried different meanings, as did the very construct of homosexuality within the realm of sexual desire and fulfillment. Did anyone in Schubert's day really care? Why assume Victorian and post-Victorian criteria in assigning historical importance? Key differences in culture and mores have recast homophobia as a historical category; they underscore the discontinuities between past and present, between history and the contemporary psychological and political dynamics vis-à-vis sexuality and sexual identity (and the public discourse) with which we live.

When we speak of modernity and modernism—if either term still retains any scholarly substance and utility—we of necessity include marked shifts in mores and constructs of the private and the public that took place after 1828, alongside massive social and economic transformations. What distinguishes the history of music from economic history, however, is that by altering the way we choose to frame and understand the past, particularly in music, there is more at stake than getting

history “right.” We believe that by re-inventing the past, we help open new ways of appreciating artistic works of the imagination whose importance transcends any historical context. We reinvent meaning and significance for music we regard of the highest normative value for a new cadre of listeners and new generations of musicians. Even a less controversial illumination of the Vienna of Schubert’s day—a “thick description” of its social and economic realities—can expand current aesthetic appreciation. We might even rethink the notion that Schubert (and for that matter, Mozart) died exceptionally young, except in our terms. The assertion of too early a death is a clumsy and ahistorical way of saying we wished they had lived longer because we would have had more great music. There never was a “late Schubert” as there might plausibly be a “late” Beethoven and a “late” Verdi. Beethoven and Verdi rightly saw themselves as old in their own day and proceeded with their later work with that awareness.

The imposition of our own interests may justify new ways of interpreting art works, but it is not a surrogate for understanding the past, particularly when it comes to understanding the history of Jews in Europe. The “Jewish” question requires a methodological self-consciousness and discipline comparable to that required for the history of sexuality. But the matter is more challenging than in the issue of sexuality where commonalities seem more commonsensical. The suggestion that sexual identity as a historical subject is analogous to the Jewish question is ironic since so much of fin-de-siècle anti-Semitic rhetoric was tied up and infused with notions of the feminine and the masculine, and therefore sexuality. That disturbing fact notwithstanding, the subject itself does not have as obvious a potential coherence or continuity as sexual behavior, and therefore lacks the seemingly obvious validity that bridges distinct historical epochs and regions. The Jews we treat together in history did not share as much as we would like to imagine, even in terms of basic religious beliefs or practices.

We have a tendency to resort to this challenge with an appeal to common sense. Consider circumcision, the Sabbath, dietary laws, and the like as sufficient shared basic characteristics. But will that work? The “common sense” definition, particularly for Jewish history after the 1780s (when Joseph II of Austria issued his various Edicts of Tolerance), becomes ever more dependent on arbitrary modern anti-Semitic thought. We might choose to start with post-1848 anti-Semitism, referencing most often Wagner, on the assumption that, historically, he set the terms of inquiry and context for analysis. But that too is not adequate. Who, in the past, apart from a late-nineteenth-century racist viewpoint, qualifies as a Jew, and at that, why? And

what kind of Jew (and that surely should make a difference)? In what sense, apart from Wagner's agitation, or later Nazi law, can Eduard Hanslick be regarded as a "Jew"? Is there indeed some negative coherence that results from the encounter with all forms of anti-Semitism?

Even if anti-Semitism (whose well-researched history needs to be better understood) is our justification for creating a subject, why do we privilege its most virulent and modern form and assume a false uniformity? Karol Szymanowski in his correspondence uses the Polish word *Zyd* as an epithet. It comes close to the meaning of "nigger," but in Polish speech it once was widely used with varying, even benign meanings. What does that tell us about Szymanowski or his music? Perhaps it suggests a type of thoughtless common snobbery among upper-class Poles quite distinct from populist Polish hatred or later Nazi ideology. Our capacity to distinguish E. T. A. Hoffmann's amused but rabid anti-Semitism (or Goethe's milder form) from Joseph Goebbels' or Hans Pfitzner's is damaged, and perhaps properly so, from an ethical point of view. But as historians, the failure to discriminate leads us too easily to a theory of continuity in German anti-Semitism from the late eighteenth century that argues a causal link to Auschwitz.

But differentiating anti-Semisms can contest such a causal argument, all without "whitewashing" the prejudice and stereotypes we encounter in historical materials. We might wince at Clara and Robert Schumann's anti-Semitic reactions to Eduard Marxsen, Brahms's teacher, and would readily judge them harshly if they were in the next room, but they are not. And in fact, anti-Semitism properly constitutes a marginal aspect of our understanding of Schumann. Historians ought not to be in the business of prosecutors or juries with respect to the past; not because we should not have opinions about what was just or evil in the past, but because the attitude of the prosecutor and even jury blinds us to what is out there, particularly the differentiated complexity of the historical subject. And reclaiming that differentiation and particularity has its own ethical imperative.

On the issue of Jews in history, is the subject—the Jew—defined by adherence to a religion? Clearly not, since most historians accept, quite reasonably, a quasi race-based genealogical approach, rendered notoriously legal by the Nazi regime, a strategy justified by modern (that is, nineteenth-century) anti-Semitism that held that being "Jewish" was more than a choice of conscience, or membership in a religion. Being Jewish was something that could not be erased, and certainly not by baptism in one generation. Jews in history seem to be defined retrospectively as those whom the Nuremberg laws would have defined as such. Hence Lorenzo Da Ponte becomes a proper subject of inquiry as a "Jew."



This decision—to give validity or perhaps primacy to Da Ponte's origin as a Jew—requires considerable defense.

To help in this task, historians adopt a toolbox of cultural and sociological claims that include dynamic ideal types of what might be regarded legitimately fundamental to the European and American experience of being "Jewish." These are variations on constructs of identity, identity politics, and assumptions regarding the status and consequences of "otherness." This can trump any concrete linkage among individual subjects deemed Jewish to Jews and the Jewish community, historically defined. In Otto Weininger's influential turn-of-the-century polemic, what was actually pernicious about the "Jewish" spirit in culture and society had long ago been detached from any coherent group. It was a disease all too widely distributed, mostly among figures unquestionably "Aryan" and not Jewish in any literal sense. Judaism was a cultural phenomenon, a mentality in modernity that influenced (or rather corrupted) the creative potential of human behavior. Recent efforts to label Dmitri Shostakovich as a "Jewish" composer are a version of this idea, with a "positive spin."

Also in a "positive" vein, there have been attempts to appropriate figures who are vulnerable in terms of a racist definition of Jewish identity, such as Ludwig Wittgenstein, as part of a project that suggests a special "Jewish" contribution to modernism. The most striking effort was a startling and engaging 2005 volume by Ranjit Chatterjee, *Wittgenstein and Judaism: A Triumph of Concealment*. At stake in this volume are claims about "Jewish" modes of thought, rabbinic and Talmudic traditions—bolstered by consideration of other twentieth-century philosophers who were Jews (Levinas, Derrida)—in the context of Wittgenstein's family and self-awareness of his status as a Jew, one largely defined by the shifting dynamics of prejudice within Vienna. There is no evidence that Wittgenstein ever read Talmud. He had no Jewish religious education and was not brought up in what commonsensically might pass as a Jewish home. The entire project rests on a construct of a new sort of Jewish cultural form: the assimilated, acculturated Jewish experience cultivated by the very wealthy. This becomes a Jewish elite in Vienna that sustains, inadvertently and despite conversion, something "Jewish" in its mores, mentality, and culture.

This strategy is filled with perils. Ironically, most claims to define the "Jewish" using religious belief, genealogy, and descent—the facts of birth and perhaps the experience of childhood—skirt one of the most tenuous definitions of what can be labeled "Jewish" in history: the political idea that Jews were members of a dispersed nation, no matter how they conducted their lives. This view has its deep religious roots in the



Bible and in Jewish ritual. At the same time, this sacred idea developed its more secular and political side and became popular after the late eighteenth century among Jewish writers with proto-Zionist, and later anti-Zionist and overt-Zionist, outlooks. This idea of a Jewish nation rests on the claim of a shared historical consciousness derived from the common fate of Jewish political homelessness, where the surrogate diaspora “home” becomes entirely mental, cultural, and spiritual.

This formed the ideology behind the founding of YIVO in Vilna in 1925. In this secular construct, converts to Christianity and even their descendants might be included, as is the case with the Law of Return in Israel. This sustains a loose but not entirely consistent definition of the Jew. The national definition eludes the necessity of legitimating a compromised if not fraudulent analytic category—race—despite its importance within history as a powerful idea. It also bypasses, although not entirely, an analytic dependence on anti-Semitism for coherence; it references the consequences of dispersion under Roman Rule in the first century. Is that sufficiently persuasive?

## II

This abbreviated recapitulation of the problematic nature of even identifying the subject—the Jew—in history, except with the lens of the most heinous enemy of the Jews, the one constructed by the Nazis, is intended to frame a plea for skepticism, if not restraint, regarding the plausibility, significance, and priority of the Jewish question in music history.

What seems to attract scholars is the presumed cultural consequence of constructing the “Jewish” in history. Jews, as a minority (not only an elite) often excluded if not persecuted by a non-Jewish majority, are held responsible for generating identifiable contributions to culture, more by their own behavior than through the reaction by the non-Jewish world. This consequence emerges from dynamic forces understood as assimilation, acculturation, accommodation, integration, restoration, and resistance. It is once again ironic that assimilation, integration, and acculturation—reasoning based on historical processes—were used to justify anti-Semitism and to support conspiracy theories about Jews; it figures in Marx and Wagner. In contrast, according to Hannah Arendt, modern anti-Semitism was itself a revolutionary phenomenon as a reaction to emancipation and played a crucial role in the transformation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European politics.

In this version, the Jewish question offers a unique window on the evolution of nationalism, national identity, imperialism, and modernism

in the nineteenth century. The forms of Jewish self-definition and communal organization, as well as the patterns of integration and the disappearance of distinction, all shed light on cultural and political phenomena within the so-called historical center or mainstream. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the way we approach the history of the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, particularly in the study of that highly contested and misleading category—modernism. But both in the matter of acculturation and assimilation and the reaction to them, these terms assume a process of going from one defined status and adapting to or disappearing into another. Even if one accepted this logic, there is also the possibility, particularly in the nineteenth century, a period of radical secularization and economic transformation, that new categories of social groups were created by simultaneous forces from within both Jewish and Christian social groups, demolishing any easy generalized polarity between insider and outsider, between Jewish and Gentile, between the center and the periphery.

Neither assimilation nor acculturation may be appropriate rubrics to understand the behavior of certain Jews in Germany, France, and, to a lesser extent, pre-1917 Russia, particularly within an intellectual class that includes professionals and artists, precisely because the reductive manner in which the status of being Jewish (or for that matter “Christian”) is framed. Assimilation inadvertently becomes a polemical category of retrospective judgment, despite its use by actors in the past (especially after the late eighteenth century), rather than a key to understanding history. What was “lost” or “sacrificed” by being Jewish is idealized. The object that is being assimilated becomes demonized or caricatured. Those Jews who sought to construct identities in the post-Emancipation period may have assimilated, so to speak, into something new, and in that process helped define a reality collaboratively with other social forces. They did not disappear into any stable existing category (center or majority). They were arguing on behalf of a new notion of society (consider for example socialism and communism) rather than capitulating to some existing hegemonic norm.

Most often, the impetus to framing what is “Jewish” in history through assimilation or acculturation (words whose very linguistic character suggests a reality that may be fictional) is justified by referencing a specific historical context of anti-Semitism. Take, for instance, two separate examples where the issues of assimilation, acculturation, self-definition, and cultural influence or transfer/translation have been adduced. In his autobiography, the writer Carl Zuckmayer asserts without any hesitation that in his childhood—before 1914—he never witnessed or experienced anti-Semitism in his native Rhineland and certainly not as it

might pertain to himself or his immediate family. He was a Catholic and felt himself to be Catholic. He only found out as an early adolescent that his mother's parents had once been Jewish. The grandparents on that side converted as adults. That grandfather (and this was clearly not unusual) was the only person the young Carl remembered uttering negative remarks against a stereotype of the "Jewish."

Yet without any hint of self-recognition, Zuckmayer, when he compares the mores, life patterns, character opinions, and ambitions of both sets of grandparents—one multigenerational regional Catholics and the other recent arrivals to the status as Christian, that is, Jews who converted and for all intents and purposes were successfully integrated as (predictably enough) minority Protestants in Mainz—triggers a familiar portrait of qualities regularly identified with assimilated Jews. These two contrasting portraits were written well after 1945 and justify the prototypical generalization of "Jewish" characteristics and traits among the assimilated. Zuckmayer's authentic but utterly non-self-critical assessment of himself as not "Jewish" in any meaningful way (except for later when he proudly regarded himself an honorary Jew by virtue of Nazi persecution, mostly as a result of his politics) conforms astonishingly well to the views of any historian persuaded of distinctly Jewish characteristics within European history and culture. Not surprisingly, Zuckmayer, for all his lifelong devotion to Catholicism and an idealized Germany of which he saw himself as a part, is included in the 1971 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, merely on account of the fact that his mother had been born Jewish and that he had fled to the United States where he lived for more than a decade before returning, not to Germany—to whose "better self" he retained his loyalty—but to Switzerland.

The tenuousness of the "Jewish" or the "Jew" as an explanatory historical label, and then the hazards of a simplified notion of assimilation, and the myriad possible consequences of seeking to exit from the status as a Jew, all justify restraint if not skepticism with respect to the construct or use of aggregate descriptive categories in writing history. One would need as sophisticated an analysis and theory as Max Weber generated with respect to Protestant sects and the secularization of religious beliefs. And Weber's achievement derived from economic behavior. There have been too few Jews in any single religious configuration to justify a parallel exercise.

These dangers come to the fore when one compares Zuckmayer with Theodor Herzl, the key figure in the history of modern political Zionism. Herzl's connection to music and its implications has been understood mostly through Herzl's deep and for some problematic attraction to and affinity with the theater and music of Wagner.



Herzl, in stark contrast to Zuckmayer, was brought up as Jew within a modernized “enlightened” tradition of religious and liturgical reform, with a Bar Mitzvah termed as a “confirmation.” Conversion from Judaism occurred in the case of his children. Herzl remained unabashedly a Jew, resigning in protest from an anti-Semitic fraternity during his university years in Vienna. In 1890, he agreed to translate and adapt a text for a successful operetta that premiered at the Theater an der Wien, entitled *Des Teufels Weib*. The music was written by Adolf Müller (the younger). He was the son of a somewhat better known operetta composer, Adolf Müller the elder. Müller Jr., Herzl’s collaborator, is best known for his work on *Wiener Blut*, the last of Johann Strauss Jr.’s successful stage works.

*Des Teufels Weib* opened on 11 November 1890 and ran for sixty performances. Sheet music excerpts of the music were published by Spina in Vienna, together with Cranz in Hamburg. The most successful of these was a B-flat-major “Couplet”; it unmistakably evokes the cliché of Viennese operetta sentimentality of the period. Herzl’s role in this project mirrors his halting and not entirely successful attempt at establishing himself as a writer for the German theater. Nothing Herzl wrote in that genre approaches the quality of Zuckmayer’s plays. Although the Strauss dynasty could be (perhaps legitimately) construed as being within a rubric of “Jewish” contributors to European culture, Müller, father and son, cannot. And what should be made of the many unambiguously Jewish writers and composers during the heyday of the Viennese operetta? The Herzl–Müller contribution by virtue of its unexceptional aesthetic qualities suggests that instead of looking for any “Jewish” aspect to the operetta genre in Vienna, one would be better off considering the novelty of the form and its origins in the multiethnic demographic and economic transformation of the city after the 1850s. Herzl’s participation does not conform to any easy notion of “assimilation” tied to an “inside” or a specific place “outside” a culture or anything “Jewish.”

This quite random contrast of two figures—the religiously modified Jewish Herzl and the only remotely racially Jewish Zuckmayer (whose life and work and views nonetheless resemble the stereotype of the Jewish cosmopolitan assimilated German Jewish artist and intellectual of the Weimar era)—is instructive. Herzl became a major Jewish political figure whose aesthetic (perhaps including the political writings) is indistinguishable from dynamic new local cultural traditions in Vienna (albeit influenced from the 1860s on by the presence of a substantial Jewish participation, demographically defined, in the creation and reception of that culture). Zuckmayer has been included in the Jewish



narrative retrospectively, even in his own retelling of his life and origins, particularly in the account of the development of literary modernism, despite his real distance from Jewish life.

These examples heighten the awareness of the complexities attendant to sorting out Jews and the Jewish element within music and culture in Europe before 1939. Is there really underlying coherence between and among all the individuals we define as Jews, whose work in the arena of music and culture extends to the full range of the phenomena considered, from all points of view, from the aesthetic and stylistic to the ideological and political? If assimilation and acculturation, even as polemical categories, were truly successful, we would inevitably undermine the notion that there was a historical category (e.g., nation and culture), an identity into which the Jew entered, much less exited from. In short, the terms Jew and Jewish do not easily survive close historical analysis and differentiation and are brought into doubt as useful, distinct, and uniform categories.

This brings us to the problem that has vexed many commentators: was there ever something outside of a clearly segregated communal (perhaps even within it) and liturgical life of Jews in Europe (and that too might be contested) that resulted in or can be identified as a “Jewish” element in music? Among those concerned with this issue was Max Brod, Janáček’s discoverer and Kafka’s friend. Certainly Ernest Bloch had a self-consciously “Jewish” phase, inspired by Wagner. But that reveals the influence of the explosion of national schools of composition beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century and the perceived need to construct a Jewish national equivalent. Is there really something “Jewish” to be heard in Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Offenbach, Rubinstein, Joachim, Mahler, or Schoenberg, or some aspect of the music that causally can be linked to their varying ways of being categorized as “Jews”? And what would that “Jewish” element be, given the range of musical language and style exhibited by these composers, other than aspects of local influences (e.g., rural and urban folk music) whose alleged “Jewish” qualities can be stripped of their status as uniquely Jewish (e.g., Klezmer), much as Bartók deconstructed supposed distinctions between Slovakian, Rumanian, and Hungarian folk music, key differences among them notwithstanding. Many a Yiddish song betrays a transparent and commonplace hybrid character, an amalgamation of familiar secular operatic conventions, evocations of liturgy, and local non-Jewish folk music.

This brings us to the articles in this issue of *MQ*. Don Harrán’s effort to unravel the origins and authorship of “Cados, cados” highlights the dilemma. Was the work even written by a Jew, and if so, by what

kind and for what purpose? And what do we make of the work's unique status? Raymond Erickson's admirable contextualization of Bach's *St. John Passion* suggests that in Leipzig, Bach encountered a less virulent exploitation among theologians of the idea that the Jews were responsible for the death of Christ, therefore less of a tradition of justification of anti-Semitism and perhaps a more "enlightened" tolerance to adherents of a non-Christian religion. Robert Eshbach expands our knowledge of Joachim's parentage and heritage in an effort to complicate recent scholarly attempts to turn Joachim's career into a model of how a class of Jews used musical culture and virtuosity as an instrument to achieve assimilation and acculturation in nineteenth-century German-speaking Europe.

Despite conversion, Joachim never doubted his status as a Jew. Nor did anyone else, no matter what they made of it. Andreas Moser, his biographer and devoted disciple, had a son, Hans Joachim Moser, a musicologist who was an active Nazi and high-ranking official in the regime. Anti-Semitism was not a barrier to Joachim, but it was not absent around him, even in the case of a colleague who shared fundamental aesthetic convictions about music: Max Bruch. The composer of "Kol Nidre" and *Moses* was not immune, any more than Schumann or Szymanowski were, from anti-Semitic prejudices. Furthermore, Joachim did not turn away from composition owing to an internalization of a specific anti-Semitic prejudice about a rootless people incapable of genuine aesthetic creativity and perhaps at best good at imitative reproduction (made popular by Wagner, whose originality in terms of anti-Semitic arguments was more rhetorical than substantive, and who appropriated views that actually preceded his 1850 essay "Judaism in Music"). Rather, it is more likely that Joachim's close friendship with Brahms during the mid-1850s revealed a seemingly unbridgeable gap between genius and great talent, much as Robert Kajanus's rivalry and friendship with Sibelius turned Kajanus (despite some early success) away from composition to a focus on a career as a conductor. Joachim composed works that Brahms admired and even prepared piano reductions for; Brahms always lamented his friend's turn away from composition.

And it would be hard to argue, as Eshbach points out, that there is something inherently attractive about a theory of "absolute" music to Jews intent on pursuing any project of assimilation and acculturation. The connection between music and language is just too close, even though music is obviously less clearly tied to place and is not as susceptible as language to being perceived as inherently correspondent to external reality. There are also the cases of Meyerbeer and Anton Rubinstein, whose output (once heard all over the world, whatever its merits)

reveals a central engagement with opera and oratorio. What emerges in Eshbach's account is the significance of class, of economic status and its attendant impact on educational status, rather than ethnic or religious affiliation in shaping Joachim's meteoric career (apart from the obvious centrality of Joachim's virtuosity and musical intelligence—apparent in the best known and fiendishly difficult “Hungarian” Violin Concerto).

There is clearly a subject in the interaction between the history of Jewish life before and after Emancipation, anti-Semitism in Europe, especially between the mid-eighteenth century and 1939, and the history of music, musical culture, musical institutions, and reception. Music emerged during the spread of literacy after 1750 as an important and crucial marker of social status and class. A cultural life developed in the public sphere and in the home among a nonaristocratic elite that many Jews living outside of restricted ghettos helped define. Music, as part of a way of life, never required an overt sacrifice in terms of any connection to Jewish religious or communal life. But apart from the routine and extreme confrontation with anti-Semisms of varying degrees, with one's surroundings in non-Jewish worlds, and the formation of new cultural spaces shared with non-Jews to the dismay of some (e.g., Wagner), is there really more to the Jewish question in music history?

One answer concerns the assertion of a link between the “Jewish” experience and the advent of modernism. In this account, the very processes of so-called assimilation or acculturation, the response to a heightened sense of “otherness” and exclusion, all generated an approach to language and, by analogy, to music that inspired Jews to seek out, as participants and consumers, a secular, universal, non-national, and local discourse of meaning and signification—a field of activity in aesthetic terms that defied the usual markers of identity, such as accents, dress, manners—and elude even the most coded recognition of outsider status. In the European art-music tradition after 1750, a sort of secular neutrality characteristic more of science and once bestowed on classical antiquity seemed to flourish which suggested a normative way of confronting modernity through art. The people to whom this conceit appealed, to which “Jews” for example, or whether this appeal can be found in other elites within comparable “identities” groups—each resistant to its own nationalisms and all overtly defiant of sectarian and racist thought (as well as among those who succeeded in appropriating the supposed neutrality of music for sectarian ends)—are open questions that cannot be resolved by some appeal to a shared “Jewishness” among the legendary protagonists of aesthetic modernism at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth.



# *Debussy as National Icon: From Vehicle of Vichy's Compromise to French Resistance Classic*

Jane F. Fulcher

In the late summer of 1944, as the army of liberation moved implacably if indeed arduously toward Paris, intellectual Resistance journals were importuning French solidarity, deftly negotiating hostile factions and divisive symbols. Significantly, they sought to do so not through the conventional political vector of ideology, or the mediation of French Republican and nationalist rhetoric, but through a compelling aesthetic discourse uniquely able to enunciate uninterrupted, if reconfigured, French cultural values. Not surprising for those familiar with French history or nationalist leagues, it was a discourse on French classicism construed as synonymous with France, but in a potent new amalgam, the political and cultural agency of which, as the war concluded, is our subject. This kind of classic model is of prime importance, for it was designed not only to emphasize Vichy's political and cultural compromise but to articulate another nationalism that would signify refusal, reconfiguring a new French ethical and communal whole. In this endeavor to employ the classic to articulate new spiritual unity, new national memory, and those distinctive modes of thought and of expression that were endemic to the nation, two major influences merge: reactionary nationalism and the "critical classicism" of France's Left. Also imbricated in the emergence of "Resistance classicism" is the schism within the *Ligue de l'Action Française* as a result of Vichy's political compromise, as emblazoned for some league members in official discourse on Richard Wagner and his purported enduring influence on Debussy. The Resistance's reconstruction of Debussy as classic paradigm leads us into the history and articulation of different strains or distinct conceptions of classic values within a political-cultural discourse, whose ramifications cross over French cultural fields. We must analyze the structure of symbolic confrontation as well as the negotiation within this



discourse—its role in political culture and music as postwar France, and concomitantly its cultural values, were redefined.

Debussy, as I shall argue, became a distinctive kind of icon, one we might contrast with the Nazis' use of Richard Wagner, which was largely a manipulative imposition of ideology: Wagner was a "sign" and not a multivalent or open symbol. Debussy for Vichy was a symbol that could obfuscate its political and cultural compromise with the German victor while still signifying a national spirit, a love of France—a clever tactic the French Resistance would expose and seek to counter. It did so through a discourse on classic values synonymous with the French nation, a discourse that represented an arduous compromise between conceptions held by the nationalist right and the political left since World War I; here Debussy became a matrix through which to reconstruct "the French."

As is well established now, it was in the wake of their fin-de-siècle defeat in France's tumultuous and divisive Dreyfus Affair that two French nationalist leagues, the older *Patrie Française* and then *Action Française*, turned to culture as an essential conduit of their ideas. For it was here alone that legally they could prolong their contestation over endemic or defining French national values: cultural criticism henceforth became a form of political intervention—a means through which to articulate their conceptions of the authentic essence or core of France.<sup>1</sup> Prominent in both leagues were nationalist writers, or those whose major concern was with French literature as well the other arts, particularly the preeminent Maurice Barrès (in the *Ligue de la Patrie Française*) and Charles Maurras (in the more aggressive *Action Française*).

Political and literary histories have already amply established the conceptual connections that these thinkers, their vociferous followers, and publications helped to forge between French nationalist ideology and artistic values in early twentieth-century France, and that they endured for many decades.<sup>2</sup> Most recently, David Carroll has emphasized the seminal nationalist conception of the culturally unified nation as the cognate of a great work of art, since for Barrès, as for Maurras, art and politics originally sprang from essentially the same "national spirit," which inherently endowed them with an identical nature. For Maurras, the nation's strength, or its most basic unifying principle, was determined by history and then supported by tradition in a manner analogous to all great art; literature, for the far Right, was thus "the principal model," expressive of "the ideal form and fundamental nature of the community" and of the people. Barrès similarly placed consistent emphasis on the necessary and tight imbrication of a nation's politics and all

its arts, stressing in particular the role of the arts in the “mythologizing” of the nation, or in projecting its defining values as well as the nature of its community.<sup>3</sup>

For Barrès and for Maurras, a revolution in culture was hence essential—a prerequisite for a return to an endemic state organically at one with the French nation: the Republican-led France of the present day was representative of the “true France” in neither politics nor in French culture.<sup>4</sup> According to Maurras, the political and cultural ideologies of the Action Française were equally important and indeed inseparable, for he attributed his political perceptions to his initial search for the basic principles of order he believed inhered in all great art. As he put it so incisively, art was an inescapable and prominent symbol: “We had seen the ruins in the realms of thought and taste before noticing the social, military, economic and diplomatic damage that generally results from democracy.” For beauty was dependent on order, and order on a hierarchy of values. However, hierarchy in turn depended culturally and ultimately politically on an authority to define and to “endorse it.” Since order, hierarchy, and authority in politics ought to arise ultimately from tradition, that which similarly followed this tradition in literature would correspondingly be the most successful.<sup>5</sup>

Maurras hence supported “absolutist” judgments in all culture, with the aesthetic model being, above all, seventeenth-century France. He thus equated classicism and traditionalism with his attempt to restore the French monarchical state that had produced such superior art. The literary figures Maurras and those close to him most admired were seventeenth-century French greats such as Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, though they also embraced more modern authors they believed reflected or espoused similar models and cultural values. These included the poets Jacques Banville and Jean Moréas (the founder of the *École Romane Française*) as well as writers such as Stendhal and ardent nationalists, particularly Paul Bourget and François Coppée.<sup>6</sup> Classicism also implied a stress on “purity”—an attempt to extirpate those cultural elements perceived as “foreign,” as neither endemically nor authentically French, and hence an assault on the Romantic that occurred through several channels, including first the press and then through the Institut d’Action Française. In 1906, the year after the institute opened, the ambitious young literary critic Pierre Lasserre delivered a series of lectures that attacked the Romantic movement, not only in French literature but in all the arts, establishing themes that would thereafter long endure.<sup>7</sup>

Lasserre’s argument, as well as his subsequent book, *Le Romantisme français*, would become typical for Action Française. He presents the

position of classical philosophers who railed against the encouragement of all that agitates the vague, wild, and confused aspects of human consciousness.

They advocated order and hierarchy in the physical faculties—an order that necessarily subordinated human feeling to intelligence, or the quality of imagination to reason, and, by extension, the spontaneous to the reflective. Romanticism, Lasserre asserts, indulges in precisely the opposite values and thus, as an artistic movement, is inherently inimical to society. He goes on to claim that the Germans have already ravaged French culture as well as taste, and even the national political order by their exportation of the “Romantic model.” For Romanticism, he continues, affirms the utopian vision of a social order in which all, instead of being inherently unequal, are identical in their capacities, concluding that Romanticism favors decomposition not just in the realm of thought and feeling, but, by extension, in the political world.<sup>8</sup>

These ideas soon spread widely, for perhaps more than any parapolitical organization or pressure group in the period preceding World War I, Action Française controlled the discourse on cultural politics—it determined the major issues and assigned political meanings or connotations to style in all the arts. It perceived that, as Jean-Paul Sirinelli and Eric Vigne have aptly put it, political culture consists not just of “pure ideas” but also “sieves” and “relays,” or modes of transmission and circulation of ideology, which inherently modify the original conceptual content. The league’s political and aesthetic doctrine thus circulated through several different fields including music, creating zones of contact or of “osmosis” through which a specific set of common values and canonic texts could be exchanged.<sup>9</sup>

In music this tactic was particularly effective, since the league took a substantial, enduring interest in the art and employed it more overtly in its ideological campaign than had the older *Ligue de la Patrie Française*. Action Française perceived that music could become a major stake in the symbolic battle, and as nonobjective music could be used to combat the Republican stress on logic or abstract reason, which it had long reviled. Music, for the *Ligue de l’Action Française*, would thus continue to serve as an invaluable and crucial weapon in the larger contestation over French political myths as well as over supposed endemic national values. As a result, the league developed a musical aesthetic that was indeed inseparable from its political–ideological discourse, one that employed the same system of basic concepts, meanings, values, and historical references.<sup>10</sup>

Action Française, with its stress on the classical, and on French as opposed to German modes of thought, would thus promote a different



range of styles in music than the *Ligue de la Patrie Française*. We may see this clearly in Pierre Lasserre's attack on Wagner, articulated most fully in his polemical book *Des romantiques à nous*, which was published in 1927.<sup>11</sup> Although Lasserre had left *Action Française* by this point his ideas had not essentially changed, and here again he castigates Wagner as a Romantic, as opposed to Maurice Barrès and the *Ligue de la Patrie Française*. Barrès had posited that Wagner's stress on nation, on the instincts over reason, and on the power and directive force of myth complemented the fundamental ideals, political and cultural, held by the earlier league. The *Ligue de la Patrie Française* stressed not only irrational attachment to the traditions of the nation but primacy of feeling and instinct over all abstract and logical reasoning. Hence Barrès argued (as later Vichy rhetoric did) that the return to a true national tradition in opera could be achieved, in part, through the cleansing and positive force of selected Wagnerian operatic influences.<sup>12</sup>

In the period after 1905, however, the more ideologically coherent and truculent *Ligue de l'Action Française* assumed command of the cultural battle, including French musical culture. Members of the league continued to express themselves stridently on the subject of music, especially on the topical question of who was an authentically French composer.<sup>13</sup> Here the prominent nationalist writer Léon Daudet was among the first to perceive the way in which Debussy's music could be construed within the movement's cultural doctrine. In his *Salons et journaux*, Daudet pronounced Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* a true "chef-d'oeuvre"—a judgment that was indeed clearly based upon the league's nationalist aesthetic criteria. Anticipating articles on the composer in *Action Française* during World War I, he pronounces Debussy unequivocally a "classic" in the tradition of prerevolutionary France.<sup>14</sup>

But other influential figures in music were close to the league in this period, including the powerful critic of the conservative *Revue des deux mondes*, Camille Bellaigue. Not only was he sympathetic to the league when it was officially censured by the pope in the mid-twenties, but as a papal representative, acted as an intermediary between the two. Although he condemned Debussy as effete, like the league he was anti-Wagnerian, which also led him to denounce anyone who exhibited Wagner's influence, including César Franck. However, the latter was the teacher and guiding spirit of Vincent d'Indy, who had helped found a school of music associated with French nationalist aspirations, an association that would continue throughout Vichy. D'Indy was a founding member of the *Ligue de la Patrie Française*, and though his ideas concerning Wagner mirrored those of Barrès, his conception of the French prerevolutionary tradition was rather close to *Action Française*.<sup>15</sup>



D'Indy's conservatory, the Schola Cantorum, founded at the time of the Dreyfus Affair (1894), not only defined musical values that it considered to be national but established a code that associated these values with genres, styles, repertoires, and techniques. As a result, the symbiotic relationship between the Ligue de la Patrie Française and the Schola was to be followed eventually by that between the Schola and Action Française. The ideological basis of both leagues was tradition, a word that d'Indy was always careful to capitalize to manifest his profound respect. D'Indy's tradition, he claimed, was based upon the authority of "the masters," one that though primarily French he construed as part of a more comprehensive universal tradition. That tradition, he maintained, ultimately grew out of religious music, and thus comprised exclusively works that were imbued with spirituality and an implicit or explicit moral message.<sup>16</sup>

Holding a quasi-Hegelian view of the stages of the evolution of art toward the "higher" or more perfect, d'Indy implicitly applied this concept in his program of study. The "chain of tradition," d'Indy believed, began with the "decorative" art of plainchant, and then was followed historically by the "architectural" art of Renaissance polyphony. This, in turn, was succeeded by the "expressive" art of the early seventeenth-century Italian masters of vocal music, as exemplified particularly in Claudio Monteverdi. D'Indy then turned to the great French masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, centrally including Rameau, but his French canon was to end abruptly with the French Revolution.

D'Indy's important role in the revival of early music was thus in part motivated by his ideological orientation, for like so many associated with the nationalist revival he reviled not only the political but also the anticlerical cultural effects of the French Revolution. At the Schola, he helped to revive the work of long neglected European Renaissance and baroque masters after the model of Schola co-founder Charles Bordes, who had created the "Chanteurs de Saint Gervais" to perform the Renaissance religious repertoire. D'Indy's equation of French nationalism with the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century French masters would be highly influential during World War I, when so many turned to this repertoire as emblematic of French values—if interpreted in substantially diverse manners.

D'Indy, however, believed that the spiritual, elevating, "pure" classic tradition had passed from France after the Revolution to Germany, where it was incarnated in the classic symphony and above all in the symphonic works of Beethoven. From here d'Indy moved on to Wagner's operas, in which he perceived the same "elevation" or moral

message as in the symphony, one free of any contamination by, as he termed it, the cosmopolitan, meretricious “Jewish style.”<sup>17</sup> Like later Vichy officials and as opposed to French nationalists in the Ligue de l’Action Française, d’Indy perceived no contradiction between his self-proclaimed ardent nationalism and his praise of the German Wagner. But note that d’Indy’s nationalism was not only one that promoted the strength of France it also, for him, represented a specific notion of French identity. In this conception France stood for one aspect of a universal tradition, one that was “classic,” lofty and pure, untainted by and inaccessible to less noble elements. In nationalist journals like *L’Indépendance* and elsewhere d’Indy continued to argue that all great music, most notably that of Beethoven, is inspired by a spiritual truth and that such classicism, as he called it, could be realized within the cultures of different nations. The Germans had saved “pure” classic culture when the French abandoned it, according to d’Indy, and later Wagner and the French Wagnerians, such as his idol Franck, had heroically rescued it. Hence d’Indy, just as Vichy spokesmen later, believed that the entry of another strain of this tradition, particularly that of Wagner, could have a salutary influence on French culture.

It was undoubtedly because of d’Indy’s Wagnerism that Action Française, though in general approving of the Schola and its traditionalism, was more hesitant about d’Indy himself. August Sérieyx, however, who taught at the Schola and prepared the manuscript of d’Indy’s *Cours de composition musicale* from the notes he took as a student, was a founding member of the right-wing *Revue critique des idées et des livres* and praised d’Indy for his efforts on behalf of the French musical past, hailing him as the energetic defender of the “true” national tradition in music.<sup>18</sup>

Due in part to the efforts of Action Française, by the time of World War I, music was a carrier within French nationalist political culture, helping to vulgarize or diffuse key conceptions. The league had enlarged the terms and the territory of political debate in France, helping to prepare for the dominant nationalist discourse on both community and cultural memory. Action Française and d’Indy were indeed influential in making music an agent of wartime myth—emblematic of French identity and the embodiment of their conception of the national past. During the war, French concert societies as well as the opera were expected to propagate the now official discourse of a pure and unified French tradition, with its basis in an orderly and hierarchical classicism. With the nationalists’ triumph by wartime and the concomitant credibility of Action Française, the task of French cultural institutions was to

impose the league's interpretation of French "Latin" and classic culture.<sup>19</sup>

But French classicism carried distinctive connotations within this ideological context: it was not associated with Greek universalism or the critical principles of ancient Greek philosophy. Rather, being tied to "Latinity" in contrast to the "nordic" Romanticism and irrationalism of the "Huns," it stood for the purportedly endemic Latin virtues of purity, proportion, and order. Abjuring the egalitarian universalism of earlier Republican classicism for the orderly, hierarchical model of Catholicism, this conservative or reactionary classicism emphasized "balance." Moreover, it was welded to yet another tenet of wartime dogma—anti-individualism, the "individual" here implying not only egotism and chaos but German Romanticism. Classicism thus became synonymous with discipline, obedience, and self-abnegation, a "regulated moral and aesthetic order that was essential to the nation's survival."<sup>20</sup>

As a result of these conceptions, classicism was linked to the "defense" of French culture, including protection against contamination from elements outside "the national organism." Once more Debussy was marshaled, here by French officials, though now a self-proclaimed nationalist and sympathetic to Action Française, he critically examined and resisted all orthodoxies both in his music and in his prose, as he had throughout his career. Debussy adhered to his own distinctive conception of French nationalism, one that was born of his need to transcend his sense of social marginality and belong to something larger. By 1905, he was becoming aware of the political and ideological implications of his gradual turn toward French tradition, as partially impelled by his quest to root his identity and creativity in something larger, as it underwent a subtle change. Debussy in this period was moving from the egotistical *culte de moi* to a conception of the encompassing *moi collectif*. Like Barrès in his series of "Le Culte de moi" novels, he attempted to escape from his "unattached" personality, untethered from a social or cultural identity. His increasing admiration for and emulation of Rameau, both in print and his works, was now a manifestation of his sense of belonging to a French "race"—to French talent and intelligence—and by 1912 his disciple Emile Vuillermoz was referring to Debussy as the "grandson of Rameau."<sup>21</sup>

But Debussy's musical traditionalism was unique—rooted not in the reuse of forms but rather in what Louis Laloy incisively described (in numerous contexts) as an instinctive conception of what was French. In other words, descending into himself in the deepest and most fundamental sense was for Debussy, as for Barrès, a descent into the basic characteristics of his nationality or his culturally defined race.



Indeed, some of his verbal utterances, which are clearly within the framework of current nationalist discourse, bear a loose relation to the concepts being creatively interpreted within his art. In Debussy's political ideas, as expressed both in his criticism and in his letters, we find a recurring emphasis on race, or that which issues from what he considered to be unadulterated "French blood" and talent.<sup>22</sup>

By the time of World War I, Debussy like many was explicit about his nationalism, although he defined it for himself; always independent of ideological orthodoxies, he felt compelled to articulate his sense of true French tradition. In his published prose, Debussy reiterated many of his earlier themes concerning the necessity of rediscovering the authentic French tradition—but as he conceived it. His concepts of race, blood, and purity articulate in a complex manner with those of Action Française, with which he now had a tense relationship.<sup>23</sup> We see this in an article of 11 March 1915, which Debussy published in the ardently nationalist journal *L'Intransigeant*, arguing that since Rameau the French have been unfaithful to the traditions of their own race. But despite these bellicose and chauvinist views, Debussy's music of the period reveals a search for a personal conception of "purity," of French roots and of his place in relation to the past. In music he equivocated over wartime dogma and assertions far more than in his prose, confronting current stylistic meanings or associations, questioning his beliefs and past works, and facing these inconsistencies with irony.<sup>24</sup>

Debussy was, however, already becoming an icon who could be manipulated in the interest of various, even hostile notions of French nationalism. Particular ideological aspects of his works were suppressed, distorted, or overemphasized in attempts to reconstruct him for specific ideological aims. For example, the distance between Debussy's conception of French classicism, based upon the work of Rameau, and that of the now dominant "Scholiste" classic model emerged in two articles, both titled "La Musique française: Claude Debussy," which appeared in the influential newspaper *L'Action française* and were written by its critic, Jean Darnaudet, who now supported Debussy, conceived as "classic" in the Schola's sense. Authentic classicism, Darnaudet insisted, implicitly if inadvertently invoking the Viennese classic model, stresses the formal element or "the whole," as well as a guiding idea throughout—one that is firm and precise. For this critic, as for d'Indy and the Schola, form and unity depend upon a precisely defined melody and rhythm, which facilitates the development of themes and, as he puts it, the "economy" of tonalities.<sup>25</sup>

Ironically, it is this model that Darnaudet, and other conservative critics at the time, projects onto Debussy's later work, construing it as



the fruit of his return to tradition. Although Debussy did not object to such interpretations of his music in wartime, most of his compositions in these years pointedly ignore this dogma. For Debussy, who emulated not only Rameau but the French *clavecinistes*, could not help but remark (as the Resistance would later point out) that the Scholiste paradigm of French classicism was, paradoxically, not at all French.<sup>26</sup> This conservative classic model, which survived the war and remained dominant throughout the 1920s, would soon be attacked by the French Left, both from an ideological and an aesthetic point of view.

The postwar Left now attacked right-wing dogma, particularly that concerning the Maurrassian “national intellect,” arguing that “intelligence” was neither racial nor national but must be construed as universal. As opposed to wartime nationalist brainwashing it advocated the critical spirit, as seen in the stirring manifesto published in *L’Humanité* on 16 June 1919, the “Déclaration de l’indépendance de l’esprit.”<sup>27</sup> Moreover, as the Left pointedly noted, little indeed had changed after the war: with France weakened, classicism still connoted defense, although now political and cultural contestation could return. As many perceived during the conservative hegemony—throughout most of the 1920s—officials sought to combat so-called dangerous currents, both internal and external, through an inculcation of French classic values. Just as during the war these were considered essential to maintaining the spiritual unity of the nation, which was to affirm itself once more by vaunting its culturally distinctive classic traits. The official conception of the classic thus remained embedded in conceptions of holistic community, as opposed to anarchy, a socially critical spirit, or any sudden break from the past. For unlike the contemporary Weimar Republic, the goal was not to employ the arts to foster social innovation and progress but to consolidate, mourn, and protect. And if classicism in a domestic context was to foster consensus and bestow civic virtues, in foreign relations it was to project an unequivocal image of French order and strength.<sup>28</sup>

Such cultural particularism, as opposed to universalism, thus found its expression in all French cultural fields during the war, and even included the French university system. Throughout the 1920s, Germany was pointedly excluded from all intellectual exchange, and in most of the disciplines, the accent remained on national character and the “ancestral soul” of a race. It was indeed this situation that Julien Benda decried in 1927 in *La Trahison des clercs* (*The Treason of the Intellectuals*)—the invasion of the intellectual realm by the political—by national as opposed to universal values.<sup>29</sup>

The question of universalist versus particularist, or narrow nationalist values, would become a cause célèbre among both intellectuals and major artists of the Left. Integrally related to these issues was classicism, prominently taken up by the journal around which the postwar Left would rally, *La Nouvelle revue française*. Founded in 1909 by André Gide and Jacques Copeau, after the war it came under the direction of Jacques Rivière, and now significantly took over the direction of the most important musical journal of the period, the *Revue musicale*. Rivière laid out the goals for the journal on 1 June 1919, the first of which was to end the constraints of the war on intelligence, or critical intellect. Moreover, in direct confrontation with Action Française and its conception of French classicism, he argued (as had the prewar Left) that the classic was rooted in autonomy and in discerning intelligence.<sup>30</sup>

In claiming the autonomy of the artistic realm, the *Nouvelle revue française* openly opposed the Maurrasian conception of the classic as tied endemically to national values. Rivière foresaw a classical renaissance that was not as retrogressive, “literal,” or purely imitative as that promoted by figures like Moréas and in the *Revue critique des idées et des livres*. His renaissance, like that of the French Resistance later, was rooted in the aesthetic claims of intelligence, or the authentic classical spirit, with its abiding universalist aspirations. It espoused no model, but rather specific values, primary among which were the simple, essential, and the critical spirit—the universal and independence. This “revolutionary classicism,” as Rivière called it, was associated with a revolt (as in 1789) for human unity, progress, and the universal—“le vrai classicisme.”<sup>31</sup> The journal thus insisted upon a cultural and political rapprochement with Germany at a time when “Germanophobia” was still dominant in intellectual circles. Composers faced a choice of models, concepts, and values that were freighted with ideological meaning, and it would be their challenge to translate them creatively and with integrity into the realm of style.

If among older composers d’Indy was the most prominent to espouse the orthodox classic model, Maurice Ravel was the most visible in contesting it on both political and aesthetic grounds. Ravel’s response to the postwar climate and its cultural pieties was to assume the intellectually critical role that was identified with the postwar Left. He became engaged with the dominant ideological and aesthetic issues, but subtly—on a symbolic level—through gestures that can be most fully understood within this context. Like d’Indy during the Dreyfus Affair, Ravel now sought political expression, but in his case for the culturally tolerant and intellectually critical position he had defined for himself in the course of the war. World War I had been a turning point for Ravel

who, although patriotic, would soon discover that his patriotism was rooted in the universalist goals and the classic model defined by the Left.<sup>32</sup>

It is less than surprising that Ravel's postwar style was not, as some have claimed, typical of interwar neoclassicism, for if anything was typical in France it was the Scholiste model. The dominant paradigm, as noted, was architectural, balanced in form, devoid of irony or of borrowing from lower cultural levels and from the influence of "dangerous" cultures. These included not only the Germanic (of recent date) but those associated with races or nationalities from which France was to be protected in the interwar period, such as black American jazz. Ravel (like Les Six) not only ignored these proscriptions, he openly flouted them in several works, including *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*, which incorporates references to jazz, and his 1927 Sonata for Violin and Piano. The latter work, like his earlier Sonata for Violin and Cello, is not a Scholiste "sonate d'école" as was now expected by most critics. Not only is the first movement both formally innovative and harmonically dissonant, the second movement, marked "Blues," pertinaciously incorporates the influence of black American culture.<sup>33</sup>

Even more effectively than in discourse Ravel manifested his cultural values, asserting, through his stylistic synthesis and independence, the truth for him of "revolutionary classicism." His classic iconoclasm, however, did not prevent Action Française from attempting to appropriate his work, like Debussy's, by projecting its model onto selected compositions. This was patently the case when the journal once close to Action Française, *Revue critique des idées et des livres*, lavished praise on Ravel in 1923. In his discussion of *L'Heure espagnole*, Fernand-Georges Roquebrune extols its delicate humor as well as what he perceives as "cette alliance de bon gout et de la tradition libre" (this alliance of good taste and free, or nonacademic tradition). Here Roquebrune, like other French critics who espoused an aesthetic resembling that of Action Française (such as Jean Darnaudet and Léon Daudet), attempts to distort Ravel's quest for independence by allying him with the "nonofficial" or alternative tradition of the Schola, which itself had rebelled against the rigidities of the Paris Conservatoire.

It was precisely this continuing attempt to appropriate political meaning in his art that Ravel, who detested the Schola and all that it stood for, continued to mock and shock. Undoubtedly reprehensible for Ravel was that Roquebrune in his *Revue* article compared Ravel's purported classicism in *L'Heure espagnole* to the operettas of (the Jewish) Jacques Offenbach, which, he claimed, were characterized by "excessiveness" and parody. Offenbach's work, Roquebrune continues, is clearly



marked by lack of taste and hence cannot be completely assimilated in France or incorporated into the French temperament of tact and measure.<sup>34</sup>

Offenbach presents a particularly apt comparison with Ravel, however, for precisely the opposite reasons: Ravel (who had many Jewish friends) shared a temperament, an intelligence, and an incisive sense of parody with Offenbach. Like Ravel in his clever ridicule of Scholiste techniques, Offenbach had engaged in a subtle subversion of the artistic credibility of French grand opera, mercilessly exposing its musical clichés as well as its subjects and conventions. Here we may indeed recall Offenbach's parodies of Meyerbeer, especially his witty, irreverent references to *Les Huguenots* in his *Ba-ta-clan*. It is important (within the context of anti-Semitism) to note that d'Indy's nationalist, pedantic, and overtly anti-Semitic opera, *La Légende de Saint Christophe*, premiered at the time that Ravel was composing *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*. In his opera d'Indy didactically "deployed" those styles that the Schola associated with its conservative nationalist social philosophy—medieval organum and Renaissance sacred polyphony. The latter is the style that Ravel employs gloriously and skillfully, but absurdly so within the dramatic context, in the final sublime a capella fugue of the animals. In d'Indy's work such a style is marshaled when the chorus in the opera sings of the power of the cross to prevent sinners from damnation; Ravel invokes it when the animals praise the good child.<sup>35</sup>

Ravel thus undoubtedly disapproved of the Right's malevolent appropriation of his work, as did those supporters to whom he was close: in fact, the *Revue musicale* brought out an issue on Ravel in 1925, during the two-year government of the leftist coalition referred to as the "Cartel des Gauches." Here, according to Alexis Roland-Manuel, Ravel is "an inheritor of the French classics" in his application of a "vigorous discipline" that deters him from "the seductions of the arbitrary" and leads him to confound "the beautiful and the useful."<sup>36</sup> He thus interprets Ravel's classicism in a manner that recalls André Gide—as associated not with formal models but with the values of simplicity, universality, and autonomy, or with critical intelligence.

The battle over iconic French composers as embodiments of the French classic paradigm would long continue, and in the period of the Vichy government the contestation would shift back to Debussy. Vichy was in need of special kinds of cultural symbols and commemorations to help obfuscate its endemic compromise with the German occupant—symbols not inimical to its own nationalist claims and at the same time not overtly chauvinist in the eyes of the Nazi victor. Indeed, the piercing revelations of Robert Paxton in 1972 of the political fragmentation and



full extent of French complicity with the Nazis under Vichy shattered postwar myths. Contrary to Pétain's later claims, Vichy was no shield against the occupation forces, but rather a means for those groups without power in the Third Republic to implement their conservative social program. Moreover, the armistice did not "protect" the French, who in some respects suffered more from the limited sovereignty negotiated than those living in countries with none, such as Holland and Belgium. Vichy was unable to prevent the forced labor of its citizens and to protect the Jews, both foreign and French, on its soil: its principal rationale was rather political revenge.<sup>37</sup>

In addition, Paxton, together with the other path-breaker in Vichy studies, Stanley Hoffmann, pointed out the consequences as differentiated from the initial motives of the regime; initially seeking to gain political advantages, it was forced to cooperate with the Germans to an extent that it had never envisioned. Attempts to meet, and in some cases to anticipate, the ever-escalating German demands led to what has been termed *collaboration d'état*, which in its effects became indistinguishable from ideological collaborationism. Vichy's purported French nationalism and intent to serve as a buffer against the Germans was clearly more rhetoric than reality, and so too, we now perceive, was its French traditionalism and conservative "moral order."<sup>38</sup>

The obfuscations of Pétain's rhetoric of French nationalism and traditionalism, and the real effects of state collaboration and warring factions on culture, become evident if we reexamine Vichy's musical institutions and goals within this light. While Action Française continued to argue, as it had since the time of the Dreyfus Affair, for restoration of unadulterated French classical and prerevolutionary values, ardent chauvinism was now a clear risk. Constituting only one faction at Vichy, its supporters, although adamant, still had to compete with former adherents of the Left, as well as with avowedly Romantic French fascists.<sup>39</sup>

Far more appropriate, especially as time progressed, was the conception of French tradition and classicism that had been promoted at the Schola Cantorum since the turn of the century and was widely propagated in the wake of World War I. Moreover, this conception related closely to the ideals of the group that had formed around Georges Sorel before World War I, when the far Left and Right joined in a national-socialist movement. Significantly, this group, associated with the Cercle Proudhon, still had admirers at Vichy, who were aware that D'Indy had been a key member, participating in its organizations and publications. D'Indy had been on the editorial board of its journal, *L'Indépendance*, supporting the group's stress on spirit and emotions, anti-Semitism, and condemnation of democracy and capitalism.<sup>40</sup>

D'Indy reasoned that great French and German composers, while imbued with national characteristics, were part of the transcendent classic tradition, which had since been contaminated by cosmopolitan, and specifically Jewish, elements.<sup>41</sup>

This conception provided an apt compromise for Vichy, and on closer examination we see it was not Couperin and Rameau who were marshaled as emblems of authentic French as opposed to German culture, as in World War I, but rather it promoted those composers who were considered classic in the Viennese sense or linked to Wagner. The latter included not only d'Indy, but also Franck, Chabrier, Lalo, and Debussy, who now, as opposed to earlier wartime chauvinism, was construed as stylistically close to Wagner. Revealing is the Vichy presentation in late August 1941 of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, an opera subtly influenced by both Wagner and French tradition, under the baton of D.-E. Inghelbrecht, together with Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* conducted by the musician-collaborator Alfred Cortot.<sup>42</sup>

Details of the event are revealed in an article by Noel Boyer, the music critic for the newspaper *Action française*, who published it in the league's journal, under the title "Écoulant le Pelléas de Debussy," on 7–8 September 1941. Boyer makes a point of noting that *Pelléas* was performed for the "soirée" of the Légion (a propagandistic organization close to Pétain), as part of their "fête," and then specifies that it also included performances of the traditional songs and dances of the old French provinces. Boyer thus cleverly inflects the Vichy conception of the classic by speaking, apropos of the old French chansons, of the wonderful assemblage they represent, together with *Pelléas*, of the classic and of the modern. Particularly surprising is his argument that Debussy, as a "modern" in the French classic tradition, was patently influenced not only by Rameau but by the Russian-nationalist Mighty Five and, of course, by Richard Wagner. Here, in an abrupt turn of rhetoric for the newspaper *Action française*, Boyer lauds Debussy's ability to become interested in or to learn from everything, and through this in the end to find the "true path" of French tradition.<sup>43</sup>

The conception of French tradition was clearly shifting, even within the Action Française—a reflection of Vichy's ever-escalating compromise, of which Debussy was becoming a visible emblem. We see this even more overtly in the discussion around the new production of *Pelléas et Mélisande* in Paris in the spring of 1942, as part of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the opera's premiere. *Pelléas* now provided an ideal focus for a new national commemoration since Vichy was seeking haplessly to define a civic calendar, having first employed the dates that it had inherited from the Republic but

attempting to invest them with fundamentally new meanings.<sup>44</sup> The surrounding texts on the opera's production are just as revealing of Vichy's implicit goal of not only commemorating new dates but of reconstructing the French past in preparation for assimilation into Hitler's "New Europe."

Particularly illuminating is the article by the composer and collaborationist, Gustave Samazeuilh, "La Quarantaine de Pelléas et Mélisande," which appeared in the Vichy-sponsored *L'Information musicale* in May 1942. Samazeuilh had long been an admirer of Debussy and of *Pelléas*, indeed since the work's premiere, but now deftly and opportunistically adapted his encomium to the current political realities and aesthetic discourse. During World War I, he had been a bellicose Germanophobe and public adherent of the Ligue pour la Défense de la Musique Française, which sought to ban the performance of all German works not yet in the public domain. Now in line with Vichy and collaborationist discourse he was palpably adapting his previous approach to *Pelléas* (as both classic and purely French) to the new agenda of Franco-German cooperation.<sup>45</sup>

Samazeuilh's article was in fact an extract previously published in the luxurious album that accompanied the first full recording of *Pelléas*, released in late 1941. Though admitting that Debussy had eventually moved beyond the height of his youthful enthusiasm for Wagner, Samazeuilh argues that he remained "*pris jusqu'au fond de lui-même*" (taken to the depths of himself) by certain immortal pages of the master, and particularly from *Tristan* and *Parsifal*. The author notes that many others have perceived this enduring influence, and then places Debussy within the canon that begins with Wagner, and like d'Indy proceeds to César Franck. A similar argument is made in an article by Noël Boyer published in *L'Action française* in December 1942 in response to the new production of *Pelléas*. Here he sanguinely draws attention to the article not only by Samazeuilh but by another known collaborator and ardent Wagnerian, Alfred Cortot, published in a recent collection on Debussy by the now compromised editions Comoedia-Charpentier.<sup>46</sup>

Not all who were associated with the league concurred with Boyer, for ideological divisions were developing within the league, despite the fact that it had originally been united and influential on Maréchal Pétain and his circle. Wagner served for some as a reagent, revealing not only the degree of Pétain's ideological compromise but the fault lines within the league itself, despite its still vociferous presence at Vichy. Indeed, Action Française with its initially implacable nationalism had been prominent there first, at least in terms of thought and discourse, even if the actual members of the league were never numerous.<sup>47</sup>



It reached the height of influence in 1940 and 1941, when its doctrines concerning social hierarchy as well as the Jews were closely reflected in Pétain's own policies. But the league subsequently splintered as the war, occupation, and state collaboration continued, with some (such as the music critic Dominique Sordet) moving closer to collaborationist circles. As Eugen Weber has noted, this began to occur after 1941 when Maurras, rejecting both collaboration and resistance, remained faithful to Vichy and to Pétain. Given this intransigence, some members chose to join the Germans to fight against the Republican values they still reviled while others, in nearly equal proportions, moved into the Resistance and brought with them their classic doctrine.<sup>48</sup>

The Resistance was organized slowly, stimulated in part by the rupture of the Germans and the Soviets in June 1941, and culminating in the formation of the Communist-sponsored Front National, a clandestine organization that was intended to embrace all professions. The "Front national de la lutte pour la liberté et l'indépendance de la France," however, was but one of the movements in the larger Conseil National de la Résistance, which represented a wide political spectrum.<sup>49</sup> As a result, the very idea of resistance, or of what specifically to resist and how—particularly in cultural terms—was initially fluid; consensus emerged only arduously, and here the classic paradigm would again become central.

The first Resistance organization in French literature was the "Front national des écrivains," one of the many groupings within the Front National, which included those ranging from Communists to former Action Française members. Its major organ was *Les Lettres françaises*, begun in September 1942, with the first issue including the Front National's proclamation—an appeal to true patriotism by Jacques Decour, who had recently been shot by the Germans. While all could agree on Decour's goal of defending "*les valeurs qui ont fait la gloire de notre civilisation*" (defending the values that have made the glory of our civilization), much dissension remained over what constituted these values beyond opposition to Vichy and the Germans and what strategies would be most effective.<sup>50</sup>

The concept of dissident literature, music, and art in the Resistance at first remained vague: although it immediately involved a condemnation of all collaboration it only gradually included a defense of specific French values and associated cultural paradigms. Despite initial disagreement concerning goals, a consensus gradually emerged—a sense of what literature and the arts could accomplish in light of Vichy and Nazi rhetoric and their attempts to traduce the French. All members of the intellectual Resistance acknowledged that to awaken perceptions, fill



the moral vacuum left by the church, and counteract psychological submission they had to regain control of key meanings, centrally including French classicism. To expose distortions of public realities and encourage new cognition and perceptions, they were forced to develop new techniques for producing meaning, which necessitated a dual quest for comprehensibility and, simultaneously, transgression.<sup>51</sup>

Here surrealism was less effective than French classicism as a cultural counter-discourse, or as a means to destabilize the dominant discourse and remain impermeable to Vichy's cultural slogans. Indeed, several Resistance poets, in their search for new modes of producing meaning and evading the control of thought, now turned or returned to surrealism and concomitantly to the surrealist image. Surrealism had already marked an adversative stance with regard to the dominant construction of reality: when the surrealists allied themselves with the Communists in the twenties they conceived of their revolution in language as synonymous with a social revolution. Art was, for them, a means to change no less than the world, beginning with cognition or the very manner in which we think about reality.<sup>52</sup> The initial goal of French Resistance artists was similarly to recapture intellectual independence and authentic subjectivity—to break free from the homogenization being sought by both Vichy and the Nazis. However, the quest for such subjectivity now necessitated the turn to new paradigms of a secret yet communicable language, and one response was to innovate within past styles now associated with endemic French values.<sup>53</sup>

Classicism was thus a valuable cultural matrix through which to assure both continuity and reconciliation of divisive factions, while ensuring broad comprehensibility and reclaiming a deep connection with both the nation and French patriotism. While continuing to stress several themes associated with Maurrasian classicism, the Resistance now incorporated French revolutionary conceptions of the classic—in particular, moral integrity, universal rights, and human liberty. Like Vichy, the Resistance underlined French attachment to the soil, however not in terms of the traditionalist concept of *la terre* but rather in terms of what France had actually lost in territorial integrity. And the Resistance also now emphasized that French patriotism meant rediscovery of the beauty of authentic French culture, beginning with its language and its classic poetic forms, such as the alexandrine.<sup>54</sup>

With renewed appreciation of French achievement came a stress on the Western classic humanistic tradition, or on individualism from the Greeks through the Renaissance and Enlightenment, as differentiated from fascist Romanticism. The Resistance conceived the classic in terms not only of the nation—its unity, modes of thought and

expression—but as associated with the universal, the individual, and man's analytic potential. Again, the classic meant authentic subjectivity, as opposed to being "subsumed in an established totality or cultural system": the pivotal issue was the relation of the individual to the whole, or the balance between autonomy and integration.<sup>55</sup> In its issue of 15 June 1943, *Les Lettres françaises* was stressing (like the Action Française) the preservation of true French thought, but (influenced by the Left) also, characterized by a hatred of oppression, faith in the dignity of the "human person" and the true nationalist desire not to capitulate but to win.<sup>56</sup>

However, the Resistance still needed newly resonant symbols of French classicism to reinvest or reappropriate, and here Debussy was again pivotal as an alternative representation of the nation as well as a carrier of new ideological conceptions. Debussy as icon could now facilitate the construction of a unified and competing representation of the authentic French community and its values, as well as the individual's and the artist's place within it.<sup>57</sup> This we see in an article that had appeared in October 1942 in the journal of the musical Resistance, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, chauvinistically titled—in opposition to Vichy rhetoric—"Debussy. Musicien français."<sup>58</sup> It begins by deriding the current flood of ink concerning Debussy's purported enduring love of Wagner, indignantly observing that some claim the influence of Wagner not only on the early *Cinq poèmes de Baudelaire*, but also on his *Pelléas et Mélidande*.

The article goes on to cede that Debussy did arrive on the scene at a moment of efflorescence of Wagnerism; however, he also felt the influence of Massenet and then of the Russians (now an ally) no less profoundly. This did not prevent him from becoming one of the most specifically French of artists, the implication being that Debussy was not as some had claimed a mere "translation of Richard Wagner into French."<sup>59</sup> Ostensibly targeting official rhetoric, the anonymous author argues trenchantly that one frequently neglects to mention Debussy's love of the French classics, which, in time, became inseparable from his strong, passionate, and enduring love of France. The rhetorical strategy here is to resuscitate and yet modify the argument that asserting the uniqueness of French culture is tantamount to defense of the French nation, but now construed in humanistic, universal terms. The author explicitly lauds Debussy as the protector of authentic French patriotism—as opposed to blind nationalism—and hence of the enduring cultural values of the French nation which, through him, were being creatively reconfigured.<sup>60</sup>

This construction of Debussy was not isolated: the musical Resistance press repeated it often in its attempt to make the composer into an icon for their conception of France, one that united the classic values of Left and Right into a capacious new synthesis. In June 1942, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* published "Debussy le libérateur," here invoking his dual musical and political battle against the Germans and a falsely constructed French tradition.<sup>61</sup> The article observes proudly that in the midst of the Wagnerian vogue, Debussy still knew how to prove his patriotism and his critical awareness through a work that quintessentially liberated French music from Germanic dominance—his opera *Pelléas et Mélisande*. The resonance of this symbol was inescapable, particularly in light of its inversion of Vichy discourse or interpretation of national memory, and it was within this cultural context that a new conception of French values, and concomitantly of the nation, could now emerge.

The August 1944 *Les Lettres françaises*, as the liberation was finally reaching Paris, indeed celebrates the new synthesis of Resistance values through the aesthetic paradigm of Debussy. The article bore the very same title as that in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* two years earlier, "Debussy. Musicien français," although Debussy is here less a means to redefine classic values than to celebrate them as emblematic of France.<sup>62</sup> This synthesis of the classicisms of Left and Right may be perceived in the argument that although Debussy was chauvinistic and fiercely devoted to his nation, beneath his sometimes excessive rhetoric lay the purest, most dignified patriotism. Debussy refused to fall prey to mere rancor, or to the narrowly tendentious: rather, he chose to exalt true French classic values, but not "on command" or upon specific orders. But, adapting Action Française rhetoric, the author argues that Debussy was all too aware of the creative obstacles that had become embedded in French music—the false and heavy foreign taste that was insinuated in "our manner of thinking, of hearing, and even of feeling."<sup>63</sup>

Debussy was becoming the model of the artist in postwar France—one who was both national and yet critical in his distinctive French classic values, and hence a paragon for those negotiating their own artistic or creative futures. Far from rejecting their French identity or classic values in order to distance themselves from Vichy's compromise as some have argued, the younger generation of French composers turned to the Resistance model, as we may observe, perhaps most prominently, in the cases of Olivier Messiaen and Pierre Boulez. Messiaen and his later wartime and postwar works were inspired by French humanistic values: this and his analysis and love of *Pelléas* contributed to praise of him and his music in French intellectual Resistance journals.<sup>64</sup> But we may see the impact of Resistance rhetoric more directly on his pupil, Pierre



Boulez, who has written about both *Pelléas* and Debussy throughout his life.

There is no better testimony to Boulez's conception of French music and classic traits as they emerged in the 1950s and 1960s than his encomium to Debussy and to his opera, as well as in his performance of the latter, which emphasizes Resistance cultural values. Debussy, for Boulez, "had created a new form of lyric art, which contrasts violently with Wagner's aesthetic. . . . [He] has given value not just to French vocal characteristics but to French prosody," and one might add, to French modes of thought, feeling, and of expression.<sup>65</sup> This can be heard in his crystalline interpretation of *Pelléas*, which emulates that of the Resistance conductor Roger Désormière, one that captures each nuance and every detail—the subtle prosody in a narrow range and the ear for harmonic color that Debussy believed he had imbibed from Rameau.<sup>66</sup>

Désormière, as Boulez sensed, was able in his performance to bring out the anti-illusionistic, impalpable qualities of the symbolist text, even when the production as well as the surrounding commentary sought to thwart this through visual realism or historical grounding. Within this context, he was able to reinforce Maeterlinck's evocation of Golaud's implacable, all too human, and poignant struggle against fate, significantly within a period of German and Vichy emphasis on French resignation and the acceptance of historical fate. Boulez similarly recaptured Désormière's sense of the sonorous qualities that Debussy desired, thus unleashing the full impact of the story's theme of the ineffable that lies just below the surface of existence, or authentic and fragile humanity, as Maeterlinck himself expressed it.

In sum, this interpretation of French values, one which we take for granted, was in fact conceived in the course of World War II, the result of an intense negotiation within the discourse on French classicism and hence on national values and cultural traits. It helped to foster a new conception of those characteristics that were inherent in the nation—to its distinctive modes of thought and of expression, a framework created by the Right but articulated through conceptions of autonomy long associated with the French Left. The competing claims on classicism—its ever-shifting demarcations or connotations—made it a continuing part of French cultural history, a site of negotiation and contestation rather than a stable category, as in the essentialist approach of Theodor Adorno. For symbols can be mobile, polysemic, and equivocal as meanings are diverted, subverted, and contested: not only groups but individuals appropriate symbols, such as classicism, within a larger field of social power and in the quest for a true identity.



In the case of classicism during Vichy and the Occupation, we must remain aware of Pierre Bourdieu's injunction to interpret symbolic meaning through close analysis of the ways in which social power is insinuated in specific symbols and the array of conflicting responses these symbols may elicit. For classicism, ironically within the context we have seen, was not considered timeless or outside history, but rather became a matrix through which rival groupings could assert themselves as heirs to an "authentic" France in search of identity, continuity, and thus stability. Classicism, with Debussy as an emblem of it, could serve to control a history out of control, to respond to the unknown or the unimagined; it could not only be instrumental as a means of manipulation but could destabilize, then guide and comfort, providing an image of the emerging future.<sup>67</sup> Concepts of French classicism, and concomitantly constructions of Debussy, thus served a constitutive function in reconfiguring national values not only in politics but in French culture, and in those artists who now sought a cultural grounding to make collective meaning and authentic expression possible.

### Notes

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1. On new modes of political intervention and action in France at the time of the Dreyfus Affair, see Christophe Charle, *Naissance des intellectuels 1880–1900* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1990), 230.

2. See Eugen Weber, *Action Française: Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth-Century France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), on the origins and development of the league. On the leagues and their interest in culture, see Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity 1900–1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); and Olivier Corpet, “La Revue,” in *Histoire des droites en France*, vol. 2: *Cultures*, ed. Jean-François Sirinelli (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 161–212.
3. David Carroll, *French Literary Fascism: Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 16, 35, 40, 72–73, 83.
4. Carroll, *French Literary Fascism*, 16 and 40; and see Lebovics, *True France*, 138.
5. Weber, *Action Française*, 9–11.
6. Weber, *Action Française*, 10–11; and Lebovics, *True France*, 10. On Maurras’ literary models, see Christophe Dickès, “Jacques Bainville, une critique culturelle éphémère,” in *Le Maurrassisme et la culture. L’Action Française. Culture, société, politique*, ed. Olivier Dard, Michel Leymarie, Neil McWilliam, vol. 3 (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2010), 357. See also, Laurent Joly, “La Revue critique des idées et des livres. Première dissidence d’Action Française ou première génération intellectuel des ‘Maurrassiens indépendants?’” in *Le Maurrassisme et la culture*, 53–54; and Niel McWilliam, “Antirromantisme et antiféminisme chez les maurrassiens,” in *Le Maurrassisme et la culture*, 174.
7. Edward Tannenbaum, *The Action Française: Die-hard Reactionaries in Twentieth-Century France* (New York: Wiley, 1962), 88. As Tannenbaum points out, Lasserre also contributed articles on literary criticism to the newspaper *Action française* (93).
8. See Pierre Lasserre, *Le Romantisme français* (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1908), viii–xii and 515–43. Maurras had already emphasized the weak, “feminine” qualities of Romanticism in 1905 in his *L’Avenir de l’intelligence*. Attacks on Romanticism as antithetical to the national character had, of course, long preceded Maurras and Lasserre, extending back to the Restoration as well as the July Monarchy; hence by the late nineteenth century, it was a well-established theme which *Action Française* now sought to enflame politically. Lasserre was well apprised of Nietzsche’s diatribe against Wagner, *The Case of Wagner*, and undoubtedly familiar with Baudelaire’s romantic panegyric of him in his celebrated 1861 article, “Richard Wagner et *Tannhäuser* à Paris.”
9. Jean-Paul Sirinelli and Eric Vigne, “Introduction. Des cultures politiques,” in *Histoire des droites en France*, 2:1–3 and 2:9–10.
10. Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music from the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 122–23.
11. Pierre Lasserre, *Des Romantiques à nous* (Paris: La Nouvelle Revue Critique, 1927). Also see Pierre Lasserre, *L’Esprit de la musique française* (Paris: Payot, 1917), 38.
12. Zeev Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1972), 23.
13. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 120–24.
14. Léon Daudet, *Salons et journaux: Souvenirs des milieux littéraires, politiques, artistiques, et médicaux de 1880 à 1908* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917), 307–8.

15. See Christian Goubault, *La Critique musicale dans la presse française de 1870 à 1914* (Geneva and Paris: Editions Slatkine, 1984), 51; and Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 6.
16. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 4 and 29. Also see Brian Hart, "The Symphony in Theory and Practice in France 1900–1914" (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1994), 78.
17. See Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 26, 31–32, and 193; and Hart, "The Symphony in Theory and Practice," 81; as well as Vincent D'Indy, "Une école d'art répondant aux besoins modernes," *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (November 1900): 303–14.
18. See the *Revue critique des idées et des livres*, July–September 1908, 257, on d'Indy's *Cours de composition musicale*.
19. Jane F. Fulcher, "The Composer as Intellectual: Ideological Inscriptions in French Interwar Neoclassicism," *Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 199, 202.
20. Fulcher, "The Composer as Intellectual," 201. Also see Martha Hanna, *The Mobilization of Intellect: French Scholars and Writers during the Great War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 9–10, 39.
21. See Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 179–86.
22. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 186–94.
23. See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 52–54.
24. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France*, 55–65.
25. Darnaudet's articles appeared in *L'Action française* on 1 and 15 August 1915.
26. See Jane F. Fulcher, "Speaking the Truth to Power: The Dialogic Element in Debussy's Wartime Compositions," in *Debussy and His World*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 209–10.
27. On the issue of the subordination of the intellectual realm to national and political interests, see Christophe Prochasson and Anne Rasmussen, *Au nom de la patrie: Les intellectuels et la Première Guerre Mondiale (1910–1919)* (Paris: Editions de la Découverte, 1996), 269. The opposite position, that of Action Française, was articulated by Henri Massis in his "Manifeste du parti de l'intelligence," published in *Le Figaro* on 19 July 1919.
28. See Fulcher, "The Composer as Intellectual," 209.
29. Fulcher, "The Composer as Intellectual," 209. On the exclusion of all things German, see Prochasson and Rasmussen, *Au nom de la Patrie*, 256.
30. Prochasson and Rasmussen, *Au nom de la Patrie*, 211; and Maurice Agulhon, *La République, 1880–1990* (Paris: Hachette, 1990), 1:345.
31. Fulcher, "The Composer as Intellectual," 212; and Martyn Cornick, *Intellectuals in History: The Nouvelle Revue Française* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1995), 98. Also see Rivière's "Introduction" to *La Nouvelle revue française* 70 (September 1919): 612–18.
32. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 136–39.

33. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 140–45. On French protectionism in the interwar period, particularly with reference to black American culture, see Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 94–95. Ravel's conception of classicism was shared by another composer associated with the Left, Charles Koechlin. See his letter to Max d'Ollone of 8 February 1920 in Charles Koechlin, *Correspondances* (Paris: La Revue Musicale, 1982), 42–43. On different, competing conceptions of classicism in music in the interwar period, see Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 133–95.
34. See Fernand-George Roquebrune on Ravel's *L'Heure espagnole* in the *Revue critique des idées et des livres* 1923: 184–85.
35. On Offenbach's works and their commentary on French Grand Opera, see Jane F. Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 185–86. And on Ravel's *L'Enfant et les sortilèges*, see Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 140–41.
36. As quoted in Marcel Marnat, *Maurice Ravel* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 529.
37. See Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order 1940–1944* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 58, 249–59, 366, and 371.
38. Stanley Hoffmann, "Collaborationism in France during World War II," *Journal of Modern History* 40, no. 3 (September 1968): 377–78. On the collaboration of Vichy and the Germans in a common "repressive apparatus," see Denis Peschanski, "Exclusion, persécution, répression," in *Vichy et les français*, ed. Jean-Pierre Rioux and François Bédarida (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 209–10; and Paxton, *Vichy France*, 259–68.
39. On the Left at Vichy, see Paxton, *Vichy France*, 273–79, and on the traditionalists, including Action Française, see 268–73. On the French fascists, their place, and influence, see Pascal Ory, *Les Collaborateurs, 1940–1945* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1976).
40. See Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 133–35.
41. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 32–33.
42. Brigitte Massin, *Les Joachim: Une famille de musiciens* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 258. The performance was part of a gala for the Légion Française des Combattants, and Pétain was in attendance. On the changing reputations of Wagner and Debussy in France in the interwar period, see Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 92–96. It is important to note that despite Vichy's chauvinistic claims, by the fall of 1941, the German ambassador, Otto Abetz, was trying to limit French cultural influence abroad in order to promote German culture. See Serge Added, *Le Théâtre dans les années Vichy 1940–1944* (Paris: Editions Ramsay, 1992), 55.
43. Noel Boyer, "Ecoutant le Pelléas de Debussy," *Action française*, 7–8 December 1941.
44. See Avner Ben Amos, "La Commémoration sous le régime de Vichy: Les limites de la maîtrise du passé," in *La France démocratique: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Agulhon*, ed. Christophe Charle, Jacqueline Labouret, Michel Pignet, and Anne-Marie Sohn (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), 397–408. Another reason for the opera's revival was that the Opéra's director, Jacques Rouché, had to respond to the law of January 1941, signed by the Minister of National Education at Vichy, Jacques



- Chevalier, which required the two national lyric theaters to annually schedule at least two evenings at the Opéra and three at the Opéra-Comique consisting of new productions whose composers and librettists were French. This included a new production of *Pelléas et Mélisande* for the fortieth anniversary of the work's premiere. See Leslie Sprout, "Music for a New Era: Composers and National Identity in France 1936–1946" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 141.
45. Gustave Samazeuilh, "La Quarantaine de Pelléas et Mélisande," *L'Information musicale* 70 (15 May 1942): 937–38.
  46. Noël Boyer, "Debussy intime et inédit," *Action française*, 12–13 December 1942.
  47. On the evolution of Action Française in these years, see Weber, *Action Française*, 443.
  48. On the growing divisions within the league, see Claude Roy, *Moi je* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 364. As he points out, the Maurrassians were divided, with some believing that even under Hitler a centralized and strong French state could do well, while others remained patriotic and hoped for an eventual liberation. Dominique Sordet was an enthusiastic follower of both Wagner and d'Indy; on both him and Lucien Rebatet, who similarly turned to collaboration, see Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 249–50.
  49. Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: Daily Life in the Heart of France during the German Occupation* (New York: Henry Hill, 2003), 17; and Gisèle Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains 1940–1953* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 233.
  50. Margaret Atack, *Literature and the French Resistance: Cultural Politics and Narrative Forms, 1940–1950* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 9. Also see Brigitte Massin, *Les Joachim*, 281. For Decour's opening proclamation, see *Les Lettres françaises*, September 1942, 2. On the disagreement over tactics, see James Steel, *Littératures de l'ombre: Récits et nouvelles de la Résistance* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1991), 28–29; and Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains*, 22.
  51. On the evolution of resistance conceptions in literature, see Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains*, 502; and Steel, *Littératures de l'ombre*, 11, 18–19, and 25. Also see Atack, *Literature and the French Resistance*, 87. On the concept of making culture a field of struggle, see Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 25.
  52. Susan Sulieman, *Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics, and the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 11; and Ines Hedges, *Languages of Revolt: Dada and Surrealist Literature and Film* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1983), 35.
  53. See Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains*, 502–4.
  54. François Bédarida, "Vichy et la crise de la conscience française," in *Vichy et les français*, ed. Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 84–85 and 90–91.
  55. Atack, *Literature and the French Resistance*, 10 and 84; and Steel, *Littératures de l'ombre*, 25. On the concept of authentic subjectivity, see Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 7, 16, and 182–84.

56. Atack, *Literature and the French Resistance*, 84. Also see *Les Lettres françaises*, 15 June 1943, 3.
57. It is significant to note that in the visual arts Aragon, writing in the clandestine *La Main à plume*, was discussing Matisse as representative of French art. See Laurence Bertrand-Dorléac, *L'Art de la défaite 1940–1944* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1993), 274.
58. “Debussy. Musicien Français,” *Musiciens d’aujourd’hui* 4 (October 1942): 3.
59. This argument had been made by the German musicologist Heinrich Strobel, in his *Claude Debussy*, préface et traduction d’André Coeuroy (Paris: Editions Balzac, 1943).
60. This indeed faithfully recalls the patriotic rhetoric of Debussy himself both before and during World War I. See Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 170–77; and Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual*, 52–65.
61. “Debussy le libérateur,” *Musiciens d’aujourd’hui* 6 (June 1943): 4.
62. “Debussy. Musicien français,” *Les Lettres françaises*, August 1944, 3.
63. “Debussy. Musicien français,” 5. The article cites an article by Debussy of 14 October 1915.
64. On Messiaen in French resistance journals, see Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, “Musiciens: Une profession en résistance?” in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. Myriam Chimènes (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 2001), 342. The works of Messiaen most ostensibly influenced by Resistance models of the classic, and particularly that of the Renaissance, include his *Trois petites liturgies de la présence divine*, of 1943, and his *Cinq rechants*, of 1949, both influenced by Claude Le Jeune, whose works Messiaen was studying with his students during the war. By the early and mid-1950s, Boulez was creatively emulating or invoking Debussy in works such as *Le Soleil des eaux*, *Le Marteau sans maître*, and *Pli selon Pli*, the latter based on Mallarmé.
65. Pierre Boulez, *Notes of an Apprenticeship* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 348.
66. This emulation has become particularly evident in the re-release on CD in 2006 by EMI Classics of the 1941 recording of *Pelléas et Mélisande* under the baton of Roger Désormière, with Jacques Jansen, Irène Joachim, and Henri-Bertrand Etcheverry. Significantly, as Boulez avowed in a private conversation with me following a public interview at the University of Michigan on 28 January 2010, he came to know Désormière during the war while a student in Paris, and remained close to him until Désormière’s premature death following a serious automobile accident after the war.
67. On Adorno’s approach to neoclassicism as “infantile,” “affirmative,” and “devoid of content,” see Theodor Adorno, *The Philosophy of Modern Music*, trans. Anne G. Mitchel and Wesley V. Bloomster (London: Sheed and Ward, 1973), 204, 206, 212, and 215. On Bourdieu’s contrasting perception of how social power is insinuated in symbols and the symbolic responses this elicits, see, in particular, his *Ce que parler veut dire: L’économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982); and Jane F. Fulcher, “Symbolic Domination and Contestation in French Music: Shifting the Paradigm from Adorno to Bourdieu,” in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 312–29.

# Another Look at the Curious Fifteenth-Century Hebrew-Worded Motet “Cados cados”

Don Harrán

... since in difficult things, mystical meanings generally lie hidden under the surfaces of words.

—Johannes Kepler

In 1946/47 Eric Werner shook the world of Jewish music studies with the seeming discovery, in a fifteenth-century manuscript of French chansons and various Italian and German works, of a motet for three voices sung to a number of Hebrew words, most notably *kadosh* (holy) and *Adonai* (Lord).<sup>1</sup> If I label it a motet, the reason is its sacred content; if I say “seeming discovery,” the reason is that it had already been signaled in earlier writings of the Spanish scholar Higinio Anglés. Reporting on the manuscript in which it occurred, the Seville Chansonnier, so called from having originally belonged to the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville, Anglés said in 1929 that “the text seems to be Hebrew. Perhaps we have here a unique example of a song of Hispanic Jews in the musical style characteristic of the fifteenth century and on a Hebrew text.”<sup>2</sup> In 1941, in a study on “music in the court of the Catholic kings,” Anglés described the piece as “a remnant, unique of its kind, of three-part music of Spanish Jews.”<sup>3</sup> Werner went to town on Anglés’s remarks, tying the piece to the Marranos, otherwise known as *conversos*, that is, Jews forced to convert to Christianity yet retaining their Judaism under cover. “I venture the theory,” he wrote, “that this is a piece by a Marranic composer, who wrote the selection for the secret meetings of the ‘New Christians’ during the High Holidays,” namely Rosh Hashana (New Year’s) and Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), “virtually the only time when the Marranos dared congregate.” Not only that, but the top voice reproduced “the ancient Ashkenazic tune of the preamble of the

Kedusha" (a prayer of sanctification of the Almighty), as sung on the same holidays.<sup>4</sup> Though some of the vocabulary could easily be identified as Hebrew, the rest was cryptic—it struck Werner as “a semi-code of Marrano Jews, to camouflage Hebrew liturgical texts before the dreaded Inquisition.”<sup>5</sup>

Werner's remarks awakened a storm of protest. Rabbi David Abraham Jessurun Cardozo found it “most unlikely if not impossible that a Marrano in Spain would have taken this enormous risk to write down a Hebrew melody.” To his mind, the melody “was written down somewhere in Italy, most likely North Italy, where so many Marranos went to find safety.”<sup>6</sup> Dragan Plamenac, in a detailed study on the Seville Chansonnier, went even further, saying that “the piece does not seem to be an example of Hispano-Jewish music of the fifteenth century at all.” Rather, some words have an “authentic Hebrew character” while others, of varying origins, are put together in a motley ordering to suggest a Hebrew text, said otherwise: a piece of music meant to parody the Jews.<sup>7</sup>

Where does this leave us? A number of questions remain unanswered. Where was the piece written, in Spain or in Italy? Was the text and its composition the work of one or more Marrano Jews? Was it intended for their secret prayer services? How much of the abstruse vocabulary can be decoded as Hebrew or some other language? How much of the music is Jewish in its melodies? Should it turn out that the text and music were the work of Christians, did they proceed in earnest portrayal of the Jews? Or was the work a travesty of their language and ritual? Since nothing has been said of “Cados cados” since the 1950s, and it remains as intriguing as ever, perhaps some of the questions may be more fully answered by scrutinizing it anew from various perspectives, principally the source, the text, and the music. Not only is “Cados cados,” to quote Plamenac, “one of the most unusual pieces” in its source “or in any contemporary musical source, for that matter,” but, for this writer at least, it exudes an aura of mystery.<sup>8</sup> As “in all difficult matters,” to refer to the epigraph, hidden meanings appear to lie below the surface. I shall suggest various readings, but must forewarn that the piece escapes a facile explanation.

### Source

Of the many chansonniers that preserved the secular repertory of the fifteenth century, the Seville Chansonnier has an interesting story.<sup>9</sup> It once belonged to the private library of Ferdinand Columbus (Fernando Colón), son of Christopher Columbus. Following Ferdinand's death in



1539, the Biblioteca Colombina (as it was called after its owner), which had over twenty thousand books, manuscripts, and music prints,<sup>10</sup> eventually made its way to the Biblioteca Capitular of the Seville Cathedral where, from 1552, it has been ever since (under the present call number 5-I-43). The manuscript originally had 181 folios, but in the nineteenth century forty-two of them were literally ripped out of the binding in four different places and put up for sale.<sup>11</sup> The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris purchased them in 1884, combining them with two other, unrelated manuscripts to form a codex under the present call number Nouv.acq.fr. 4379 (of the three manuscripts, the forty-two folios constitute the first). Obviously, to investigate the Seville Chansonnier, its separate parts must be recombined, as they were in the aforementioned study by Plamenac and the same author's facsimile edition, which itself formed the basis of a doctoral dissertation by Alice Moerk with a full transcription of the music.<sup>12</sup>

"Cados cados" appears in the French portion of the manuscript, the one held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, on folios 8v–9r (Figure 1). Its singularity emerges by reviewing the Seville Chansonnier for its contents. The manuscript contains 167 compositions for three, sometimes four voices. Of the 167, the larger part—125 to be exact—are French chansons from the 1420s on, with particular emphasis on those from mid-century.<sup>13</sup> Compositions with Italian texts are also represented (twenty-four, again mainly from mid-century) as are a few in German (four), Flemish (three), and Latin (three), not to speak of three textless instrumental compositions.<sup>14</sup> Most of the works appear in manuscripts that predated the Seville Chansonnier, which in many ways becomes thereby a peripheral source with its own versions to be collated with others from earlier, more central sources.<sup>15</sup> But there is nothing peripheral about the same chansonnier when one takes into account that one third of its works—fifty-six in all—are unique. "Cados cados" is one of them: it has no other source; it is the only work in the Seville Chansonnier to have Hebrew or pseudo-Hebrew vocabulary; and except for contemporary motets (and secular pieces) with an occasional "Adonai," it is, to this writer's knowledge, the only work of polyphony, until the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to have any Hebrew at all.<sup>16</sup>

From a *registrum* that Ferdinand Columbus inscribed in his own hand in the manuscript, it is clear that he purchased it, at the price of sixty-two *quatrines*, on a visit to Rome in September 1515.<sup>17</sup> It is equally clear, as Plamenac and Moerk comment in their studies, that its repertory spans the larger part of the fifteenth century, with the main concentration of works in the 1450–60s, and most important of all, that the date and place of the manuscript are traceable to late fifteenth-

century Italy. It is "obvious," Plamenac writes, "that the manuscript was written in Italy." Its Italian works are one proof of the Italian origins, but so are the large number of its chansons: they are "one more proof," he continues, "that the French chanson, which had exerted a strong attraction in Italian musical circles at the end of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth, continued at the turn of the fifteenth century to stand high in favor with Italian amateurs of social and intellectual standing."<sup>18</sup>

One firm conclusion may be drawn: nothing in the manuscript connects its origins to Spain. Rabbi Cardozo said as much specifically about "Cados cados" and so did Plamenac in his flat assertion that "the piece is not of Spanish but of Italian origin."<sup>19</sup> Scribal evidence substantiates the conclusion: Plamenac went into considerable detail on the different hands of the copyists.<sup>20</sup> Suffice it to say here that the French texts are largely corrupted in their inscription by scribes who, according to Plamenac, must have been Italian; though not so by the scribe who appears to have copied "Cados cados"—Plamenac describes him as "most probably a Franco-Fleming living in Italy" and one so familiar with French as to write it with ease and accuracy. French is not Hebrew, however, and how Plamenac's conclusions about the scribes apply to "Cados cados"—the only Hebrew-worded text in the manuscript and therefore incomparable with any other work in it—is a topic to which I will return in treating its text.

## Text

I proceed from two assumptions: one is that the text, as Werner believed, was connected with Jewish prayer services; another is that its words were not partly but completely Hebrew. To what extent can these assumptions be demonstrated?

Of the three voice parts, the cantus (here the upper voice, often designated discantus) and tenor (here the lower voice) carry the text in a full inscription whereas the contra, that is, contratenor (not always separate from the two; indeed, it extends here into their ranges) has its first three words as an incipit. Incipits of this sort often denote an instrumental performance either because the parts in which they occur do not have enough notes to accommodate all words of the text or because they are so jagged in their writing as to be difficult to sing. But since the contra in "Cados cados" neither lacks for notes nor is unmelodic, one might envisage its vocal performance as entirely reasonable (and in my transcription of the piece [see Appendix] I have supplied the contra with a full text).

The text reads as follows—brackets are used to indicate word repeats or differences of spelling in the separate voices:

Cados cados adonay cherubim cados sie singhen harumbrael [*the cantus and tenor have harumbrael twice*] rausco maho [*the tenor has maho twice and there are enough notes in the contra for it to be sung twice there as well*] et hydorum naiso sopposo dislacerubin [*tenor has the spelling dislacherubin*] a meabul [*the cantus and tenor have a meabul twice*] lumbi [*the cantus and tenor have lumbi twice and there are enough notes in the contra for it to be sung twice there as well*] lari discao cados cados cados cados [*over the first cados there is the inscription in both the cantus and the tenor: 4 nulame*]

What possibilities are there for identifying the language? One is that the text is all Hebrew and that if certain words do not make any sense in it, the reason perhaps is graphical corruption by a scribe who knew little Hebrew or had difficulties in transliterating it. Another possibility is that the text was partly Hebrew, partly pseudo-Hebrew. A third is that the text was a macaronic concoction of words drawn from varying languages, including Hebrew. Werner and Plamenac endorsed the second and third possibilities: "a kind of mixture of different languages, Hebrew, Spanish, Arabic, containing some unidentified probably corrupted words" (Werner);<sup>21</sup> "a burlesque juxtaposition of words of different origin . . . to convey the impression of a Hebrew text . . . a linguistic hodgepodge" (Plamenac).<sup>22</sup> I endorse the first, on the grounds that "4 nulame" in both the cantus and the tenor, toward the end, was a specific performing instruction. Clearly, it meant that "cados," the last word, was to be sung four times. It is to no avail to search for "nulame" in Hebrew dictionaries or on the Web (though there is such a word in Dhivehi, the language of the Maldiv Islands, in the Indian Ocean!). "Nulame," in Hebrew, appears to be a corruption of the present passive "ne'emar" (it is said); or of the future first-person plural, when used to designate an imperative, for example, "nomar" (let us say); or of one or another form of the infinitive as an imperative, "na lomar" or "na lemor" (please say). If the singers could read the Hebrew, and there would be no point in giving the instruction unless they were able to, the full text of what they were performing was also probably in Hebrew (with one exception: the German "sie singhen").

The only way to test the thesis of a Hebrew text is to read the words in a specifically Hebrew context. They follow here in the order of their presentation:

1. *cados cados adonay cherubim cados*. The three-fold *cados* relates to Isaiah 6:3 about the angels "who cried to one another, saying: 'Holy

(*kadosh*), holy, holy is the Lord (*Adonai*) of hosts.”<sup>23</sup> Isaiah 6:3 is quoted in the Kedusha, a major prayer recited in a shorter reading for Morning and Afternoon Services and in a longer one, the Great Kedusha (*Kedusha rabbati*), for the Musaf (or Additional Service) on Sabbaths, feast days, and festivals.<sup>24</sup> The Great Kedusha opens as follows—I quote it in the *italiani* version, the one for the rite of Italian-born Jews, often designated *benei Roma* (children of Rome), as against Ashkenazic and Sephardic rites in Italy (for the Ashkenazic version see below):

Keter yittenu lakh hamonei ma'lah 'im kevutsei mattah. Yaḥad kullam kedushah lekha yeshalleshu ke-ma she-ne'emar 'al yad nevi'ekha: ve-kara zeh el zeh ve-amar: kadosh kadosh kadosh Adonai tseva'ot melo khol ha-arets kevodo. Kevodo male 'olam; mesharetav sho'alim zeh la-zeh: aiyyeh mekom kevodo?

*A crown will they give You, the crowds [of angels] above with the groups [of humans at prayer] below. Together will all [of them] triple Your holiness, as was said by Your prophet: “And they cried to one another, saying: ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth fills with His glory.’” His glory fills the universe; His servants ask one another: “Where is the place of His glory?”*<sup>25</sup>

In the motet the angels are “cherubs,” absent from Isaiah 6:3, though in the preceding verses (6:1–2) one finds seraphs who, as guards, stand above the Lord on His throne.<sup>26</sup> “Cherubs” perform the same protective function in Genesis 3:24—after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, God stationed them at the entrance “for guarding the way to the Tree of Life.”<sup>27</sup> In the Ashkenazic version of the Kedusha—and if the German “*sie singhen*” is any indication of the persons at prayer, they would have been Ashkenazim—the first verse begins differently and does in fact refer to seraphs, as follows:

Na'aritsakh ve-nakdishakh ke-sod siaḥ sarfei kodesh ha-makdishim shimkha be-kodesh.

*We will revere You and sanctify You as in the secret speech of the holy seraphs who sanctify Your name in holiness.*<sup>28</sup>

In both the *italiani* and the Ashkenazic readings, the verse indicates the parallel singing of the angels on high and the people of Israel below. Because of its location at the opening of the motet, Isaiah 6:3 may have been intended as its thematic mainstay: not only does *kadosh* return at the end, but it has various implications for the contents of the middle (singing to God, God on high, His presence on earth, His people who



worship Him and keep His commandments, His covenant with them; see continuation).

2. *sie singhen*. German for "they sing," though *singhen* should properly have been *singen*. The word, to all appearances, was written by a scribe who, to prevent the hard *g* in Italian from becoming a soft *g*, as in the English *gem*, added the *h*. "They sing" (in the motet) substitutes for "they call" (in Isaiah 6:3). Why the German is a question in itself: if Jews were praying, then "sie singhen" might have been a verbal interpolation to indicate that the words "Cados cados" etc., were those in the mouths of the angels and, more practically, of the congregation, hence "they sing" in reference to either. The German would not have been that of a Sephardic or an *italiano* Jew, but rather of an Ashkenazic Jew who, as a member of the congregation, reported on what he heard. But another possibility, entirely different, might be considered, namely that the writer was an Ashkenazic Jew who happened to be present at a service of *italiani* or even Sephardic Jews and who detailed or reconstructed the words of one of their prayers. The problem of the various persons involved in the composition of the prayer as poetry and music is one to which I will return.

3. *harumbrael*. Werner said of the word that it "seems to be a kabbalistic angel-name," referring to its designation as such in a manuscript in the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. Yet after whetting his readers' curiosity, he failed to identify the manuscript.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, no such angel has been recorded.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the word is a corruption of *harim b(a)ra el*, "God created mountains," in allusion to the following passage in Talmud Bavli (I have italicized the relevant words):

Aḥer (another one),<sup>31</sup> after having corrupted his ways [through conversion], asked Rabbi Me'ir [a question], saying to him: "What is the meaning of the verse: 'This too did the Lord do as against that' [Ecclesiastes 7:14]?" He [the rabbi] said to him: "For everything the Holy-One-Blessed-Be-He created He created a counterpart. He created mountains, He created hills; He created seas, He created rivers." He [Aḥer] said to him: "Rabbi Akiva, your teacher, did not speak thus. Rather [he said]: 'He created the righteous, He created the wicked; He created Paradise, He created Hell. Each and every person has two portions: one in Paradise, the other in Hell. If someone righteous proved worthy, he took on his own portion and the portion of his companion in Paradise. If someone wicked proved guilty, he took on his own portion and the portion of his companion in Hell.'" <sup>32</sup>

In summary, there is good and bad: God created "mountains" whereby some rise to the heights, He created chasms whereby some sink to the

depths; in the end God will reward the righteous and punish the wicked. If, as has been claimed by Werner, the Jews were converts to Christianity, yet practiced their Judaism under cover, the differentiation between good and bad might have been embedded in their prayers as a reminder that on the Day of Judgment all humans will be appraised for their acts, of which the worst would be to apostatize. It should be emphasized that the question to which Rabbi Meir responded was that of a convert. Needless to say, the doctrine of retribution was not confined to secret prayer services: it underlies Jewish prayer in its statutory ritual, especially on the Day of Atonement.

There follow a number of words too uncertain in their spelling to be easily recognized as Hebrew:

4. *rausco*. From the Hebrew *rosho*, “its head” (or “His head”)? For a possible connection with *naiso*, see below.

5. *maho*. From the Hebrew *ma hu*, “what is it”? Or from the Hebrew *melo*, “whole”? Werner read it as *mayim*, “waters” (on which more shortly). *Melo* might perhaps link with Isaiah 6:3 above (“Holy, holy, holy . . . the whole earth [*melo kol ha-arets*] fills with His glory”).

6. *et hydrorum*. Connecting these two words with the previous *maho*, Werner construed them as “waters” (*mayim*) in Hebrew, “and” (*et*) in Latin, and “waters” (ὕδωρ) in Greek.<sup>33</sup> He reports that a colleague “directed [his] attention to a passage in *Pirkei heikhalot* where this phrase actually occurs.”<sup>34</sup> I checked *Pirkei heikhalot* from cover to cover and found no replication of “water” or “waters.” True, there are two places where “water” is described in its immensity, one being “as the voice of many waters, as the noise of streams,” and the other being “as one upon whom one pours thousands upon thousands of waves of water, yet there is not even one drop in them.”<sup>35</sup> But that is a far cry from its seeming bilingual reiteration according to Werner in “Cados cados.” One other combination bears mention: “mountains” (*harim*) as under number 3 above (*harumbrael*) plus “water” (*mayim*). It occurs in Psalms 104:6 (“Waters will stand on the mountains”).<sup>36</sup> Other verses in this same psalm refer to the heavens, the angels, and the foundations of the earth, all of them relevant, if only incidentally, to the text of the motet.

There is the question whether *hydrorum* can be traced to the Aramaic *‘edra* (עדרא) or Hebrew *‘eder* (עדר), in the sense of an assembly—the congregation of worshippers, as in Zechariah 10:3: “for the Lord of hosts visited His flock (*‘edro*), the house of Judah”;<sup>37</sup> or whether *et hydrorum* can be traced to *‘ets hadar*, “choice fruits,” as in Leviticus 23:40, referring to the Feast of Tabernacles: “On the first day you will take for yourselves choice fruit of trees, palm leaves, and branches of

thick trees and willows on a brook, and you will rejoice before the Lord your God seven days."<sup>38</sup>

7. *naiso*. From the Hebrew *naso*, "bear," as in Numbers 4:2: "Bear (now in the sense of "take") (*naso*) the sum (*rosh*) of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi,"<sup>39</sup> which might connect with the previous *rausco*, here with *rosh* as "sum"; or in Jeremiah 10:5, where the Lord, speaking of the heathen, advises the children of Israel to "bear" with them ("bear" here in the sense of "carry"), for they will not disappear from the earth: "they have to be carried, for they themselves cannot walk. Have no fear of them."<sup>40</sup> Or perhaps *naiso* should be read as the Hebrew *neso*, as in Isaiah 1:14, where the Lord, angry at His people for their sins, said that He will no longer "bear" their false prayers and sacrifices: "My soul detests your new moons and your feasts. They became a burden to Me, I wearied in bearing them."<sup>41</sup> Or perhaps it should be read as the Hebrew *nesa'o*, now "lifted," as in Exodus 35:21, where the children of Israel, after hearing the words of the Lord from Moses, were "lifted" in their hearts to keep His commandments: "They came, all those whose heart lifted them (*nesa'o*) and all those whose spirit directed them; and they brought the Lord's offering for the work of the tabernacle where they convened and for all its services."<sup>42</sup>

8. *sopposo*. I can find no immediate Hebrew equivalent. Werner, in line with his "suppos"ition of the Spanish origins of the motet, said of the word that it is "pure old Spanish, meaning to put beneath, or simply under." Yet *suponer* in Spanish means "to suppose" (and the closest form to *sopposo* would have been *supuso*, "he supposed," in the preterite tense) and the Spanish for "to put beneath or under" is *poner debajo*. The verb is absent from the early seventeenth-century *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* compiled by Sebastián de Covarrubias Orazco.<sup>43</sup> In later dictionaries, its meaning, as already said, is "to suppose."<sup>44</sup> If anything, the word *supposo* might have come from the Italian *supporre*, again "to suppose," but also, in an older secondary meaning, "to put beneath or under" (*mettere sotto*).<sup>45</sup> Its significance in the motet is obscure.

9. *dislacerubin* (or in the tenor voice *dislacherubin*). The word seems to connect with the previous *cherubim*, but the prefix *disla* has no immediate equivalent in Hebrew. Or is the *la* an indirect object, thus "to the cherubs"?

10. *a meabul*. From the Hebrew *ha-mabul*, "the Flood"? The text might have been in reference to God's covenant with mankind after the Flood, as in Genesis 9:11: "I will establish My covenant with you: nobody's body will be cut away again by the waters of the Flood (*ha-mabul*) and there will no Flood (*mabul*) again to destroy the earth."<sup>46</sup>



11. *lumbi*. A corruption of the Hebrew *libi* (לִבִּי), “my heart”?<sup>47</sup>

12. *lari*. From the Hebrew “to the lion” (לְאַרִי)? Or is *ari* an abbreviation for “the Land of Israel” (אֶרֶץ)? In that case, *lari*, with the preposition *le* (or shortened, *l*) for “to,” might read as “to the Land of Israel” (לְאַרֶץ).<sup>48</sup>

13. *discao*. Since *discao* is followed by a four-fold statement of *cados*, it could possibly be read as a distortion of the Hebrew *tikre’u*, “read” or “say” (תִּקְרְאוּ).

14. *cados cados cados cados*. The end of the motet reverts to the beginning, thereby creating a textual da capo and, further, emphasizing the importance of Isaiah 6:3 to “Cados cados” at large.

Thus far the words are tentatively related to the Hebrew. Despite the uncertainties of the reading, there is enough Hebrew to sustain the assumption of its being the main language. As mentioned, the key word appears to be *nulame*, which, when read as *ne’emar* or *nomar* or *na lomar*, directs the singers to recite *cados*, at the end, four times.

The problems in interpreting the words derive from the scribal transcription, about which more below. But who wrote the text? Who set its words to music? Who performed the finished composition?

There are various possibilities, of which some have already been mentioned. One or more Jews might have written the text for recitation in prayer services and one or another of them wrote music to it and three or more Jews then performed the composition in the synagogue or in private prayer.<sup>49</sup> Another possibility is that the author of the text was Jewish and that a Christian, who overheard the Jews reciting it in prayer, copied it out in Latin script and that the same or another Christian set the text as a three-voice motet to be performed by Christians. Still another possibility is that there was no such prayer and Jews or Christians might have created it after the example of Jewish prayers. One knows nothing of Jewish composers or Jewish performers in the mid-fifteenth century and, under ordinary circumstances, the piece, to all intents, would *not* have been composed by a Jew or performed by Jews in prayer services. Yet such a conclusion does not square with the assumption that the persons who read *nulame* as an instruction, in Hebrew, for singing the last word *cados* four times were Hebrew-reading Jews. On the other hand, the word *nulame* is less an instruction than a statement of fact: the singers did not need to be told that they were to sing *cados* four times, because the word itself appears four times in the music. Is it possible that a Jewish convert who reviewed the manuscript copy of the composition in the Seville Chansonnier wrote a marginal comment to the effect that “*cados* is said four times, as you can see here in its four-fold repetition”? Pursuing the matter of Jewish converts even



further, it is possible to imagine a situation in which converts, schooled in the arts of Christians, including the *ars componendi* and *ars canendi*, wrote the text as a simulation of Hebrew prayers in the synagogue (as previously suggested), composed it in the manner of Christian motets, and performed it to one or another audience. Clearly, there is a "mysterious" explanation lying behind the origins and usages of "Cados cados."

There may have been an earlier copy of "Cados cados," which the scribe recopied in a fair hand for the Seville Chansonnier. Both copies would have reflected the difficulties in transcribing the Hebrew in Latin letters. Whether Christians or Jews made the transcription is of no practical importance, for both of them would have encountered the same problems: there are no easy equivalents, in Latin letters, for Hebrew vowels and consonants.

Transcriptions of Hebrew are often approximate: *m* might change to *n*, *sh* to *s*, *t* to *d*, *ra* to *ru*, etc. In records of the Inquisition as inscribed by Spanish Christian notaries, one finds such corruptions of Hebrew words as *un pismoni* for *pizmon* (פזמון), *hararu* for *haftarah* (הפטרה), *mismad y cohay* for *nishmat kol hai* (נשמת כול חי), and *vay hod lo asamay* for *va-yakhulu ha-shamayim* (ויכולו השמים).<sup>50</sup> Jews were no less negligent in transcribing Hebrew. Abraham ben Simeon, in his *Cabala mystica* (c. 1458), wrote *ebeniekarah* for *even yekarah* (אבן יקרה), *garagar* for *gargaret* (גרגרית), *geblinas* for *gevinah* (גבינה), or *melacas* for *melakhah* (מלאכה).<sup>51</sup> True, the transcription might have been made from a written text in Hebrew or, by ear, from its recitation. In either case, more flagrant corruptions would seem only natural in transcriptions by Christians who, in reading texts or listening to their recitation, had limited knowledge of Hebrew or by Jews who proceeded hastily in converting its written or recited sounds into Latin letters.

Plamenac, who studied the musical and textual paleography of the manuscript in detail, discerned three different scribes for its various signatures (a–h and j–r, altogether seventeen gatherings in a duodecimo format, that is, with twelve folios for each).<sup>52</sup> About the first scribe, whom he saw as responsible for the works under the signatures b, c, and the larger part of d, he said that "from paleographic as well as linguistic evidence, [he] was undoubtedly an Italian." His handwriting, he continues, was clear and the notes were diamond-shaped; the insertion of French texts is usually limited to incipits, "and even these are corrupt." The third scribe, whom Plamenac saw as responsible for the pieces inscribed under the m and n signatures, had a "neat and graceful musical handwriting." Like the first, he usually gave only incipits for the French texts and appears to have been Italian. Scribe 2, for Plamenac,

wrote the pieces under the e, f, h, k, and o signatures, including “Cados cados” on e 9v–10r (or in the added foliation in the portion of the manuscript held in Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 8v–9r). He is said to display “a handsome, somewhat ‘Gothic’-looking handwriting,” to have no trouble in writing French texts, and to all appearances to be a Franco-Fleming who established residence in Italy.<sup>53</sup> As already said, we have no basis for comparing his script for what I assumed to be the Hebrew text of “Cados cados” with other such examples in the manuscript, simply because there are none. But one wonders: if he were Franco-Flemish, why did he write “sie singhen” instead of the proper German “sie singen,” which, in Flemish, moreover, would have been “ze zingen”? Perhaps either because he knew enough Italian to want to prevent hard g from becoming soft g, as described above,<sup>54</sup> or because, in proceeding from French pronunciation, he wanted to prevent hard g, as in *gamme* (scale), from becoming 3, as in *gens* (people, with *ge* similar to *s* in the English word *pleasure*). But “sie singhen” is a minor point. More serious is the question of differentiating the separate hands in the Seville Chansonnier: Plamenac’s assertions on its paleography might be reviewed for their accuracy, though that is a task that goes beyond the confines of the present study, nor is it relevant to describing the text and music of “Cados cados” for their content.

Before leaving the matter of the words, two things remain to be resolved: syntax and semantics. As said, the overall form of the text is circular, with *cados* in the opening words and, as varied, at the close. Three parts can be designated:

- A    *Cados cados adonay cherubim cados*
- B    The fifteen words that follow *cados*
- A'   *Cados cados cados cados*

To determine how the words divide one might consult the phrases of the music (see Appendix). There the words group into eleven phrases, as follows:

1	<i>Cados cados</i>	2	<i>adonay cherubim</i>
3	<i>cados sie singhen</i>	4	<i>harumbrael</i>
5	<i>rausco maho</i>	6	<i>et hydrorum</i>
7	<i>naiso supposito</i>	8	<i>dislacherubim</i>
9	<i>a meabul</i>	10	<i>lumbi lari discas</i>
11	<i>cados cados cados cados</i>		

The question is whether the composer understood the words enough to know how to group them. Assuming for the sake of argument that he did and thus determined the phrases according to the verbal syntax, one might construct an arbitrary reading of the text as follows:

Section A

<sup>1</sup>Holy, holy! <sup>2</sup>Lord of the cherubs. <sup>3</sup>Holy, they sing.

Section B

<sup>4</sup>God created mountains. <sup>5</sup>[The] whole [earth until] His summit [fills with His glory]. <sup>6</sup>Choice fruits <sup>7</sup>did they [His people] bear [to honor Him] . . . , <sup>8</sup>[as] the cherubs [honor Him in their song]. <sup>9</sup>[After establishing His covenant with them He determined never to destroy them by the waters of] the Flood. <sup>10</sup>My heart [longs to return] to the Land of Israel. [All of you], cry out [and say, as do the angels]:

Section A'

<sup>11</sup>Holy, holy, holy, holy [is the Lord]!

So understood, the text reads as a song of praise to God Almighty. It is clear that only when the original Hebrew—assuming again that it *was* Hebrew—is reconstructed, and the phonetic problem of its transfer to Latin letters resolved, will a more accurate and obviously more nuanced reading emerge.

But one last possibility might be considered: the text was not meant to form a meaningful statement in Hebrew but rather, except for the clearly connected words at the opening (*cados cados, adonay cherubim, cados sie singhen*) and at the end (*cados cados cados cados*), was meant to be a loose string of unrelated Hebrew-sounding vocables. That is what Plamenac believed, though the difference between his and my reading lies in the poet's and composer's intention. For Plamenac, their aim was "to produce a piece in which things Jewish and the Hebrew tongue would be turned into derision."<sup>55</sup> As far as I can see, there is nothing derisive in the words or music. Even if it should turn out that the words form a series of *disjecta membra* intended to simulate Hebrew speech and that the notes were fashioned as motives after the formulae of synagogue song, all is, or at least seems to be, done with the utmost respect and discretion.

## Music

The work is available in various transcriptions, including my own.<sup>56</sup> After introductory remarks on its notational traits (which can be

checked here against the original in Figure 1), I will consider the source of its melodies (Christian? Jewish?), the rhythmic treatment of its various Hebrew words, and the possible relationship to other works in the manuscript.

"Cados cados" is inscribed in the white notation customary in polyphony from the later fifteenth century on.<sup>57</sup> It is in choir book format, with the top voice, here the cantus, on one page (8v) and the two remaining voices, here the tenor and contra, on the facing page (9r).<sup>58</sup> The words *tenor* and *contra*, at the beginning of their parts, have a decorated initial and the decorated C for the cantus, at the beginning of its own part, serves as both an abbreviation of cantus and the first letter of *cados*. In range, the contra sometimes stands below the tenor to become a bass and sometimes crosses over it to become an alto. As customary, it provides harmonic filling for the cantus and tenor (thus on the first four syllables of the word *dislacherubim*, for example, it sounds the pitch A to form a triad with the F and C of the other parts; see mm. 42–43). The meter is duple (as indicated by the signature  $\text{C}$  at the beginning of each of the voices). There are no accidentals in the key signature, though such accidentals would have been added by the singers in accordance with the rules of medieval and Renaissance *musica ficta* for avoiding

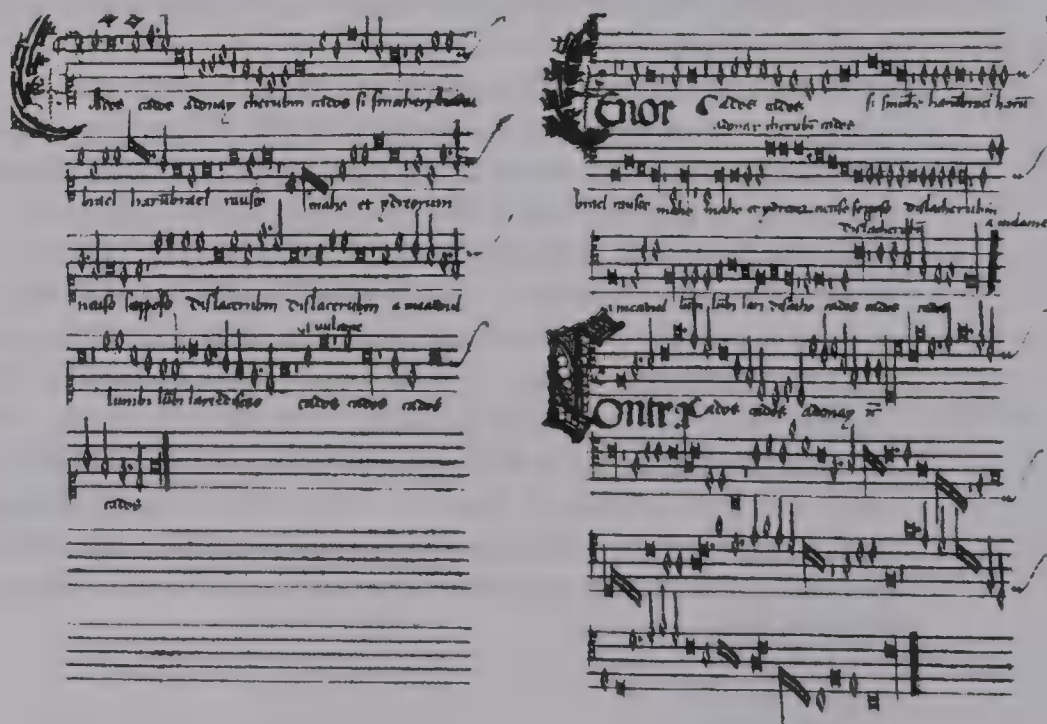


Figure 1. Three-voice motet "Cados cados" from the Seville Chansonnier, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Nouv.acq.fr. 4379, 8v–9r. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



dissonances or "beautifying" the harmony (see, for example, cantus, measure 15, with an added flat on B lest it clash with F in the tenor and contra; and contra, measure 10, with an added flat on B *causa pulchritudinis*). The clefs at the beginning of the voices are the soprano clef for the cantus and the tenor clef for both the tenor and contra. Ligatures are heavily used in the contra (see those on its second, third, and fourth staves). In its notation, "Cados cados" conforms to the scribal conventions of its time. Though its content may be special, its inscription is normative.

In the melodies of "Cados cados," serious questions can be raised about its origins. Werner believed that the composer quoted a Christian tune in the contra "to camouflage" the text as a prayer recited in secret services, specifically the chant "Alma redemptoris mater" (early eleventh century) sung in the Church as an antiphon to the Virgin Mary.<sup>59</sup> True, there is a certain resemblance between the two at the opening (ex. 1).

But then each goes off in its own direction. The melody that the chant circumscribes (from a lower to higher pitch, at the distance of an octave), as written in example 1, is triadic and obviously common to any number of melodies in the Western tradition, including such other Gregorian chants as the Marian anthem "Salve, Regina, mater misericordiae" (early eleventh century) and the Kyrie eleison "De angelis" (fifth to sixth centuries),<sup>60</sup> not to speak of melodies from the general literature, such as one by François Couperin (ex. 2A) and another by Ludwig van Beethoven (ex. 2B).<sup>61</sup>

It is hardly likely for the composer of "Cados cados" to have been overly concerned with the contra, which, as an intermediate part, would not have awakened inordinate attention. Moreover, as will be seen, the same contra appears to share material with the surrounding parts. If anything, the work sounds "Christian" in its melodic similarities to polyphonic works from the fifteenth century. But that does not mean the composer purposely used Christian-sounding motives in its construction.





sacred speech of the sanctified seraphs who sanctify Your name in sanctity . . . they call and triple as a threesome [Your] sanctity in sanctity.<sup>66</sup>

The prayer further mentions that "the great shofar will be sounded," which leads to Werner's second remark that "the tenor carries a tune resembling the shofar signals: Teru'ah, Shevarim-Teru'ah, and Teki'ah."<sup>67</sup> These signals, as they reverberate on Rosh Hashana, are a fast repeated note heard usually nine times for Teru'ah, a fast ascending interval (of various sizes: sometimes a third, sometimes a fourth, a fifth, or a sixth) heard usually three times for Shevarim; and a more slowly presented ascending interval (of the same sizes) heard usually a single time for Teki'ah.<sup>68</sup> Compared with other tenor parts in the pieces in the Seville Chansonier, the tenor of "Cados cados" is noticeably different. Its motives indeed seem to have been molded on shofar signals, sometimes exactly, other times suggestively (the rests surrounding the various motives serve effectively for their articulation; ex. 3A–D).

True, the examples under 3C and 3D are less convincing, but the composer could have conceived them as an alteration of the standard patterns, which is normal procedure in composition.

What Werner did not say is that these motives were not confined to the tenor. Rather they seem to have penetrated the other parts so that, in a sense, the whole motet could be read as a series of variations on shofar signals. Thus the cantus at the beginning, before the tenor comes in with its Teru'ah on four repeated notes surrounded by rests (mm. 2–6, see ex. 3), sounds its own Teru'ah on two repeated notes also surrounded by rests (1–3). It has a rising Teki'ah and then, in a free variation, a descending one (63–68). One can plot the conjunction of Teki'ah and Teru'ah in various fusions of rising or descending thirds, with or without intermediate tones (ex. 4).

The contra shares this material in its own suggestive ways, as for example a fourth (rising and falling) followed by an octave to form a double Teki'ah (or Shevarim?) (mm. 69–72); or a Teki'ah (rising third) combined with a Teru'ah (19–21); or a varied Teki'ah as two rising thirds plus a fourth that then descends by a fourth (1–6); or another varied Teki'ah as a combination of rising and descending fourths and thirds (13–19) (ex. 5).

All signs point to a calculated elaboration, in the three voices, of similar material shaped after motives "resembling," as Werner said, the various signals sounded by the shofar. The coordination of the three voices as *tres in unum* is enhanced by the tendency to link them through imitative counterpoint, whereby a figure in one voice is repeated with or without modification in another. For examples, some already designated

A Measures 2-6
17-22

42-9
64-6

B Measures 27-36

49-54
66-9

C Measures 12-17
23-7

D Measures 6-12

56-64

Example 3. Various shofar motives in the tenor. (A) *Teru'ah*. (B) *Teki'ah*: rising fourth or fifth or, as varied, rising fifth followed by descending fifth to constitute a partial *Shevarim*. (C) *Teki'ah*: varied—descending third with an intermediate tone, as for example the G in the succession A–G–F. (D) *Teki'ah* variously combined with *Teru'ah* as rising and descending thirds with intermediate or adjacent tones, as in the succession A–G–F–G–F, where the first G would be intermediate and the second one adjacent.

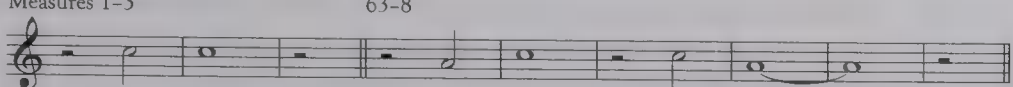
above, though there with respect to single voices, see mm. 1–5 where the cantus (on c''–c'') is imitated twice, a twelfth lower, by the tenor (on f–f); or 7–13 where the phrase f'–g'–a'–g'–f'–e'–d'–e'–f' in the tenor is imitated in the cantus an octave higher; or mm. 18–22 where the cantus on a'–c''–c''–a' is imitated an octave lower in the contra; or, finally, mm. 48–55, where a'–c''–c''–a' in the cantus is repeated there as a varied motive (a'–c''–b''–a'–g'–f'–a'), then imitated by the original motive an octave lower in the contra and, twice, by a similar motive (f–c'–c'–f) in the tenor (ex. 6).

Should it turn out that the motet was in fact designed to rework exact or varied shofar signals in all its voices, it would be the only one of its kind in the literature.

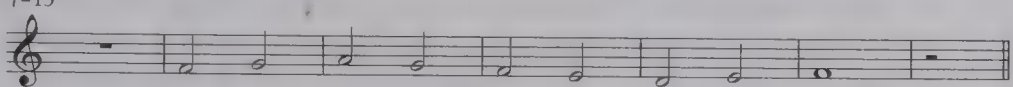
But, to play the devil's advocate, how can one be sure that the composer of "Cados cados" intended to imitate the shofar? Without



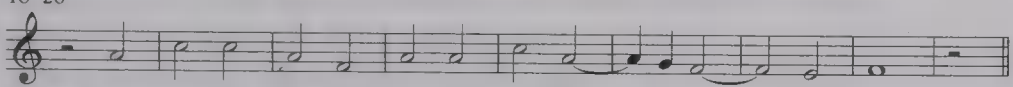
Measures 1-3                      63-8



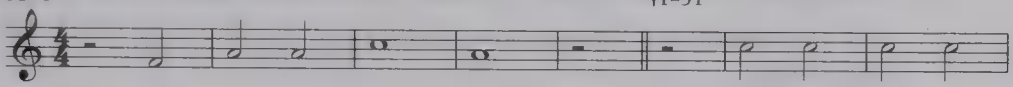
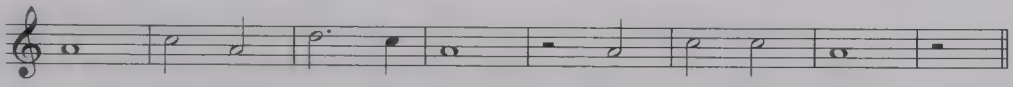
7-13



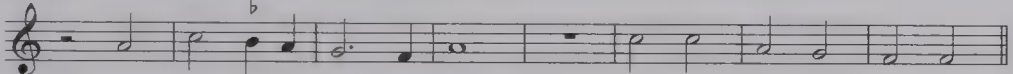
18-26



32-6                      41-51

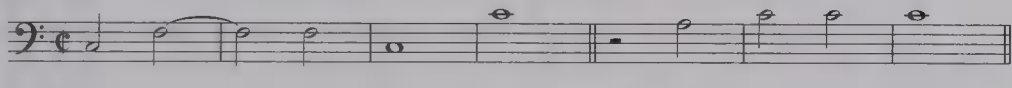



51-8




Example 4. Shofar signals in the cantus.


Measures 69-72                      19-21



1-6



13-19



Example 5. Shofar signals in the contra.

more specific evidence, as for example something in the uneasily deciphered vocabulary of the text, any conclusion that the composer imitated the shofar borders on speculation. The closest we can come to providing this evidence is in what has been said above about the textual connections between "Cados cados" and the Kedushah (which in the Musaf for Rosh Hashana precedes the blowing of the shofar). But a piece of adjunct evidence bears mention: the use of horn signals in a medley of repeated notes, triads, and fanfares in the Trecento *caccia*, the French *chace*, Italian *battaglie*, and any number of Baroque and

classic works.<sup>69</sup> It has an offshoot, in sacred composition, in the practice of devising lower voices *ad modum tubae* (in the manner of a trumpet).<sup>70</sup> For example, Johannes Tapissier (d. before 1410) wrote a four-voice isorhythmic motet “Eya dulcis adque vernans—Vale placens” with such trumpet imitations (notably at the beginning of its second and third sections; see ex. 7A).<sup>71</sup> More well known is a “Gloria et in terra ad modum tubae” for four voices by Guillaume Dufay (d. 1470), a composer represented, moreover, by four compositions in the Seville Chansonnier.<sup>72</sup> His “Gloria” has a descending fourth in the two lower voices (tenor, contratenor) as a figure repeated thirty-one times (mm. 1–62) before being modified to form nine similar figures, likewise repeated (63–110) (ex. 7B).<sup>73</sup>

The difference between the sounds of Dufay’s “trumpet” and those of the possible shofar in “Cados cados” is that the first are static in their pitches and rhythms and the second variable (as is clear from the number of their permutations in the examples above). This variability, to continue the argument interjected by the devil’s advocate, might be used against an intended imitation of shofar signals: if motives are subject to constant change, how can we be sure that they were modeled on something specific? Might the composer not have been playing with free successions of repeated notes and rising or falling intervals? Could his note repeats and triads, to voice an aesthetic judgment, be adjudged the work of someone who, for lack of imagination, resorts simplistically to melodic

Measures 1–5

7–13

18–22

48–55

Example 6. Shofar-like motives in imitation between the voices.

## A Measures 39–44

77–82

## B

Measures 1–16

Example 7. Motives "ad modum tubae." (A) Tapissier, "Eya dulcis adque vernans—Vale placens," top staff, quadruplum, triplum; bottom staff, contratenor, tenor. (B) Dufay, "Gloria et in terra ad modum tubae," with the words "Et in terra pax hominibus," etc., in the upper voices.

rudiments? As with the text of this motet, so here, in its music, "mystery" lurks behind its fabrication.

Before leaving the subject of the Hebraicity of "Cados cados," one thing remains to be examined. If the text were Hebrew, as has been assumed, its rhythmic treatment in the music might reflect the degree to which the composer was aware of its proper enunciation. The evidence points unequivocally to familiarity with the Hebrew, at least as far as the particular words recognizable as Hebrew are concerned. All of them are accented, in speech, on the final syllable (an accentuation known in Hebrew as *milra'*) and, with few exceptions, the composer designed their rhythms to conform to the main stresses, doing so in

various ways: by writing a longer note on the final accented syllable (ex. 8A), by placing an ornament on it (ex. 8B), or by having it fall on a strong beat (ex. 8C).

It remains to be seen whether the other words, should they prove to be Hebrew, are themselves properly accented.

The discussion was premised on the relationship between “U-netaneh token” and the Kedusha. But one prayer has been neglected. I mentioned, under the explanation of “sie singhen,” that the person who wrote out the text may have been an Ashkenazic Jew present at prayer services conducted by Ashkenazic, *italiani*, or Sephardic Jews. “U-netaneh token” was not sung by the Sephardim before the Kedusha. Rather, they sang the twelfth-century piyyut “‘Et sha‘arei ratson” (The time of the gates of benevolence), a highly emotional poem in thirteen stanzas about the Sacrifice of Isaac.<sup>74</sup> It, too, has connections with angels and the shofar. In stanza 11, “all angels of the [divine] chariot sigh, / ophans,<sup>75</sup> seraphs, politely ask, / nay, they beg God” to tell Abraham at the last minute not to sacrifice his son; in stanza 13 we are invited to “hear the Teki‘ah, the blowing [of the shofar], the Teru‘ah.” The same piyyut is immediately followed, in both the *italiani* and Sephardic rites, by another introductory poem for the blowing of the shofar, with the words “God rose with the Teru‘ah, the Lord rose to the sound of the shofar, / the Lord to the sound of the shofar, a voice from heaven on the mount of sanctity and in Jerusalem,” etc.<sup>76</sup>

Till now, the picture that emerges is one in which the music may have been formed in imitation of shofar signals and in which the composer rhythmicized the few clearly definable Hebrew words in conformity to their proper pronunciation. Is there anything similar to “Cados cados” in the Seville Chansonnier? None of the other texts, as far as I can see, are framed in uncertain or recondite vocabulary. So the comparison may be limited, in the case at hand, to the use of repetitive motives in the music. Three pieces bear mention, one in French, the others in Italian. The French piece, “Quelque part que soie” for four voices (by an unknown composer), has contra 1 sound a number of repeated notes (D six times followed by other pitches, then C seven times), all of them reiterated for a second statement. The performance of the same part, however, seems to have been left to the discretion of the singers, so the part was not indispensable to the overall structure.<sup>77</sup> “Dammene un poco di quella mazzacrocca,” an Italian piece (by Jean Japart, d. c. 1507) for four voices, has a series of notes, several of them repeated, heard three times, the second time a fourth higher.<sup>78</sup> Its text and music are in a popular idiom—“mazzacrocca,” according to Plamenac, was “a cake or bun of particular appeal to Italian palates around 1480.”<sup>79</sup> So are those



A Cantus, measures 1-2 63-7 69-72

ca - dos ca - dos ca - dos ca -

Tenor, 2-5 64-8

dos ca - dos ca - dos ca - dos

Contra, 4-6 71-2 69-70

ca - dos ca - dos ca - dos ca - dos

Cantus, 9-12 24-5 Tenor, 18-19 21-2

che - ru - bim b[e]ra el b[e]ra el b[e]ra el

Contra, 20-1 23-4 Cantus, 26-8 Tenor, 23-6

b[e]ra el b[e]ra el rau - sco rau -

27-32 Contra, 27-8

- sco ma - ho ma - ho ma - ho

Example 8. The rhythmic treatment of Hebrew words according to their stresses. (A) A longer note on the final accented syllable. (B) An ornament on the final accented syllable. (C) A strong beat for the location of the final accented syllable, namely at the beginning of a measure. For 8B and 8C, see below.

of the second Italian piece "Cavalcha Sinisbaldo tuta la note" (composer unknown) for four voices: the tenor states its melody, with a few repeated notes, twice, then closes with an extended series of repetitions—twenty-four to be exact—on the single pitch G, as a jocose conclusion for the nonsense words "pan e panada, man alabraga," etc.<sup>80</sup> Clearly, the use of repeated notes in these pieces can in no way be compared with the possible shofar signal for Teru'ah in "Cados cados." While in the motet there may be a context for the repeats, in the other pieces there appears to be none.

### What Is Special about "Cados cados"?

Before qualifying "Cados cados" for its singularity, it should rightly be compared with later works of polyphony having Hebrew or Hebrew-sounding

**B** Cantus, measures 3-6 Tenor, 69-72

ca - dos \_\_\_\_\_ ca - dos \_\_\_\_\_

Contra, 1-3 61-5

ca - dos \_\_\_\_\_ ca - dos \_\_\_\_\_

66-8 70-2 Cantus, 21-4

ca - dos \_\_\_\_\_ ca - dos \_\_\_\_\_ ha - rum \_\_\_\_\_

29-31 Contra, 29-31

ma - ho \_\_\_\_\_ ma - ho \_\_\_\_\_

**C** Cantus, measures 13-14 68-9 8-9 Tenor, 7-8

ca - dos ca - dos a - do - nay a - do - nay

Contra, 7-8 Cantus, 18-19 Tenor, 17-18 20-1

a - do - nay ha - rum ha - rum ha - rum

Contra, 19-20 22-3 25-7

ha - rum ha - rum rau - - - sco

Example 8. Continued

words. Act 3, scene 3 from Orazio Vecchi's madrigal-comedy *Amfiparnaso* (1597) is one of them.<sup>81</sup> The Christian Francatrippa comes to the Jews on the Sabbath to deposit a pawn, but the Jews are busy at prayer and they tell him to go away because they do not do business on the Sabbath. To simulate the Jews at prayer, Vecchi writes a madrigal in five voices to an Italian text peppered first with genuine Hebrew words: "Adanai" for "Adonai," "Badanai" for "be-Adonai" (in the Lord), "Ghet" for "het" (sin) or "get" (divorce),<sup>82</sup> "moscogn" for "mashkon" (pawn, which connects with Francatrippa's request), "Barucchabà" ("Barukh ha-ba," the first words of Psalms 118:26: "Blessed be he who comes" with the continuation "in the name of the Lord"); then with typical Hebrew names: Aron, Samuel, and Merdochai for Mordecai, now scatologically punned by the Italian *merda*

(shit); and finally with an assortment of Hebrew-sounding expressions, among them "Aslach," "Baruchai," "Biluchan," "Calamala," "Iochut," "milotran," "muflach," "zorochoth." The intention was to mimic the Jews at prayer.<sup>83</sup>

No less satirical was "La trai nai nai," a work for three voices by Adriano Banchieri in his madrigal-comedy *Barca di Venetia per Padova* (1605; see ex. 9).<sup>84</sup>

Two Jews are noisily at prayer on a boat ferrying to Dolo, a town midway between Venice and Padua. They mumble a hodgepodge of Hebrew-sounding words similar to those in Vecchi's piece ("Oth zorochoth Ballacott Assach mustache Oga magoga . . . Calla mallacott"), concluding their devotions with "la baruccabà" stated over and over again in the top and bottom voices and "la sinagoga" a number of times in the middle voice. Lest the listeners miss the point, Banchieri made it clear, in a process of overkill, that the work was a soundscape of Jews at prayer.

The link between Vecchi's and Banchieri's madrigals and "Cados cados" is indeed the seeming concern in all of them with Jewish prayer. But "Cados cados" differs from the later works in various fundamental ways, shortly to be described. As a prelude to this description I should say that when I first embarked on this study, I was influenced by the arguments advanced by Werner, even though they had been challenged by Plamenac. At any rate, I suspected that I would have to deal with "Cados cados" as a work by *conversos* who, before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, met for secret prayer services, hence disguised the content, lest they be discovered and punished by the Inquisition as backsliders. To this end, they wrote the work, to continue Werner's claims, as a Christian-sounding motet, couching its language in code words familiar to those at prayer and enhancing its Christian associations by citing a traditional Marian anthem. Werner created a heavy order of expectations and, to sort them out, I immersed myself in the writings of those scholars who treated the situation of the Jews both before and after their expulsion, namely, key works by Fritz Baer, Haim Beinart, Yosef Kaplan, Benzion Netanyahu, and Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi.<sup>85</sup> But in the course of examining the motet, its Spanish affiliation proved irrelevant, as did its composition for secret prayer services and use of code words and Christian melodies.

What remains can be summarized as follows: "Cados cados" was written in Italy around 1460 and copied there into the Seville Chansonnier toward the end of the century; the text is clearly Hebrew at the beginning and the end, and, because of "nulame" as a seeming direction to the singers in Hebrew, or so I posit, could





When all is said and done, the work is unique, in both its text and its music, in the European music repertory. It appears to be the first piece of polyphony to be based on a Hebrew text in part or, as yet to be determined, as a whole and to be the first to introduce Jewish prayer as a topos in music literature. Unlike later works, among them those by Vecchi and Banchieri who resorted to Hebrew to mock the Jews at worship (not viciously, however, but as a form of entertainment), "Cados cados" has nothing derisive in its words or sounds. Should "Cados cados" prove to be connected in its words with the High Holidays and fashioned in its sounds after shofar signals, its singularity is further enhanced. But, as said, there is a story behind the story, and until the full story is told, the "mystery" that surrounds the work remains to be solved.

To close, let me say a word in vindication of Eric Werner, whose ideas on "Cados cados" sometimes fared badly in this and other writings. Returning to Werner's description of the text as cryptic, or more particularly as "a semi-code," one wonders, to push his thoughts in a new direction and thereby offer an unexpected interpretation, could the prayer have been written by a bona fide Jew as a conglomeration of Hebrew and Hebrew-sounding words to be pronounced as a magical incantation? We know of the uses of magic in practical Judaism as we do of magically inclined itinerant Jewish "operators" who wandered over Europe, in the early modern era, selling their wares, among them talismans and amulets, to interested buyers. Were these "buyers," in the present case, the composer who paid the "poet" a fee for the sorcerous effects the text would achieve over its performers and listeners, hence set it to music?<sup>86</sup> With this, the layers of "mystery" become thicker and the task of penetrating them to explain the context and purpose of "Cados cados" even more intriguing. Not only that, but the piece increases in its singularity. But any such reading clearly requires another, full-fledged study for its substantiation.

## Appendix

The musical score is written for three voices: Cantus (soprano), Tenor, and Contra (bass). The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Latin, and the score is divided into four systems, each starting with a measure number (9, 17, 26, and 34).

**System 1 (Measures 9-16):**

- Cantus:** Ca - dos ca - dos a - do -
- Tenor:** Ca - dos ca - dos a - do - nay che -
- Contra:** <sup>1</sup> Ca - dos ca - dos a - do - nay [che -

**System 2 (Measures 17-25):**

- Cantus:** - nay che - ru - bim ca - dos si - sin - ghen -
- Tenor:** - ru - bim ca - dos si sin - ghen -
- Contra:** - ru - bim ca - dos si sin -

**System 3 (Measures 26-33):**

- Cantus:** ha - rum - bra - el ha - rum - bra - el
- Tenor:** ha - rum - bra - el ha - rum - bra - el rau - sco -
- Contra:** - ghen ha - rum - bra - el ha - rum - bra - el rau -

**System 4 (Measures 34-41):**

- Cantus:** rau - sco ma - ho et hy - dro - rum
- Tenor:** ma - ho ma - ho et hy - dro -
- Contra:** - sco ma - ho ma ho et hy - dro - rum -

<sup>1</sup>Contra has, for the text, no more than the incipit *Cados cados adonay* etc.<sup>2</sup>The E in contra, m. 27, was originally D.

36

45

54

63

<sup>1</sup>Ligature has to be broken here to accommodate the syllable.

<sup>2</sup>This whole note was originally tied to the following half note.

<sup>3</sup>Ligature incorrectly notated as LB (long breve), but should be LL (long long).

<sup>4</sup>Over first "Cados" in the cantus (mm. 63-4) and the tenor (65-6) the ms. has the added instruction: 4 *nulame* (meaning apparently 'to be said 4 times').

<sup>5</sup>The F in contra, m. 70, was originally E.

## Notes

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I thank Bernard Dov Cooperman, Louis L. Kaplan Professor of Jewish History at the University of Maryland, for graciously responding to my request to read and comment on the essay. His influence can be felt in various places, most notably in the closing paragraph where I expand on the possible “magical” purposes of “Cados cados.” The epigraph is from Johannes Kepler, *Harmonices mundi libri V* (Linz: Sumptibus Godofredi Tampachii . . . excudebat Ioannes Plancus, 1619), 3.1.16, in a section “on the metaphysical cause of harmonic proportions”: “cùm in rebus difficilibus, Mystici plerumque sensus lateant, sub verborum cortices reconditi.”

1. Eric Werner, “The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 16 (1946/47): 225–34, esp. 228–34.
2. Higinio Anglés, “El chansonnier français de la Colombina de Sevilla,” *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 14 (1929): 227–58, esp. 257.
3. Higinio Anglés, *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos*, Monumentos de la Música Española 1 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1941), 118.
4. Ashkenazic tune in Spain? Werner, “The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant,” 229–30.
5. Werner, “The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant,” 229.
6. Reported by Werner at the end of his article, after acknowledging that he discussed the problem with Cardozo, *ibid.*, 231.
7. Dragan Plamenac, “A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville,” *Musical Quarterly* 37 (1951): 501–42, and 38 (1952): 85–117, 245–77, here 524. Anglés diplomatically evaded the argument in a later essay, “La musique juive dans l’Espagne médiévale,” for a volume of studies dedicated to Werner: *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, ed. Israel Adler with Hanoach Avenary and Bathja Bayer (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1968), 48–64, esp. 62–63. He limited his comments to noting that Werner “signaled similarities with music of the Spanish Jews.”
8. Plamenac, “A Reconstruction,” 523.
9. See, for an overview, Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Revised Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), under Sources, MS, 8, 23:888–92.
10. See Archer H. Huntington, *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus*, reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript, in Ferdinand Columbus’s hand, in the Biblioteca Colombina (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1905; repr. New York: Kraus, 1967). For the music prints in the library, see Catherine Weeks Chapman, “Printed



Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968): 34–84.

11. For details, see Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 508, 510.

12. Dragan Plamenac, ed., *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscripts Seville 5-I-43 and Paris N.A. Fr. 4379 (Part 1)* (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1962); and Alice Anne Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier: An Edition of Sevilla 5-I-43 and Paris N.A. Fr. 4379 (Pt. 1)" (PhD diss., University of West Virginia, 1971). The Seville Chansonnier should be distinguished from a similar one in the Biblioteca Colombina (with the call number 7-I-28), though now mainly with Spanish compositions. Plamenac calls it the "Colombina Cancionero" in "A Reconstruction," 501. See Robert Clement Lawes Jr., "The Seville *Cancionero* (Biblioteca Colombina, MS 7-I-28): Transcription and Commentary" (PhD diss., North Texas State University, 1960).

13. Or the second generation of the three that Moerk distinguishes in chapter 4, "The Burgundian Court and the Polyphonic Chanson," of her dissertation, 44–71, esp. 56–68. It is represented by eighty-one works.

14. For those with Italian texts, see Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 14–43 (chap. 3); for those in German, 74–76, in Flemish, 72–74, and in Latin, 76–77; and for the instrumental works, 77–78.

15. As noted in Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 1. For a detailed listing of concordances, see Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," esp. 94–117 and 248–73, and, largely a reproduction of the same, Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 119–78.

16. See, for example, Nicolas Gombert, "Adonai domine Jesu Christe," for five voices (1539), in his *Opera omnia*, ed. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 6, 11 vols. (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1951–75), 7:55–60; or Jacquet de Mantua, "Adonai Domine Deus," for four voices (1538), in his *Opera omnia*, ed. Philip T. Jackson and George Nugent, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 54, 6 vols. (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1971–86), 4:52–54. For Hebrew in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century polyphonic works, see below, under last part.

17. "Costo e(n) Ro(ma) .62. q(ua)tri(nes) por Se(p)t.(iembre) de 1515": from *Regestrum B*, item no. 2526, as reproduced in Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," plate 8, facing 513. The *quatrina*, or Italian *quattrino*, was a small monetary unit, equivalent to the Latin *quater denarii*, roughly four pennies.

18. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 502.

19. For Cardozo, see above, and Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 524.

20. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 513.

21. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant," 529.

22. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 524.

23. Isaiah 6:3 (וקרא זה אל זה ואמר: קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות).

24. See, for example, *Mahzor kol ha-shanah ke-fi minhag kehillot kedoshot Italyani yish-merehen Tsuran vi-yehayyehen* (Mahzor for the whole year according to the *italiani* holy congregations, may their Rock preserve them and give them life!), ed. Samuel David Luzzatto, 2 vols. (Leghorn, Italy: Salomone Belforte, 1861); see 1:15b–16a for shorter

version in the Morning Service on weekdays and 1:45b for Great Kedusha in the Musaf for the Sabbath.

25. In the same *Maḥzor* (as n24); for the Great Kedusha in an early publication, see *Maḥzor ke-fi minhag kehilot kedoshot Roma 'im perush 'Kimḥa de-avishuna'* (*Maḥzor* according to the rite of the sacred congregations of Rome with a commentary [by Yoḥanan Treves] 'Roasted grain' [Talmud Bavli, Pesahim, 39b]), 2 vols. (Bologna: Menahem ben Abraham of Modena and others, 1540–41), 1:5/3b–4a (in Musaf for Sabbath). The opening in the *italiani* version is identical with that in the Sephardic one; for an early example of the latter, see *Siddur tefillot ke-minhag ha-Sefaradim bi-leshon 'ivri u-leshon Sefarad* (Siddur of prayers according to the rite of the Sephardim in the Hebrew and Spanish tongues) / *Orden de oraciones segundo el uso ebreo, en lengua ebraica, y en español* (with Hebrew and Spanish on facing pages) (Venice: Pietro and Lorenzo Bragadini, 1622), 334a–36a.

26. See also Isaiah 6:1–2 (...<sup>2</sup> שרפים עמדים ממעל לו ...).

27. Genesis 3:24 (ויגרש את-האדם וישכן מקדם לגן-עדן את-הכרבים ... לשמור את-דרך עץ החיים).

28. After *Maḥzor minhag ashkenaz 'im ma'gelei tsedek* (*Maḥzor* of the Ashkenazic rite in 'Paths of righteousness' [Psalms 23:3]), 2 vols. (Venice: Cavalli, 1568), 1:28a–b.

29. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant," 229.

30. The closest name to Harumbrael in the comprehensive listings of angels in Gustav Davidson's *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967) is Harabael (or Harabiel), said to be "an angel with dominion over the earth" (135).

31. Better perhaps: a person different from others, hence representing alterity.

32. Talmud Bavli (Babylonian Talmud, completed c. 500 CE, in distinction to the Talmud Yerushalmi, or Jerusalem Talmud, completed in Tiberias c. 400 CE), *Hagigah* (chap. 2), 15a שאל אחר את ר"מ [רבי מאיר] לאחר שיצא לתרבות רעה א"ל [אמר לו] מאי דכתיב גם את זה לעומת זה עשה האלהים אמר לו כל מה שברא הקב"ה [הקדוש ברוך הוא] ברא כנגדו ברא הרים ברא גבעות ברא ימים ברא נהרות אמר לו ר"ע [רבי עקיבא] רבך לא אמר כך אלא ברא צדיקים ברא רשעים ברא גן עדן ברא גיהנם כל אחד ואחד יש לו (ב' חלקים אחד בגן עדן ואחד בגיהנם זכה צדיק נטל חלקו וחלק חברו בגן עדן נתחייב רשע נטל חלקו וחלק חברו בגיהנם). The full verse for Ecclesiastes 7:14 reads thus: "On a day of bounty enjoy being favored and on a day of trouble consider that the Lord also did this as against that so that man will find nothing after him," continuing to verse 15: "Everything did I see in the days of my foolishness: righteous ones who perished in their righteousness and wicked ones who prolonged their wickedness"<sup>14</sup> ביום טובה הנה בטוב וביום רעה ראה גם את-זה לעומת-זה עשה האלהים על-דברת שלא ימצא האדם (אחריו מאומה):<sup>15</sup> את-הכל ראיתי בימי הבלי יש צדיק א' בד בצדקו ויש רשע מאריך ברעתו:

33. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant," 229. If anything, the noun in the Greek would have been in genitive plural, *hydōron* (ὕδωρον), "of waters."

34. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant," footnote.

35. *Sefer pirkei heikhalot rabbati* (The great book of chapters on the palaces [of the angels in the upper world]), ascribed to the *tannaim* Rabbi Ishmael, the high priest, and Rabbi Akiva (Jerusalem: n.p., 1889), chaps. 10:4 (קקול מים רבים כרעש נהרות) and 26:2 (כמי שמטילים עליו אלף אלפי גלי מים ואין שם אפילו טיפה אחת).

36. Psalms 104:6; that is, "will cover the mountains" (... על הרים יעמדו מים).

37. Zechariah 10:3 (כי-פקד ה' צבאות את-עדרו את-בית יהודה).
38. Leviticus 23:40 (ולקחתם לכם ביום הראשון פרי עץ הדר כפות תמרים וענף עץ-עבות וערבי-נחל) (ושמחתם לפני ה' אלהיכם שבעה ימים).
39. Numbers 4:2 (נשא את-ראש בני קהת מתוך בני לוי ...).
40. Jeremiah 10:5 (... נשוא ינשוא כי לא יצעדו אל-תיראו מהם ...).
41. Isaiah 1:14 (חדשיכם ומועדיכם שנאה נפשי היו עלי לטרה גלאיתי נשא). The New Moon is the feast celebrated on the first of the month (according to the lunar calendar).
42. Exodus 35:21 (ויבאו כל-איש אשר-נשאו לבו וכל אשר נדבה רוחו אתו הביאו את-תרומת) (ה' למלאכת אהל מועד ולכל-עבדתו ...).
43. Covarrubias Orazco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, ed. Martín de Riquer after the edition from 1611, with additions by Benito Remigio Noydens from 1674 (Barcelona: Horta, 1943); and from 2nd ed. edited by Felice C. R. Maldonado and revised by Manuel Camarero (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1994).
44. See, for example, the authoritative *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 20th ed. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1984), 2:1273, esp. meanings 1, "Dar por sentada y existente una cosa," and 2, "Fingir, dar existencia ideal a lo que realmente no la tiene."
45. After *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 3rd ed. (Florence: Stamperia dell'Accademia della Crusca, 1691), 1656. "Supporre. Presupporre. Lat. *ponere dare*. ... Supporre: metter sotto ... " with a reference to Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 10.26.7–8, in the sense of "suppress": "Altri suppor le fiamme, e 'l vulgo misto / D'Arabi e Turchi a un foco arder ha visto" (For others to suppress the flames, and the mixed crowd / Of Arabs and Turks did he see burn with fire). In the comprehensive *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, ed. Salvatore Battaglia and Giorgio Bàrberi Squarotti, 21 vols. (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1961–2002), 20:562, "supporre" has for definition no. 6 "Collocare sotto," described as "an earlier and literary meaning."
46. Genesis 9:11 (והקמותי את בריתי אתכם ולא יכרת כל בשר עוד ממי המבול ולא יהיה עוד מבול) (לשחת הארץ).
47. Of no seeming relevance, *lumbi*, plural of *lumbus*, in Latin, means loins, as in the Vulgate translation of Genesis 35:11, 1 Kings 18:46, and numerous other verses.
48. Again of no seeming relevance, *larus*, plural *lari*, in Latin, is a hawk, as in the Vulgate translation of Leviticus 11:16 or Deuteronomy 14:15.
49. If there were more than three Jews, they would have doubled up with those on the separate parts.
50. After Eleazar Gutwirth, "Music, Identity, and the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Early Music History* 17 (1998): 161–81, esp. 169.
51. After Raphael Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists: A History and Source Book* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 278.
52. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 513.
53. Plamenac also attributed the ornamented initials at the beginnings of the voice parts "in all instances" to the same scribe who copied the music, most often his Scribe 2. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 513–14.

54. Such an assumption is weakened, however, by Plamenac's comment that some of the Italian texts were so written as to be "corrupt in a French way," as, for example, "Gentile madone de non m'abandonnaire" (21v–22r), which properly should have been "Gentile Madonna, deh non m'abandonnare"; after Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 513. For transcription, see Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 147–49.

55. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 524.

56. See Appendix for my transcription. For the others (in differing degrees of accuracy in the transcription of notes or words), see, in the order of publication, Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagoga Chant," handwritten copy on 203, with reproduction of original on 204; Werner, ed., *Hebrew Music* (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1961), 18–19; Werner, entry on "Jewish Music," pt. 1 (liturgical), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 9:614–34, esp. 628 (with facsimile reproduction of original on 627) (Werner's entry was removed, however, from *The New Revised Grove Dictionary*, 2nd ed., where "Jewish Music" occurs, in a new, multi-authored entry, 13:24–112); and Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 2:82–84. As already mentioned, a facsimile reproduction of the original appears in Plamenac, *Facsimile Reproduction*, 29.

57. As distinguished from earlier black notation, in which noteheads for half, whole, and double whole notes (written today in white notation as  $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$ ) were filled ( $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$   $\text{♩}$ ).

58. Choirbook notation, so-called because the various singers of the "choir" (in the case of "Cados cados," three in all) gather around the book according to its arrangement of voices: the singers on the left sang the voices on the left-hand page (often the cantus and tenor) and those on the right the voices on the right-hand page (often the alto and bass).

59. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagoga Chant," 230. For "Alma redemptoris mater," see *Liber usualis* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1952), 273–74.

60. Both of them in *Liber usualis*, respectively, 279, 37. The title "De Angelis" after the first words of the text to which the Kyrie was sometimes sung, in the later Middle Ages until the sixteenth century, as a contrafactum.

61. Couperin (d. 1733), third movement, "Les Grâces," from Concert no. 9 (Ritratto dell'Amore) in E major in his *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Maurice Cauchie et al., 12 vols. (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1933), 8:111–13; Beethoven (d. 1827), third, last movement from Piano Trio in B-flat, op. 11 in his *Werke: Vollständige kritisch durchgesehene überall berechnete Ausgabe*, 25 series in 32 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1864–90), series 11, no. 89:257–80, esp. 271–80.

62. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagoga Chant," 229–30.

63. "U-netaneh tokef" is absent in Abraham Zevi Idelsohn, ed., *Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies*, 10 vols. (Jerusalem: Benjamin Hartz; Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1922–32), vols. 6, "The Synagogue Song of the German Jews in the Eighteenth Century according to Manuscripts," and 7A "The Traditional Songs of the South German Jews"; and in Josef Rosenblatt, תפלה יוסף / *Tefilath Josef: Fünfundzwanzig israelitische Synagogen-Gesänge für Cantor-Solo componirt von Josef Rosenblatt, Obercantor des Deutsch-Israel. Synagogen-Verbandes zu Hamburg* ([Hamburg: n.p., 1907; place and date after "Vorwort"]). It appears in a highly ornamented cantorial version in Leib Glantz, *Selected Works: Rinat Hakodesh, High Holidays*, ed. David Loeb (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv



Institute of Jewish Liturgical Music in conjunction with Israel Music Institute, 1970), 24–42. Sound recording: National Sound Archives, National Library of Israel, call number Y/00784(03).

64. Among these sources, the works collected by Fabian Ogutsch in *Der Frankfurter Kantor: Sammlung der traditionellen Frankfurter synagogalen Gesänge* (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1930). Eliyahu Schleifer is Professor Emeritus at the Hebrew Union College, Jerusalem.

65. Lord (ובו תִּנְשֵׂא מַלְכוּתְךָ and ואתה הוא מֶלֶךְ אֵל חַי וְקַיִם), angels (וּמְלָאכִים יִתְפָּזְזוּ), seraphs (כְּסוּד שִׁיחַ שְׂרָפִי קוֹדֵשׁ), (לִפְקוּ עַל צְבֵא מְרוֹם בְּדִין "sanctity," flock (כְּבָרָת רֹעֵה עֲדָרוֹ), water (מִי בַמַּיִם).

66. Sanctity (קֹדֶשׁ הַיּוֹם ... וְקֹדֶשׁ אֶת שְׁמְךָ עַל מַקְדִּישֵׁי שְׁמְךָ בְּעֶבֶר כְּבוֹד שְׁמְךָ הַנֶּעֱרָץ וְהַנֶּקְדָּשׁ כְּסוּד שִׁיחַ שְׂרָפִי) (קֹדֶשׁ הַמַּקְדִּישִׁים שְׁמְךָ בְּקֹדֶשׁ ... קוֹרְאִים וּמַשְׁלִשִׁים בְּשִׁלּוֹשׁ קִדְשָׁה בְּקֹדֶשׁ).

67. Werner, "The Oldest Sources of Synagogal Chant," 230.

68. For various Ashkenazic tradition shofar signals on Rosh Hashana preceded by the two blessings "Blessed are You, Lord, our God, king of the universe, for sanctifying us with His commandments and commanding us to hear the sound of the shofar" and "Blessed are You, Lord, our God, king of the universe, for keeping us alive and providing for us and allowing us to reach this time" (ברוך אתה ה' אלהינו מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו) (וְצוּנוּ לְשִׁמּוֹעַ קוֹל שׁוֹפָר: בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם שֶׁהַחַיִּינוּ וְקִימָנוּ וְהִגִּיעָנוּ לְזֶמֶן הַזֶּה: see <http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/music/holydays/holydays.htm>. The web site includes a selection of sound files for the High Holidays from the National Sound Archives, Jerusalem. The particular signals are, in order: Teki'ah, Shevarim, Teru'ah, Teki'ah; Teki'ah, Shevarim, Teki'ah; Teki'ah, Teru'ah, Teki'ah. For the same benedictions and an instruction for the signals for the Italian tradition, see *Mahzor kol ha-shanah*, ed. Luzzatto, 2:43a; and in an early Ashkenazic manual, *Mahzor ke-minhag kehillot kedoshot Ashkenazim yishmerem ha-El* (Mahzor according to the rite of the holy communities of the Ashkenazim, may God preserve them!), known as the *Mahzor hadrat melekh* (Mahzor of the king's majesty) from the introduction, so titled, to vol. 1, 2 vols. (Venice: Zuan Degara, 1599–1600), 2:68a.

69. For example, the caccie "Tosto che l'alba" by Gherardellus de Florentia, "Or qua compagni" by Maestro Piero, "Per sparverare" by Jacobus de Bononia; Jannequin's *La guerre*; Andrea Gabrieli's *Aria della battaglia*; the "battle scene" in Monteverdi's *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*; Vivaldi's Concerto *La caccia*, op. 8, no. 10; Handel's cantata "Diana cacciatrice" (HWV 79); Bach's *Jagdkantate* "Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd" (BWV 208); and Haydn's Symphonies no. 31 "Hornsignal" and 73 "La chasse." An enormous list of similar works can be compiled, going into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

70. And, of passing interest here, another offshoot, in theoretical works, on the art of playing the trumpet and its uses, for example, Angelo Tarachia, *I fiati gloriosi, encomij dati dalla fama alla tromba* (1656), and Johann Ernst Altenberg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker-Kunst* (1795).

71. Originally in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Miscellaneous 213, 139v–140r; see *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 11, 7 vols. (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1955), 1:72–78.

72. Nos. 47, "Vostre bruit et vostre grand fame"; 59, "Par le regard de vos beaux yeux"; 64, "Le serviteur hault guerdonné" (now considered doubtful); 109, "Dieu gard la bone sans reprise": see Guillaume Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Heinrich Besseler and David Fallows, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 1, 6 vols. (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1947–2006), respectively 6:96–97, 88–89, 110, 93–94 (all of them rondeaux for three voices).
73. Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, 4:79–80.
74. For an early printing, see *Maḥzor Sefaradim mi-yamim nora'im* (Maḥzor of the Sephardim for the High Holidays) (Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1598), Morning Service for Rosh Hashana, where the piyyut appears, on 81b–82b, under the heading "A song for the blowing of the shofar."
75. A class of celestial creatures who, along with cherubs and seraphs, watch over the divine throne.
76. *Maḥzor Sefaradim mi-yamim nora'im*, 82b–83a.
77. Moerk qualifies it as "si placet"; for a transcription, see "The Seville Chansonnier," 2:49–51.
78. Transcription in Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 2:385–87. See F. Calvino Prima, "Dammene un poco di quella mazzacrocca," *Choreale* 10 (1993): 12–14. Though unasccribed in the Seville Chansonnier, the same piece occurs under Japart's name in *Canti C* (1503), now with the text "Questa se chiama."
79. Plamenac, "A Reconstruction," 527.
80. Transcription in Moerk, "The Seville Chansonnier," 2:400–401.
81. Orazio Vecchi, *L'Amfiparnaso comedia harmonica* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1597), 33; modern edition, ed. Cecil Adkins (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 74–79.
82. Or possibly even *ghetto* (in Italian).
83. On this and other compositions with Hebrew words, see Harrán, "Between Exclusion and Inclusion: Jews as Portrayed in Italian Music from the Late Fifteenth to the Early Seventeenth Centuries," in *Acculturation and Its Discontents: The Italian Jewish Experience Between Exclusion and Inclusion*, ed. David N. Myers, Massimo Ciavolella, Peter H. Reill, and Geoffrey Symcox (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 72–98; "Barucaba' as an Emblem for Jewishness in Early Italian Art Music," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98 (2008): 328–54; and "'Adonai con voi' (1569), a Simple Popular Song with a Complicated Semantic about (what seems to be) Circumcision," in *The Jewish Body: Corporeality, Society, and Identity in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period*, ed. Maria Diemling and Giuseppe Veltri (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 427–63.
84. Adriano Banchieri, *Barca di Venetia per Padova* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1605), 18; the example below is taken from the 2nd ed. (Venice: Bartholomeo Magni, 1623), 13. Modern edition by Filomena A. De Luca (Bologna: UT Orpheus Edizioni, 2009).
85. Fritz Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961–66); also *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien: Urkunden und Regesten*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie, 1929–36); Haim Beinart, various

volumes and essays, among them *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel National Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–85); *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981); and "The Converso Community in 15th-Century Spain," followed by "The Converso Community in 16th- and 17th-Century Spain," in *The Sephardi Heritage: Essays on the History and Cultural Contribution of the Jews of Spain and Portugal*, ed. R. D. Barnett (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1971), 425–56, 457–78; Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism, The Story of Orobio de Castro* (Oxford: Littman Library/Oxford University Press, 1989), and Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000); Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain from the Late Fourteenth to the Early Sixteenth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); and Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto—Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

86. See, variously, Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939; repr. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Patai, *The Jewish Alchemists* (cited above); David Ruderman, *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science: The Cultural Universe of a Sixteenth-Century Jewish Physician* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2002), including numerous references to magic in Judaism; Jeffrey Howard Chajes, *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); *Spirit Possession in Judaism: Cases and Contexts from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Matt Goldish (Detroit, MI: Wayne University Press, 2003); and Gershom Scholem, *Shedim, ruhot u-neshamot: meḥkarim be-demonologyah* (Ghosts, spirits, and souls: Studies in demonology), ed. Esther Liebes (Jerusalem, Israel: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2004).

# The Early Enlightenment, Jews, and Bach

Raymond Erickson

The uncomfortable subject of possible anti-Semitism<sup>1</sup> in the music of J. S. Bach is one that only since the 1980s has been considered seriously, hence under the dark shadow of the Holocaust and with full awareness of the centuries of *Judenverfolgung* that led up to it.

The original basis for anti-Jewish prejudice and the persecutory measures taken against the Jews in Europe was the allegation that the Jews killed Christ, specifically as represented in the Passion narratives of the New Testament with the participation of the Jewish authorities and especially the crowd (*turba*) of Jews calling for Christ's death.

The modern listener, then, can easily be troubled by the powerful, repeated cries of "Crucify Him!" found in the Matthew and especially John Passions as set by Bach.<sup>2</sup> Bach's music is so convincing that it is not difficult to believe that this great admirer of Martin Luther, whose virulent 1543 tract *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (On the Jews and Their Lies) was in the composer's library (although not necessarily already in 1724, the year the *St. John Passion* was composed), shared the reformer's antipathy toward the Jews.<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, the question of whether Bach harbored personal antipathy toward the Jews of his time is one that, barring discovery of documentary evidence such as letters expressing that opinion, can never really be answered. We do know from comments Bach wrote in the margins of his family Bible that he saw the musicians of the Temple in the Old Testament as archetypes and models for the kind of church musician he aspired to be<sup>4</sup> and that he did not gloss the many specifically anti-Judaic passages in the New Testament.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, in the texts of his *St. John* and *St. Matthew Passions* (admittedly, the only ones of five that survive)<sup>6</sup> over which he could have exercised influence—those of the arias and chorales—there is nothing to suggest that the Jews were responsible for Christ's passion and death. To the contrary, these texts, following traditional Christian theology, remind the



Lutheran congregation of their own share in all mankind's responsibility in the tragic yet redemptive act of Christ's death. For example, the first chorale (no. 3) in the *St. John Passion* (BWV 245) concludes "I lived a worldly life of indulgence and pleasure, and you must suffer for it."<sup>7</sup>

There is, of course, Cantata 46, *Schauet doch und sehet* (1723), which recalls the prophecy in Jeremiah 1:12 of the destruction of Jerusalem, one of the most traumatic events in the history of world Jewry.<sup>8</sup> It is one of three surviving Bach cantatas for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity, the pericopes for which were 1 Corinthians 12:1–11 and Luke 19:41–48 (Jesus weeps over Jerusalem and prophesies its destruction).<sup>9</sup> Some scholars take the position that it is the single known example of clear anti-Judaism in Bach—although this can be truly attributed only to the text, over which Bach may have had little control.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, in the second movement, a recitative, censure is not only placed on the Israelites of old but the Jews of Bach's time: "O better had you been destroyed to your foundations than that one *now* [my emphasis] hear Christ's enemy blaspheming in you."<sup>11</sup> But then the cantata continues with what is obviously its main point: that Christians need to put their own spiritual houses in order, lest they suffer the wrath of God as did the Jews. "But do not imagine, O sinners, that Jerusalem alone was filled with sins more than others . . . all of you may have to perish just as horribly."<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the closing chorale's text is "O great God . . . for His [Christ's] sake, spare us, and do not punish us for our sins."<sup>13</sup>

The third of the cantatas for the Tenth Sunday after Trinity, *Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben*, BWV 102, has some strong parallels with Cantata 46, although these have not drawn scholarly attention. Given the liturgical context, with the Gospel recounting Christ's foretelling of the destruction of Jerusalem, one can read the opening lines of the cantata (especially given the use of present tense) as a reference to the Jews' continuing lack of faith in Jesus as Messiah for which they were, and continued to be, punished, although the text actually paraphrases Jeremiah 5:3: "Lord, your eyes look for Faith! You strike them, but they do not feel it, you torment them, but they do not reform themselves. Their face is harder than a rock and they do not want to change their ways." But who are "they" the text refers to? And, if it is the Israelites of the Old Testament, should these be interpreted as prophetic models of sinful Lutherans or of the stubborn Jews of Bach's world? Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that, beginning with the second of the cantata's seven movements, the focus is solely on "we," Bach's Lutheran congregation, and its need of reform.

To put things into perspective, it must be noted that in none of these cantatas is there a direct reference to “Jews”; on the other hand, *two* of Bach’s surviving cantatas (both for Septuagesima Sunday) explicitly attack “the Turk” and “the Pope.”<sup>14</sup>

There is no doubt that Lutherans of Bach’s time would have viewed Judaism as a false religion, one superseded by Christianity, and many certainly despised Jews for their unwillingness to accept Christ as Messiah. Moreover, the marginalization and persecution of the Jews in European society were often viewed as justifiable consequences of their intransigence and unwillingness to convert. Even when violence against Jews was denounced, it was often added that the Jews had brought attacks on themselves because of their repeated refusal to hear the Christian message. This stubbornness, reflected in the phrase *perfidia iudaica* and its variants that were part of the Christian liturgy since the middle ages,<sup>15</sup> has given rise to the hypothesis that the repeated *turba* choruses (and the constantly repeated motives in them) in the *St. John Passion* are an example of the musico-rhetorical device of *perfidia* (expressed by obstinate repetition),<sup>16</sup> which here is used as a denigrating symbol of Jewish obdurateness. Indeed, the Latin term was frequently translated in German-language anti-Judaic writings as *Verstockung* or *Hartnäckigkeit*.<sup>17</sup> However, there are problems with this theory, since it is not exclusively the crowd of Jews that sings these choruses. Moreover, even if Bach consciously used the *perfidia* technique for this purpose, it would not necessarily have reflected intentional anti-Judaism on his part; it could simply be his way of representing the historical fact that Jews continued to adhere to their old beliefs. Another hypothesis concerning the choruses will be proposed at the end of this article.

Music-analytic speculation, then, while offering intriguing possibilities, can never give us conclusive information about Bach’s personal feelings. More interesting, in fact, is the question—given the centuries of anti-Judaism and persecution that continued at various levels in Bach’s own time and is reflected in the music of other noted composers elsewhere—why so *little* anti-Judaic polemicism is found in Bach’s music. Is it a matter of Bach’s personal feelings (which we probably will never know)? Or was there something about the culture of Leipzig during Bach’s tenure that might have discouraged or disinclined him from using texts that purposefully stoked anti-Judaic prejudices, even though, as is well known, he eventually acquired for his library books that attacked Judaism and argued for the rightness of Christianity?<sup>18</sup>

## Hamburg

Considering what was going on elsewhere, this is a reasonable question. The port city of Hamburg, for example, was like Leipzig in many respects. Both were Orthodox Lutheran in confession and neither had a resident ruler.<sup>19</sup> Both had municipal councils with several rotating mayors and were more or less free to run their own affairs—Hamburg as an Imperial Free City and Leipzig as a city largely left alone by the Elector of Saxony. Both were important trade centers, and the publishing of books, periodicals, and newspapers nourished their intellectual life. Both were important centers of music, and for a while both had opera companies running simultaneously.<sup>20</sup> And in both, Jews played an important economic role.

There were important differences, however. Hamburg was much larger, having a population of about seventy-five thousand in the early eighteenth century, roughly triple that of Leipzig. Hamburg's system of government was substantially different from that of Leipzig, the polity being divided into two forces, a city council called the Senate (made up of wealthy merchants and lawyers, whose prime concerns were economic) and the citizens (the *Bürgerschaft*), who expressed themselves through representative bodies drawn proportionally from the five main churches of the city. Because the *Bürgerschaft's* representatives were mainly deacons and subdeacons from the churches, they also weighed in on religious matters, often under the influence of the rigorously Orthodox Lutheran pastors, who were chosen by the people. Consequently, for almost two centuries following the official acceptance of the Reformation and of Orthodox Lutheranism as Hamburg's official religion, the clergy single-mindedly sought to preserve religious purity in Hamburg, which made the city an unfriendly place for non-Lutherans of any type, although in fact Catholics, Pietists, Calvinists, Mennonites, Deists, and Jews, as well as Huguenots after 1685, did live there, but with few or no civil rights during the period of present concern. Moreover, commitment to Orthodox Lutheranism was the *sine qua non* of political enfranchisement in Hamburg.<sup>21</sup>

In Hamburg, Jews played an important part in economic life from the 1580s, when the first Marranos arrived as refugees. Very gradually, the Sephardim carved out an important place in Hamburg society, adding to the city's and their own wealth while under repressive restrictions, and reached a peak population of about six hundred in the 1660s. But in 1697, the burdens (which included the new insult of not receiving preferential treatment over the more recently arrived Ashkenazim) became too great, so most of the Sephardim left in the ensuing decades.

The Ashkenazim or German Jews had less wealth and lower stature than the Sephardim and, as was the case elsewhere, were treated with less respect by the authorities. They began to settle in nearby Danish-ruled Altona and Wandsbek around 1600 and in Hamburg itself in the later 1620s, although they returned to the former for religious observances. Because of the greater freedom and tolerance, the Ashkenazic community there overshadowed that of Hamburg in size and affluence, although, as implied above, many Jews from Altona chose to live in Hamburg.

The year 1710 was important for the Jews of Hamburg because new imperial *Judenordnungen*—one for the Sephardic and one for the Ashkenazic communities, reflecting their traditionally separate treatment—were issued.<sup>22</sup> They served as a framework for the regulation of Jewish affairs in Hamburg until 1849. While guaranteeing Jews certain protections, they also forbade them to interfere in Christian attempts to convert them or, conversely, to seek to convert Christians to Judaism.

In general, it can be said that the Jews in Hamburg were protected by the Senate throughout the period although they did not enjoy full civil or any political rights. This was not due to philo-Semitism but rather solely to self-interest: the Jews were necessary for the economic well-being of the city. On the other hand, the Jews of Hamburg (like other minority groups, it should be added) were subjected to vehement attacks from the pulpit, in publications both religious and secular, and occasionally by mobs in the street. The clergy often instigated unrest through the effective medium of the sermon—there were some sixty given each week in the churches with a total potential audience of about sixteen thousand.<sup>23</sup> In 1649, Johannes Müller (1590–1673)—pastor of St. Peter's Church since 1626, some of whose anti-Jewish writings were in Bach's library<sup>24</sup>—argued that tolerance of the “pernicious Jews” was contributing to the decay of Lutheranism in Hamburg,<sup>25</sup> ultimately leading in 1650 to the expulsion from Hamburg of the German Jews, who found refuge in more hospitable Altona (most were, in fact, Danish subjects). But soon they were operating again in Hamburg during the day, albeit with the purchase of two- or three-day passes, and with the Swedish invasion of Altona in 1657, they finally returned *en masse* to live in the city. Later, in 1730, sermons calling for a Jew-free Hamburg incited a disturbance that took two days to quell.<sup>26</sup>

The power of the clergy is well demonstrated by its success in repressing or at least mitigating the influence of the early Enlightenment in Hamburg. Hamburg's educated citizenry, which supported a lively newspaper and journal culture, was not immune to the liberal



ideas circulating around Europe. Indeed, in 1724—the year of Bach’s *St. John Passion*—a new periodical, *Der Patriot*, appeared, the first of the German moral weeklies that would soon proliferate.<sup>27</sup> It was the organ of a group of Hamburg intellectuals and government officials who had recently formed the *Patriotische Gesellschaft* (Patriotic Society) to discuss and debate serious issues of morals, government, and daily life in the framework of the new philosophical ideas. These included the primacy of reason, on which rested the concept of natural religion and the provocative notion that one may reach God by means other than those espoused by traditional religion. The society’s members included the famous poet and, since 1720, Hamburg senator Barthold Heinrich Brockes (1680–1747). Strongly influenced by the modern (but different) philosophies of John Locke (1632–1704), the English Deists, Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), and Christian Wolff (1679–1754) (the last two with Leipzig associations), the Patriots nonetheless did not challenge the status quo in any serious way, timidly backing down when the clergy—among them Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756), pastor of the Jacobikirche (1715–55) and author of five cantata texts Bach set<sup>28</sup>—opposed their moderately liberal ideas. Moreover, the Patriots’ brand of Enlightenment apparently stopped with toleration of Jews, for phrases such as *Blut-Igel der Christen* (bloodleeches of the Christians) occasionally appeared in the pages of *Der Patriot*.<sup>29</sup>

This active antagonism toward Jews in Hamburg (hardly limited to that city, it must be stressed) found reflection in many aspects of its culture, including music and the theater. For example, the passion oratorios by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–67), from 1721 the head of Hamburg’s musical establishment, and Handel (1685–1759), who once lived there, are based on Brockes’s *Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus* (1712), which includes some extremely harsh passages that some scholars believe are directed against the Jews.<sup>30</sup> (In contrast, Bach’s *St. John Passion*, although it also uses Brockes’s poem as a source, omits these texts.)<sup>31</sup> Jews were also depicted negatively in the theater and in the opera.<sup>32</sup>

### Excursus: The Question of Anti-Judaism in the Brockes Passion

That the Brockes Passion, an extremely graphic meditation on the sufferings of Christ, is intrinsically anti-Judaic, is self-evident; the same applies to all intrinsically Christian texts. However, it can be questioned whether certain passages cited in recent years as specifically directed against the Jews were in fact so intended. Michael Marissen has pointed

out that *Kriegsknechte* (soldiers) are identified in Brockes's text as Jews whom Jesus had taught in the temple and synagogue.<sup>33</sup> In the poem, following the rubric "Zu den Kriegsknechten" (To the soldiers), Jesus addresses them, reminding them of this fact (Brockes Passion, 98, lines 11ff.; see Matt. 26:55; Mark 14:49; Luke 22:53; and John 18:20).

The Gospels themselves do not, however, suggest that the Jews who heard Christ preaching in the Temple were also soldiers. Luther, in his German translation from the Greek (rather than from the Latin Vulgate, which he of course also knew intimately), makes a clear terminological distinction between (1) the Jewish servants and slaves—*Diener* [Gk. *ὑπηρέται*, servants] (John 18:3, 12, 18, and 22; 19:6) and the virtually synonymous *Knechte* [Gk. *δοῦλοι*, slaves] (Matt. 26:51; 27:27; John 18:10 and 18)—and (2) the soldiers who tortured and crucified Christ—*Kriegsknechte* [Gk. *στρατιῶται*, soldiers] (Matt. 27:27; Mark 15:16; Luke 23:36; John 19:2, 23f., 32, and 34).

Luther's translation of John's Gospel is especially clear on this (as is the Greek original). In chapter 18, which goes from Judas's betrayal of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane to the crowd calling for Barabbas rather than Christ to be released, the word *Kriegsknecht* never appears (nor do the equivalent words in the Greek and Latin Bibles); but *Knecht* appears several times in the sense of a servant or slave. On the other hand, in chapter 19, *Knecht* is completely absent, but *Kriegsknecht* appears six times in explicit connection with the crown of thorns, the crucifixion, the casting of lots for Jesus's garments, the breaking of the legs of those crucified with Jesus, and the lancing of the dead Jesus's side.

Therefore, unless one assumes that Brockes did not know his Bible and/or he felt free to alter the Biblical account of the most sacred and central of Christian narratives, it seems likely that the rubric "Zu den Kriegsknechten" is an error and that "Zu den Knechten"—the *Knechten* having just been mentioned in Brockes's text—was actually intended. Similarly, the rubric "Kriegsknecht" is used incorrectly one more time, at the passage drawn from John 18:22, when the servant (Luther: *Diener*) of the high priest admonishes Christ (Brockes Passion, 99, ll. 20–22). With these minor corrections, Brockes's telling of the Passion story, although drawing from the various Gospels (as was long a German Passion tradition) does not stray from the scriptural accounts.

This means, however, that some of the most vituperative passages of Brockes's poetry—those believed by some to be aimed at the Jews—are instead aimed at Pilate's soldiers who, Scripture says, carried out the torture and crucifixion of Jesus. Moreover, if this interpretation is correct, then the Brockes Passion does not directly accuse the Jews of

being the murderers of Christ. In fact, “murderer” and related terms are used only to refer to Judas and his “murderous plot” (Brockes Passion, 97, l.27 and 104, l.4); Christ asking the crowd that arrests him why they are coming armed to take him as if he were a murderer (98, l.13); the murderer Barabbas (105, l.1); the “murderous dens of Achshaph” (108, l.29); the murderer hanging on a cross beside Christ (111, l.8) and, with reference to the soldiers (*Kriegsknechte*), the “murderous bush” that is the crown of thorns (106, l.26); the “murderous heart” that carries out the scourging of Christ (106, l.30), and the “murderers” who lead Christ to Calvary (109, l.5) and nail him to the cross (110, l.9).

In comparing the text of the Brockes Passion to that of Bach’s *St. John Passion*, even with the rejection of alleged attacks on the Jews within it, it nonetheless becomes clear that the Brockes Passion lacks the emphasis on Christian guilt that is so important in Bach’s work. The Brockes Passion seeks instead to work on the emotions of the reader/hearer, and the violent imagery that is employed—imagery eschewed by Bach—could easily have inflamed passions against the Jews. Moreover, if what has been considered here a possible editorial error (the use of *Kriegsknechte* instead of *Knechte* in the two locations noted above) was in fact an intentional revision of the Gospel story, then the Brockes Passion is an especially egregious example of an unjustified attack on the Jews.

## Leipzig

In Bach’s time, Jews were not allowed to live in Leipzig without special permission. Only one Jewish family, that of the *Munzjude* Gerd Levi, resided there (by the grace of the Elector himself over the objections of the Town Council) when Bach arrived in 1723; by 1785, this number had grown only to six (thirty-eight persons).<sup>34</sup> Having been forced out of Saxony in 1543, the year of Luther’s *On the Jews and Their Lies*, Jews were permitted regular entry to the city—and then under very stringent regulations—only for the three commercial fairs held each year, the source of much of Leipzig’s material wealth. Although their lodging (mainly in and around the Brühl) and activity were strictly regulated, the fact that Jews had to register means that there exist today documents listing all 81,927 of them by name between 1675 and 1764.<sup>35</sup> Certainly, Bach would have seen the Jewish merchants who came to Leipzig on these occasions from villages and cities throughout Germany as well as Bohemia, Poland, and Russia, and elsewhere, and he would have noted their distinctive (and perhaps, to him, strange) garb as well as their unusual social and religious customs. There is no indication that



Bach had any personal intercourse with Jews in Leipzig or anywhere else. Perhaps a few worldly and well-educated Jews (say, bankers from Frankfurt) might have attended his Collegium concerts in Zimmermann's Coffeehouse (1729–c. 1741), but around 1725 such cosmopolitan Jews would have been rare.

Although the town officials seem to have resented greatly the presence of Jews in the early eighteenth century, there are documented examples of individual citizens demonstrating much greater tolerance—such as an eighty-year-old widow who had a *Sukka* (German: *Laubhütte*) built for the Jews for whom she was providing accommodations so they could celebrate Sukkot and who refused to take it down when ordered by the City Council. Similarly, the Dresden court sometimes intervened in favor of the Jews against the Council, such as enforcing Electoral edicts that gave Jews the right to celebrate their rituals.<sup>36</sup>

Nevertheless, despite their regular visits, the Jews of Bach's time were truly aliens in Leipzig's Lutheran milieu. There is no reason to think that Bach would have cared much about them or would have been concerned about the repressive conditions imposed on them.<sup>37</sup>

In sum, by the early eighteenth century both Hamburg and Leipzig shared histories of antagonizing and persecuting Jews. But one big difference between them was that Leipzig had a major university, whereas Hamburg's highest educational establishment was a humanistic gymnasium.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, theology was one of Leipzig University's great traditions, so professors of theology rather than local pastors (as in Hamburg) set the tone of religious and theological discourse and played a role in civic affairs. Thus Bach had to pass a theological examination given by two university theologians before he could assume his position as Cantor of St. Thomas and Municipal Director of Music.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, although Hamburg had a lively literary life (especially in newspapers and periodicals), Leipzig was rivaled only by Frankfurt am Main as the center of the German book trade, which meant that the city was a bustling marketplace of ideas as well as goods.

Against this background, it is not surprising that the liberal ideas of Western European Enlightenment thought began already in the late seventeenth century to find public expression in Leipzig, if only among a few brave voices at first. The strongest and ultimately most influential of these was the lawyer-philosopher Christian Thomasius, who advocated almost universal religious freedom (including for Jews and atheists but, like Locke, not Roman Catholics) and even defended those accused of witchcraft and bigamy.<sup>40</sup> He also attacked Leipzig theologians for their resistance to what he called "scholastic" thinking and argued for the independence of religion and the state (but also for more power of the



ruler over religious affairs in the realm)—daring, even dangerous, ideas for the time. Although he eventually became renowned all over Europe, Thomasius understandably did not have an easy time of it in his *Heimat* of Leipzig: in 1690, he was forced to leave, eventually settling in Halle as one of the stars of the new progressive university there. But, in fact, efforts (unsuccessful) were made later by the Dresden court to lure him back to Leipzig.<sup>41</sup>

The man behind this recruitment attempt was none other than August the Strong, Elector of Saxony and, since 1697, King of Poland, whose amorous exploits (often exaggerated) have occupied historians more than his efforts to modernize Saxony both economically and intellectually. It was he who was the catalyst for one of the most remarkable documents of the time, the central focus of the rest of this essay.

### The Leipzig Theologians' *Gutachten* of 1714

In 1714, August directed the theological faculty of the University of Leipzig to examine the question of “whether it can be shown, or is to be believed, that the Jewish people, in accordance with the laws of their religion or because of superstitions introduced by themselves, have need of Christian blood, and for this purpose seek to obtain it by secretly putting innocent children to death.” In short, an expert opinion on the truth of what we call today the “blood libel” had been commanded. August was then in Poland, where Jews had been tried and executed based on such accusations and the Jewish leadership had likely appealed to the king, who was, if not a genuine friend of the Jews, at least sympathetic to their pleas for help. The report, signed by the dean and professors of the theological faculty was dated 14 May 1714, ten years before Bach composed the *St. John Passion*.

The document went unnoticed until the Hamburg historian Arno Herzig discovered a copy of it in the Saxon State Archives and published a short description in 1994<sup>42</sup> (figure 1). Then in 1998 another reference to the *Gutachten* appeared, by the Israeli specialist of Jewish-Polish history Jacob Goldberg, but he was unaware of the Dresden manuscript, and described instead a 1751 published version of which Herzig had no knowledge.<sup>43</sup> What is still lacking is knowledge of the whereabouts of the original sent from Leipzig to August the Strong; if it has survived, it is probably in Poland. However, no copy survives in the archives of the Leipzig theological faculty, which have suffered devastating losses over time.

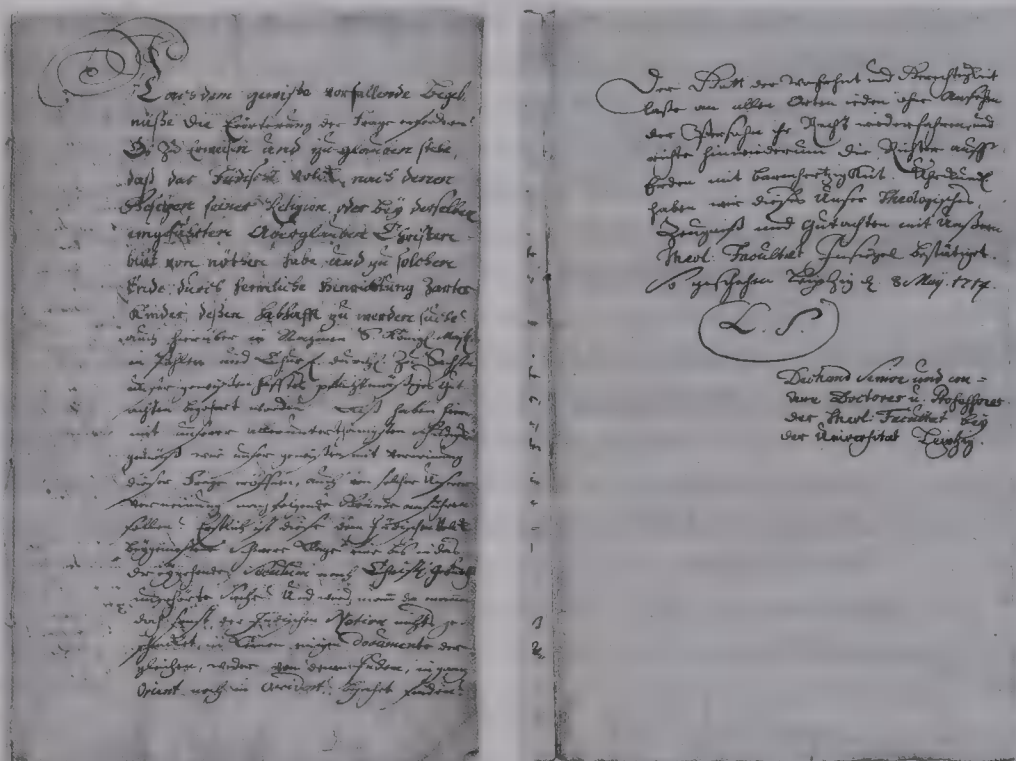


Figure 1. Opening and final pages of the Gutachten. Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10026 Geheimes Kabinett, Loc. 589/10, pp. 1 and 18. Reproduced by permission.

“Ob die Juden Christen-Blut verwenden” (Whether the Jews Use Christian Blood), the title of the report, is astonishingly modern in spirit and method; Herzig calls it the first Enlightenment document to deal with and disprove the blood libel.<sup>44</sup> The standard view is that the Enlightenment came to Germany later, mainly through literati such as Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–66) and especially Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81), not least because the University’s conservatism was deep-seated, epitomized in the phrase *Lipsia vult expectari* (Leipzig likes to wait).<sup>45</sup> That Leipzig’s orthodox theologians may have gotten there earlier therefore surprises.

In their text, studded with references to specific writers or works, the theologians systematically debunk the blood libel and its associated charge of ritual murder. They do so by pointing to the absence of supporting evidence in Jewish writings and Christian patrilogia and denials of the charge by popes, emperors, doges, dukes, Jewish converts to Christianity, and even otherwise outspokenly anti-Jewish writers; they label the accusation a “tragic monk’s fable” going back to the thirteenth century.<sup>46</sup> They register lack of trust in older church histories, noting that they conflict with each other and stem from times of ignorance and

superstition. They give—then disprove—nine reasons offered to explain why or how Jews need Christian blood. Then they look to Jewish sources, showing how the consumption of *any* blood is contrary to Jewish dietary laws—even citing the Talmud’s proscription of eating an egg that showed so much as a single vein of blood. The Leipzig theologians blame Christians for using the blood libel as a pretext for persecuting Jews on account of their religion or out of envy of their material possessions.

The systematic methodology and its candid view of Christian behavior make the document unusual enough. But other elements are equally and strikingly modern. One of these is its religious neutrality: Christianity (or Lutheranism) is not explicitly given a preferential status, nor is Judaism ever criticized—not that the authors doubt that Christianity is the true religion. This contrasts with the theological writings of the time, such as are discussed in *Unschuldige Nachrichten* (the important orthodox theological journal published in Leipzig), in which Jews and their practices are regularly demeaned—despite serious interest in Judaica by some learned scholars—and conversion repeatedly comes up as something necessary and urgent.

Second, Jews are not considered a race apart from other humankind, as they were so often described and treated, but people with the same virtues and vices as any other. Thus, it is stated that it is “not credible” that they would sacrifice Christian children for their blood, since their religion does not require it and “reason and humanity”—attributes here applied to the Jews—oppose it. This last quoted phrase, of course, resounds with the spirit of the Enlightenment.

Third, the Christianity represented by the Leipzig theologians is not a stern, unforgiving one but rather one ruled by “the God of truth and righteousness,” who would have every person granted justice without prejudgment, regardless of station. The tone is that, although there are different nations of humans, all are equally human beings deserving of equal treatment.

Fourth, and related to this, there is a strong statement to the effect that, even if some individual Jews *may* have committed criminal acts against Christians (likely in reaction to the maltreatment of Jews by Christians), an entire people should not be judged for the acts of individual members. This is, in fact, the central message of Lessing’s early play *Die Juden*, written in 1749, just after that student of theology and medicine left the University of Leipzig. The play is regarded as a landmark because it is the first time in a German literary work that a Jew is treated as an honorable individual.<sup>47</sup> Yet the Leipzig theologians had anticipated Lessing’s exhortation forty years before *Die Juden* appeared in print in 1754.



Before discussing the authors of the *Gutachten* individually, a few words about the organization of the University and theological faculty are in order. The University had four faculties: the philosophical (formerly the faculty of arts) and three higher faculties of law, medicine, and theology. The philosophical faculty embraced virtually everything except law, medicine, and theology: rhetoric, logic, poetry, history, chemistry, physics, ancient and modern languages, etc. The university was headed by an elected rector and pro-rector; these were assisted by an administrative council known as the *Consilium decem virum*, or Council of Ten Men, which included the dean and a professor from each of the four faculties. Professorships were of two types: ordinary (endowed university chairs), of which four were assigned to theology, and extraordinary (something like our adjunct professorships), part-time positions, sometimes unpaid, that occasionally offered the way to the position of *Ordinarius* or other high administrative university offices, including rector.

When the *Gutachten* was submitted on 8 May 1714, the four chairs in theology were held, in order of decreasing seniority, by Adam Rechenberg (1699–1721), Gottfried Olearius (1708–15), Johann Cyprian (1710–23), and Christian Friedrich Boerner (1713–53). There were also two extraordinary professors of theology: Johann Gottlob Carpzov (1713–19) and Paul Gottlieb Hoffmann (1713–19). The university rector was Boerner, the most junior of the theologians; the pro-rector was another theologian, Cyprian; and Adam Rechenberg was a member of the Ten, as was the dean of theology, Gottfried Olearius. Clearly, at this moment, the theological faculty carried considerable weight at the university.<sup>48</sup>

What sort of men were these Leipzig theologians? All had sworn to be loyal to orthodox Lutheranism, but where did they stand in relation to the theological, legal, and philosophical questions that had in recent decades caused great strife at the university—issues like Pietism, a religious movement often associated with the Enlightenment, and the broader issue of religious tolerance in general?<sup>49</sup>

Adam Rechenberg, the senior theologian, had taught mainly Latin, Greek, and church history before joining the theological faculty as *Ordinarius* in 1699. It is clear that he was in sympathy with many progressive intellectual trends that were seen as threatening by some. His third wife was a daughter of his former teacher Jacob Thomasius, the progressive father of Christian Thomasius. Rechenberg (like Christian Thomasius for a while), while not a Pietist, developed a sympathy to Pietism, which may have influenced his marriage (his fourth) to one of the daughters of Philipp Jakob Spener, the founder of the Pietist



movement in Germany.<sup>50</sup> Despite his generally noncombative personality, Rechenberg was not averse to defending himself when necessary. For example, in 1714, when he and some Leipzig colleagues were attacked by theologians at the University of Wittenberg—these considered themselves the true guardians of Lutheran orthodoxy—Rechenberg put them down bitingly, writing that just because they were at Luther's old university, they had no "monopoly on orthodoxy" and were behaving "rather like the popes in Rome."<sup>51</sup>

Nonetheless, it is not as a theologian but as a historian—a profession that was born in the modern sense in the Enlightenment—that Rechenberg may be most important. In 1697, he wrote his *Summarium historiae ecclesiasticae*, a foundational introduction to church history that was repeatedly republished and used until 1789. This work pointed the way to the future in its organization not by the traditional centuries, but by cultural–historical period.<sup>52</sup>

Johann Cyprian, who began as a physicist, obtained his chair in theology even later than Rechenberg, at age sixty-seven in 1710. He was a man of immense erudition, as testified by the estate catalog of his library, larger and more varied in content than the similar, yet also impressive catalog of Boerner's library.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, Cyprian was less productive as a theologian than his colleagues and he was the most theologically conservative of them.<sup>54</sup> One wonders if that was a factor in 1708, when he was passed over for the vacant chair in theology that went to the much younger Gottfried Olearius.<sup>55</sup>

Ordinary professorial appointments required approval from the Elector, so it is relevant to reiterate that August the Strong seems to have been in sympathy with many ideas associated with the Enlightenment and took actions (either directly or through his counselors) to influence the professorate and curriculum at the two Saxon universities; examples are the attempts to bring Thomasius back to Leipzig and the establishment of professorial chairs in newly emerging disciplines.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, let it be noted that August owed his Polish crown not a little to the *Hofjude* Behrend Lehmann, who raised the money that enabled August to buy the necessary votes of the Polish nobility. On many occasions August also took action to protect Jews in Poland and Saxony; no doubt these actions were for political rather than for moral reasons. The fact that the Dresden copy of the *Gutachten* is in the archives of the *Geheimes Kabinett* (privy council), and not the *Oberkonsistorium* (high consistory), normally the chief governmental organ for university oversight, suggests that August acted out of political motives arising from the situation in Poland when he commissioned the 1714 *Gutachten*.<sup>57</sup>

Gottfried Olearius, thirty years younger than Rechenberg and Cyprian, is in fact the central character in the matter at hand. Scion of a distinguished family of theologians—from 1708 to 1713, his progressively leaning father Johannes and he both held chairs of theology—Olearius was an academic star whose blossoming career was cruelly cut off at age forty-three in 1715. Nonetheless, his presence made a lasting difference. Of importance to us is that, unlike his senior colleagues just described, Olearius went on a study tour to the Netherlands and to England in 1693–95. He wanted to learn the new philological methods being developed that could be applied to scriptural exegesis. Thus, he spent a year at Oxford studying ancient sources at the Bodleian Library and brought back what he had learned to Leipzig and his students there.<sup>58</sup>

Olearius's travels in the 1690s did not only affect his philological methodology. In Holland especially he would have encountered an intellectual environment that was simmering with new and challenging ideas of a philosophical and political nature. Of special importance is that, as a result of Louis XIV's persecution of the Huguenots, Holland was now home to many leading French Protestant minds; among them was the learned and contentious philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) in Rotterdam. There Bayle met the English philosopher John Locke, himself a refugee in the 1680s from persecution in England. Both men were particularly occupied with the issue of religious toleration.<sup>59</sup> Although we do not know if Olearius met Locke in England, or Bayle in Holland, we do know that he took special interest in Locke's work. Eighteenth-century biographical sketches of Olearius all cite the fact that he translated Locke's 1693 *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*.<sup>60</sup> None of them, however, indicate that he likely also translated Locke's *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689).<sup>61</sup> The German translation, published anonymously in Leipzig in 1710, but attributed to Olearius only recently, was apparently republished there three more times: in 1714 (the year of the *Gutachten*), 1724 (the year of Bach's *St. John Passion*), and in 1728, with a preface and commentary on a Halle University dissertation on tolerance.<sup>62</sup> In his *Letter*, Locke advocated freedom of worship for almost all, including pagans, Muslims, and Jews, although not Roman Catholics and atheists.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, it can be established that Gottfried Olearius was the primary author of "Ob die Juden Christen-Blut verwenden." In 1751, Friedrich Christian Boerner published a large subset of official opinions issued by the theological faculty between the years 1668 and 1720.<sup>64</sup> The 1714 *Gutachten* is among them, indicating that Boerner felt it had some sort of historical or continuing importance. In his preface, he

relates that the publication was originally the idea of “meines ehemaligen geliebten Collegae, des seligen D. Gottfried Olearii” (my former, most beloved colleague, the late Dr. Gottfried Olearius), who had died thirty-five years before. Boerner also explains that each *Gutachten* was primarily the responsibility of the dean at the time, who would draft the document and then submit it to review and comment from his colleagues; as stated before, Gottfried Olearius was the dean in 1714 and thus the shape and content of the report no doubt represent his own views in particular. This is further confirmed by the fact that the Dresden manuscript copy of the original *Gutachten* uses the first person singular several times, “I” perforce being Olearius; in the 1751 publication, the first person plural replaces these locutions.

The existence of this 1751 publication highlights the special importance of the fourth and youngest member of the theological professorate in 1714, Christian Friedrich Boerner. Born two years before Bach, he is the only one of the theology ordinarii in 1714 who was alive when Bach arrived in Leipzig. Therefore, it is disappointing that there is no documented personal contact between them; indeed, Boerner’s name appears only twice in the *Bach-Dokumente*. The first is in the minutes of a meeting in 1738 of the Council of Ten discussing arrangements to celebrate the engagement of a Saxon princess (1738); the decision was made to have Gottsched write a cantata text which Bach would then set to music, but only the text survives: *Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter*, BWV Anh. 13. The other reference, in Gerber’s dictionary of 1790, has only indirect relevance for Bach.<sup>65</sup>

Boerner apparently held Olearius in practically worshipful respect, judging from published comments he made about him. (Boerner even eulogized Olearius ten years after his death in a university oration, whose published version in 1751 describes the latter’s saintly death in a lengthy footnote!<sup>66</sup>) All the evidence points to Boerner having had a moderately progressive attitude and the support of the court,<sup>67</sup> and this would have informed Boerner’s half century of teaching—through Bach’s entire Leipzig period. (On Boerner’s attitude toward the Jews, for example, we have not only the fact that he edited the *Gutachten*, which he had endorsed in 1714, for publication in 1751, but also that he owned a portrait of the Rabbi of Amsterdam in his extensive print collection, an auction catalog of which exists.<sup>68</sup>) But Boerner’s positions did not develop simply out of hero-worship of Olearius, but arose also out of conviction, for, like Olearius, Boerner had made his own study trip to Western Europe, again Holland and England, and other parts of Germany, later maintaining contact with scholars he met. According to his autobiography, he met with some of the greatest minds of the age,



such as Leibniz in Hannover and Pierre Bayle in Rotterdam.<sup>69</sup> Like Olearius, he worked at the Bodleian at Oxford, where he met with Richard Bentley (1662–1742), in some opinions the greatest classicist of the time.

Boerner's personal contributions to the University of Leipzig were considerable and lasting. He was elected rector nine times, beginning in 1710, the year he reinstituted weekly academic liturgies in the University Church or Paulinerkirche, which up to then were being held only four times a year; as is well known, this became somewhat of an issue for Bach, since the new cantor was given responsibility only for those quarterly services, the newly introduced ones being taken care of by the university music director Johann Gottlieb Goerner (1697–1778), who, until Bach's arrival, had responsibility for all the music at the Paulinerkirche. From 1711 to 1738, Boerner was in charge of the university library, and the catalog he began and that was continued by others long after his death is available for use even now.

These then were those primarily responsible for the 1714 report. On the whole, they do not fit well the picture of a faculty helplessly stuck in arid tradition. Moreover, although another Olearius did not come along, his disciple Boerner remained inspired by his memory and felt that the 1714 *Gutachten* was important enough to have it published decades after it was written. The theologians' opinion is remarkable in its honesty, fairness, and documentation, but it does not, in fact, actually advocate tolerance of Jews (that was not the issue to be addressed). But soon another influential voice from the university would be raised more specifically on behalf religious toleration: that of Johann Christoph Gottsched, who arrived in Leipzig in 1724, became a professor of poetry at the university, and soon would become the most powerful voice in Germany for the reform of the German language. Gottsched, however, was much more than a poet, playwright, and literary critic. He was also a progressive thinker in social matters. In a speech printed in one of his periodicals, *Der Biedermann* (20 September 1728), he condemns the maltreatment of Jews in connection with a specific event in the Portuguese Inquisition, remarking "Who has summoned us, human beings, to become the judges of the consciences of our fellow beings?" and also stated that religious zealotry was something highly pernicious, whereas religious tolerance was both useful and rational.<sup>70</sup>

There is another person that needs to be considered, although there is insufficient information available now to judge his role and importance in the matter under discussion here: Gottfried Lange (1672–1748). Lange was Bach's strongest supporter in the Town Council (and the godfather and namesake of Bach's first child born in



Leipzig), just as he was regarded as August the Strong's personal agent there.<sup>71</sup> In fact, the Elector had ordered that Lange be elected to the Council and also, a little later, mayor. But before that, Lange was active in the royal-electoral court establishment and likely was with August the Strong in Poland when the command to the Leipzig theologians was issued.<sup>72</sup> Lange was an individual clearly associated with Enlightenment thinking, so it is possible that he had a hand in the commission of the *Gutachten*. So far, however, searches in the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv and the Leipzig Stadtarchiv have not yielded anything regarding this matter. But the relevant material may, in fact, be in Poland.

### Conclusion

This brings us, back to Bach and the choruses of the *St. John Passion*. If, as the evidence suggests, Bach's agenda did not include aggressive attacks on the Jews as occurred in music in Hamburg and Frankfurt, why did Bach compose such powerful, even disturbing choruses in his *St. John Passion*?

Having acknowledged that it is really not possible to know Bach's feelings without stronger evidence, I would propose that Bach, newly arrived in Leipzig and sitting down to compose the *St. John Passion*, was highly cognizant of the fact that both Telemann and Johann Christoph Graupner (1683–1760) had been offered the Thomascantor's position before him because they were, among other things, composers of opera. As is known, Bach composed no operas, nor did he ever express interest in doing so. However, he certainly made a point of attending the opera on his trips to Dresden (and perhaps to Hamburg earlier in his life) and composed miniature unstaged or minimally staged *drammi per musica* for his Collegium musicum concerts. But Bach was above all a church musician who as a composer sought to synthesize the most diverse elements in his sacred works, so it is hardly surprising that many aspects of opera are found in his sacred cantatas and oratorio-related works. It is true that Bach, in his pledge to the Leipzig Town Council of 5 May 1723, stated he would "so arrange the music . . . as not to make an operatic impression," but it also is clear that this promise was honored in the breach.<sup>73</sup>

The choruses of the *St. John Passion*, therefore, may be a reflection of Bach's interest in transferring the dramatic qualities of opera—in this case, the representation of an agitated crowd singing a text that Bach did not choose—to his church music rather than expressing some specific anti-Judaic predisposition (although, admittedly, both could have

been factors). That dramatic impact was on his mind is further supported by the fact that he incorporated in the *St. John Passion* two passages from St. Matthew's Gospel: these deal with the three-fold denial of Christ by Peter, who "went out and cried bitterly" (Matt. 26:75; Bach, No. 12<sup>c</sup>)<sup>74</sup> and the renting of the veil of the Temple during the earthquake following the death of Jesus (Matt. 27:51–53; Bach, No. 34).<sup>75</sup> Neither of these interpolations are essential to the Gospel story or message, and, in fact, the purpose of using Matthew's account of Peter's weeping rather than John's shows that Bach deliberately chose the more dramatic of the two descriptions, which resulted in one of the most vivid musical renderings in the entire *St. John Passion*. Bach may not have composed operas, but he seems to have intentionally composed music as dramatic as found in any opera.

In sum, although the case should not be overstated, investigation has so far yielded evidence that, against a longstanding and continuing tradition of anti-Jewish prejudice, many forces were contributing to a slowly but ever-growing foundation for a more tolerant attitude toward Jews in Bach's Leipzig earlier than previously accepted. That trend was manifested in the legal and philosophical arguments for tolerance by the brilliant Leipzig-educated jurist Christian Thomasius, whose influence may be even greater than suggested here; the softening effect of Pietism on hard-line Leipzig orthodoxy; the influence of Western European Enlightenment figures such as Locke and Bayle on Leipzig scholars, by personal contact as well as through the publication and translation of their works in Leipzig; the pressure from the King-Elector August II to foster modern thinking and university reform in Saxony and his actions to ease the situation of at least some Jews in Saxony and Poland; documented acts of kindness toward Jews by ordinary Leipzigers, often opposed by their neighbors or town officials; and, quite strikingly, the *Gutachten* of 1714, wherein the Leipzig theological faculty take a more objective and humane stance toward Jews than Locke (who in fact had a low opinion of Jews) and Bayle (whose monolithic interpretation of the Mosaic law precludes freedom of conscience for Jews and thus removes them, whom he would nonetheless tolerate, from his moral universe).<sup>76</sup> It was in a Leipzig affected by these various crosscurrents that Johann Sebastian Bach took up his residence and carried out his duties.

### Notes

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1. In scholarly discussions about this and related issues, the term anti-Judaism tends to be used rather than anti-Semitism, the former understood to refer to opposition to religious tenets held by Jews and the latter to a racial antagonism against Jewish people as a whole, whether religion-based or not. However, that this distinction is substantive has been challenged by, among others, Allison P. Coudert, "Seventeenth-Century Hebraists: Philosemites or Antisemites," in *Judeo-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century: A Celebration of the Library of Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713)*, ed. A. P. Coudert et al. (Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Kluwer Academic Publishing, 1999), 43–69. She argues forcefully that the distinction between religiously motivated anti-Judaism and racially motivated anti-Semitism was first made in the late nineteenth century and picked up again after World War II by Christians wishing to exonerate Christianity from the charge of contributing to the racist policies of the Third Reich. She asserts that the term anti-Judaism covers the historical fact that religious belief was never the only issue and that in fact Jewish converts to Christianity were never fully accepted into the Christian community. For this reason, she considers the two terms essentially synonymous, and goes on to say that the term philo-Semite, widely used to refer to certain Christian Hebraists with a profound interest in, and knowledge of, things Jewish, is a false term, because the prime goal of these "philo-Semites," such as Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633–1705), was conversion of the Jews. For a discussion of the spelling of the term anti-Semitism, see Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 311–52, 398–400, cited in Michael Marissen, *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism and Bach's St. John Passion* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 20n55. Marissen's book is the seminal study in English examining the issue of anti-Judaism in Bach.
2. Although the modern impact of these passages may be due in part to the tradition of using large choruses—rather than the maximum of eight singers argued on the basis of the sources by Andrew Parrott (*The Essential Bach Choir* [Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester: Boydell Press, 2000], 204–8)—the texture of the music still projects an excited, tumultuous character that retains its power, whatever the size of chorus.
3. Martin Luther, "On the Jews and Their Lies," in *Luther's Works*, gen. ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 4: *The Christian in Society IV*, ed. Franklin Sherman (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1971), 137–306.
4. Bach wrote the comment in the margins of the text of 1 Chronicles 25. Bach's Bible was an exemplar of *Die deutsche Bibel*, Luther's German translation of the Bible with extensive commentary drawn from the writings of Luther and otherwise supplied by the orthodox Lutheran theologian Abraham Calov (1612–86) (Wittenberg, 1681). Bach's gloss on this passage is "NB Diese Capitel ist das wahre Fundament aller gottgefälliger Kirchen Music, usw" (this chapter is the true foundation for all church music



that is pleasing to God, and so on). See Howard H. Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of J.S. Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 418; a reproduction of the relevant page is facsimile 110 in the same volume.

5. Marissen, *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism, and Bach's St. John Passion*, 21n58, points out that Bach underlined only one reference to Jews in the extensive commentary in his Calov Bible, and that was a positive one, regarding Ecclesiastes 6:11. The passage, printed in Cox, *The Calov Bible of J. S. Bach*, 430, is also given by Marissen, 22–58.

6. According to the "Obituary of J. S. Bach" (1750; published 1754) by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714–88) and his student Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–74). See *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. and enlarged by Christoph Wolff (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1998), 304.

7. "Ich lebte mit der Welt in Lust und Freuden, und du mußt leiden." For the score, see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Johannes-Passion*, BWV 245, in *Neue-Bach-Ausgabe* [NBA], series 2, vol. 4, ed. Arthur Mendel (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), 24. Similar sentiments are found in no. 11, p. 40: "Wer hat dich so geschlagen, mein Heil . . . ? Ich und meine Sünden . . . haben dir erreget das Elend" (Who has struck you so, my Savior. . . I and my sins have caused your suffering).

8. The destruction of the city, including the Temple, was carried out by the forces of the Roman Emperor Titus in 70 CE.

9. The other cantatas are BWV 101, *Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott*, and BWV 102, *Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben*, NBA I/19 (ed. Robert L. Marshall, 1985), 175ff. and 231ff. In the former occurs the text "Höchster, höre unser Flehen, daß wir nicht durch sündlich Tun, wie Jerusalem vergehen" (Lord Most High, hear our plea that we will not be destroyed because of our sins, as was Jerusalem), essentially the same sentiment as concludes Cantata 46; Cantata 102 is discussed later in the main text.

10. Renate Steiger, "Bach und Israel," *Musik und Kirche* 15 (1980): 21, and Marissen, *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism, and Bach's St. John Passion*, 71f.

11. "O besser wärest du in Grund verstört, als daß man Christi Feind jetzt [my emphasis] in dir lästern hört." See Marissen, *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism, and Bach's St. John Passion*, 72.

12. "Doch bildet euch, o Sünder, ja nicht ein, Es sei Jerusalem allein vor andern Sündern voll gewesen, . . . So müsset ihr alle so schrecklich umkommen."

13. "O großer Gott . . . um seinetwillen schone, uns nicht nach Sünden lahne."

14. The third movement of Cantata 18—*Gleich wie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt* (1713–15), NBA I/7, 124f. (ed. Werner Neumann, 1956), to a libretto by Erdmann Neumeister—has a text that reads in part "Und uns für des Türken und des Papsts / grausamen Mord und Lästerungen und Toben väterlich behüten" (And protect us in your fatherly way from the horrible murder . . . of the Turk and the Pope); Cantata 126 (1725), NBA I/7, 157, opens with the words "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort / Und steur' des Papsts und Türken Mord, Die Jesum Christum, deinen Sohn, stürzen wollen von seinem Thron" (Preserve us, Lord, by Your word, and stop the murderous Pope and Turk, who would depose Your Son from His throne). This comes from a Luther chorale with the title *Ein Kinderlied zu singen, wider die zwei Ertzfeinde Christi und*



seiner heiligen Kirchen, den Papst und Türken (A children's song to sing against the two arch enemies of Christ and his holy church, the Pope and the Turk), published in Klug's *Gesangbuch* (Wittenberg, 1543). In *History of the Christian Church 7: Modern Christianity. The German Reformation*, para. 48, accessed August 23, 2011, [www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc7.ii.iii.xviii.html](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc7.ii.iii.xviii.html)

15. Only in 1959 did Pope John XXIII excise terms related to *perfidia* from the Good Friday liturgy (in the prayer for the conversion of the Jews) after centuries of use.

16. Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm, "Bach und die *Perfidia Iudaica*," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 13 (1989): 31–54, and Klaus Hofmann, "Perfidia-Techniken und -Figuren bei Bach," in *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs: Bachs Musik im Gottesdienst*, ed. Helmuth Rilling and Renate Steiger (Heidelberg: Manutius, 1998), 281–99. Strong disagreement with Hoffmann-Axthelm's thesis is registered by Niels Back, "Johann Sebastian Bach—ein 'gewaltiger Gestalter lutherischer Judenpolemik?,'" in *Von Luther zu Bach*, ed. Renate Steiger (Sinzig: Studio, 1999), 187–95, and Marissen, *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism and Bach's St. John Passion*, 30–33. Theodor Göllner, "'Barrabam': Zur Gleichzeitigkeit der Passionen von Walter und Bach in Leipzig," in *Johann Sebastian Bach und der süddeutsche Raum*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze and Christoph Wolff (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1991), offers another perspective: that Bach's repetitive formulas in the *turba* choruses of his *St. John Passion* follow in the tradition of the repetitive chordal formulas for the *turbae* in the responsorial passions of Johann Walter (1496–1570), which were widely known and sung in Leipzig until 1721, when Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722), Bach's predecessor as Cantor of St. Thomas, introduced the oratorio passion.

17. See, for example, the title cited in note 18.

18. Among the works of this type is *Judaismus oder Judenthumb/Das ist ein Außführlicher Bericht von den Judischen Volckes Unglauben/Blindheit und Verstockung* (Judaism or the Jewish Nation, That Is, a Detailed Account of the Jewish People's Unbelief, Blindness, and Obstinacy) (Hamburg, 1644) by the Hamburg pastor Johannes Müller. For a detailed treatment of Bach's library, see Robin A. Leaver, *Bachs Theologische Bibliothek: Eine kritische Bibliographie, Beiträge zur kritischen Bachforschung* 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985). It is not known when most of the volumes were acquired, only that they were in Bach's library at the time of his death. A listing of the theological books (with abbreviated titles translated into English) is in the itemized description of Bach's estate given in *The New Bach Reader*, 253f.

19. Hamburg was a free imperial city, with the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna, who was its nominal head, leaving the city to its own devices except at times of crisis. Leipzig was a city within the Electorate of Saxony, but the Elector, whose court was in Dresden, did not generally interfere in local affairs.

20. The Hamburg Opera am Gänzemarkt operated from 1678 to 1738, the Leipzig Opera from 1693 to 1720.

21. Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg, 1529–1819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), is a superb survey of the topic that treats Hamburg's political institutions as well as its minority religious communities. A detailed treatment of religious politics in Hamburg with specific emphasis on the Jews is Jutta Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherische Orthodoxie, 1590–1710* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 2001).

22. An exemplar of both ordinances is in the New York Public Library, Jewish Division: *Das . . . Reglement der Judenschaft in Hamburg: so Portugiesische- als Hochteutscher Nation: dato 7. Septemb. 1710*. The text of the document affecting the German Jews is given in M. M. Haarbleicher, *Aus der Geschichte der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde in Hamburg*, 2nd ed., ed. with a foreword by H. Berger (Hamburg: Otto Meissner, 1886), 4–9; a brief summary is in Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change*, 88–90, who points out that the *Ordnungen* were the work of the Imperial Commission, under the (Catholic) Count Hugo von Schönborn, which worked in Hamburg 1708–12 to deal with a number of issues that had led to unrest. The new regulations concerning Jews sought to make their legal situation comparable to that in other areas of the Empire under Imperial control; they represent a rare example of imperial interference in Hamburg's local affairs.
23. Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change*, 27.
24. See note 18. Müller rose to the very top of Hamburg's clerical establishment, being named in 1648 Senior of Hamburg's ecclesiastical Ministry and Inspector of Schools as well as of all of Hamburg's churches.
25. Published as *Bedencken wegen Duldung der Juden*, cited in Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change*, 76.
26. Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change*, 94–96.
27. The periodical and newspaper culture has been studied in depth by Holger Böning, *Periodische Presse: Kommunikation und Aufklärung. Hamburg und Altona als Beispiel* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2002) and *Welteroberung durch ein neues Publikum: Die deutsche Presse und der Weg zur Aufklärung. Hamburg und Altona als Beispiel* (Bremen: edition lumière, 2002). *Der Patriot* is dealt with in the latter volume, 233–45, whereas the clerical assault against it is treated in the former, 271–83, as well as the latter, 246–51.
28. The relevant Bach cantatas are BWV 18 and 61 (from Weimar) and BWV 24, 28, and 59 (from Leipzig). None of them have explicit anti-Judaic sentiments, such as are found in Neumeister's libretto for Judica Sunday, *Die Wahrheit ist ein himmlisch Licht*, published in his first book of cantata texts (1704). This was set by Telemann while still in Frankfurt and possibly by others (I thank Jeanne Swack for this information). It should be pointed out that Neumeister's attacks, whether in sermons or poems, could be leveled against any group not aligned with Lutheran orthodoxy, thus not only Jews, but also Pietists, Catholics, Calvinists, Muslims, and other anti-Lutheran forces. For example, in one cantata text, he calls Pietists the "devil's prophets" and likens them to "vipers and toads." (Thanks to Anna Nekola for supplying this information.) One could also argue that, in Protestant Germany, Catholicism was a much greater threat than Islam or Judaism, given that the Elector of Saxony had converted to Catholicism in order to be elected King of Poland.
29. *Der Patriot* 1:261 and 337–44, cited by Whaley, *Religious Tolerance and Social Change*, 92. The journal lasted only about three years, but was nonetheless widely read all over Germany and beyond. The Patriot Society itself met regularly until 1748 and was reestablished as a more influential organization in 1765. The short life of *Der Patriot* did not prevent the war of words over the Patriots' liberal views from continuing in local theological journals: the *Hamburgische Pfaffen-Putzer*, which took the side of what Neumeister called the "heilloses Patriotkollegium" and "allesamt aber

Thomasianer" (Thomasius was the most outspoken enemy of Lutheran clerical authority, the power and influence of which he likened to "papalism"), and the *Hamburgische Pasquillanten-Putzer*, which defended Neumeister's position that the clergy's rights could not be challenged or abridged. Böning, *Periodische Presse*, 272. On Thomasius's views on orthodoxy, doctrine, and the power of the clergy, see Thomas Ahnert, *Religion and the Origins of the German Enlightenment: Faith and the Reform of Learning in the Thought of Christian Thomasius* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006).

30. The text of the Brockes Passion is reproduced in *Oratorium Festspiel*, ed. Willi Flemming (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1833), 92–114. References in the main part of the article, listed as Brockes Passion, are to this edition. Telemann's Brockes Passion was premiered in grand style with an all-star cast in Frankfurt on 2 and 3 April 1716; other early performances were in Leipzig (1717 or 1718), Hamburg (?1718–20), and Augsburg (before 14 September 1718). Bach had access to a copy of it in the Thomasschule library, although it is not known if he actually saw or used it. However, Handel's setting was certainly known to Bach. See Daniel R. Melamed, "Johann Sebastian Bach and Barthold Heinrich Brockes," in *Bach Perspectives* 8, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 14–16.

31. Melamed, "Johann Sebastian Bach and Barthold Heinrich Brockes," 37, goes so far as to assert that, because of "the sheer number and placement" of poems from the Brockes Passion "we can fruitfully view BWV 245 as a Brockes setting using John's narrative." For an example of clearly anti-Judaic church music by Telemann, see Jeanne Swack, "Antijudaismus in Telemanns Kantate zum Sonntag Judica 'Der Kern verdammt Sünden,'" in *Telemann und die Kirchenmusik*, ed. Carsten Lange and Brit Reipsch (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2011), 256–78. The libretto is by the Hamburg preacher Heinrich Tobias Schubart. There are no Bach cantatas for Judica Sunday (today more familiarly known as Passion Sunday, the fifth Sunday of Lent), since cantatas were not performed in Leipzig during Lent.

32. Jeanne Swack, "Anti-Semitism at the Opera: The Portrayal of Jews in the 'Singspiels' of Reinhard Keiser," *Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (Fall, 2000): 389–416, focuses on the five *Singspiele* by Reinhard Keiser with anti-Jewish elements. Of broader scope is Helmut Jenzsch, *Jüdische Figuren in deutsche Bühnentexten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 1971), one of Swack's sources, but one that focuses primarily on the spoken drama. One of the Keiser works discussed by Swack is *Die Leipziger Messe* (1710), which was written for Hamburg but, judging from the catalog of works performed at the Leipzig Opera in Michael Maul, *Barockoper in Leipzig (1693–1720)* (Freiburg i. Br., Berlin, and Vienna: Romberg Verlag, 2009), 2:865–1064, it was not performed in Leipzig.

33. Marissen, *Anti-Judaism, Lutheranism, and Bach's St. John Passion*, 28f.

34. Adolf Diamant, *Chronik der Juden in Leipzig* (Chemnitz and Leipzig: Verlag Heimatland Sachsen, 1993), 23.

35. Diamant, *Chronik der Juden in Leipzig*, 45, indicates that in the years 1712–15, the number of Jews visiting the Leipzig fairs were 1,007, 829, 838, and 1,108, respectively. Plague accounts for the lower numbers in 1713–14. The Jews brought their wives,



rabbis, cooks, and servants—as well as musicians and beggars—with them; in some cases, women took over the businesses from their deceased husbands.

36. Diamant, *Chronik der Juden in Leipzig*, 16–18.

37. To put matters in more precise perspective, it should be noted that, like Hamburg, Leipzig was not very welcoming to Huguenots or Catholics either; religious services for these had to be provided in buildings owned by the Elector (Mass was in the Pleissenburg, for example) or private dwellings. However, at least these Christians were granted resident permits much more readily than Jews.

38. The University of Hamburg was not founded until 1919. The University of Leipzig was established in 1409.

39. It was administered by an Assessor of the Electoral Consistory of Leipzig, Dr. Johann Schmid (1649–1731), whose philosophical teachers included Adam Rechenberg and Johnn Cyprian (both of whom are discussed later in the text) and who was from 1700 Extraordinary Professor of Theology; moreover, in the course of his distinguished career, he would serve nine terms as dean of the Philosophical Faculty and eight as rector of the University. Also in attendance at Bach's examination was another theological Assessor, Dr. Salomon Deyling, who countersigned the examination protocol. Martin Petzoldt, "Bachs Prüfung vor dem kurfürstlichen Konsistorium zu Leipzig," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 84 (1998): 19–30. The brief text of the examiner's certificate attesting to Bach's theological competence is translated in *The New Bach Reader*, 103, and given in German in *Bach-Dokumente* II, ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), no. 134, 99.

40. See Thomasius's "Das Recht evangelischer Fürsten in theologischen Streitigkeiten" (1696), published in *Dreyfache Rettung des Rechts evangelischer Fürsten in Kirchen-Sachen*, ed. Johann Gottfried Zeidler (Frankfurt am Main, 1701). Tolerance of Roman Catholics (as well as of Lutherans and Calvinists) had been formally guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) following the Thirty Years War, although that did not necessarily mean true freedom of worship existed; rather, the main result was that no longer could a ruler's faith be imposed on his subjects. Those not of one of the three protected religions had no legal protection at all; an exception was the Jews, who enjoyed limited rights and protections under separate guarantees granted by the Holy Roman Emperor.

41. Petra Blettermann, *Die Universitätspolitik August des Starken, 1694–1733* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 22 and 67.

42. Arno Herzig, "Das Gutachten der Leipziger Theologischen Fakultät von 1714 gegen die jahrhunderte-alte Blutschuldflüge," in *Judaica Lipsiensia: Zur Geschichte der Juden in Leipzig*, ed. Ephraim Carlebach Stiftung (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1994), 28–32. Herzig's source was a manuscript copy of the *Gutachten*, Dresden, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Loc. 589/10. A detailed treatment of the *Gutachten*, including an annotated edition and translation, is in preparation by the present author with the support of an Emeritus Professor Research Fellowship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

43. Jakub Goldberg, "Die sächsisch-polnische Verbindung und die polmischen Juden," in *Sachsen und Polen zwischen 1697 und 1765* (Dresden: Sächsisches Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1998), 247–54. The *Gutachten* was published in *Auserlesene Bedenken der*



*Theologischen Facultät zu Leipzig. In drey Theile verfasst von D. Christian Friedrich Boernern* (Leipzig: Bernard Christoph Breitkopf, 1751). This volume is found at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden.

44. Herzig, "Gutachten," 31.

45. Max Steinmetz and Gerhard Harig, eds., *Bedeutende Gelehrte in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Karl-Marx-Universität, 1965), vii, n5. Günter Mühlpfordt, "Gelehrtenrepublik Leipzig: Wegweiser- und Mittlerrolle der Leipziger Aufklärung in der Wissenschaft," in *Leipzig: Aufklärung und Bürgerlichkeit*, ed. Wolfgang Martens (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1990), 68, describes the university's conservatism, and its effect on some of its brightest students and teachers as follows: "Das erschwerte Vorwärtkommen, die langen Wartezeiten im überbesetzten Leipzig ('Lipsia vult exspectari'), orthodoxe Anfeindung, verkrustete Scholastik und akademischer Zopf verleiteten neuerungsfreudigen, aufstrebenden jungen Talenten diese Stadt" (The difficult process of moving forward, the long waits in overcrowded Leipzig [Leipzig likes to wait], persecution by the orthodox, encrusted scholasticism, and academic pedantry caused ambitious young talents, who reveled in what was new, to become disaffected with the city).

46. As when the monk Rudolf of Mainz used it to whip up ignorant Christian folk against the Jews. This is presumably the oldest instance in Germany, but the earliest report of Jewish murder of Christian children for their blood goes back to 1144 in Norwich, England. Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson and Dina Porat, "Blood Libel," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit and New York: Thomson-Gale, 2007), 3:775.

47. For example, The Traveller (the Jew, traveling incognito) tells the Baron, a sympathetic but prejudiced Christian, that "I am not partial to general judgments about whole peoples . . . I would like to believe that among all nations there were good and evil souls" and later pleads that "I ask nothing but that . . . you judge my people a little less harshly and categorically," from *The Jews*, in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan the Wise, Minna von Barnhelm, and Other Plays and Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz, foreword by Hannah Arendt (New York: Continuum, 1991), 147 and 165, respectively.

48. The dates of the professorial tenures in chairs of theology are given in Otto Kirn, *Die Leipziger Theologische Fakultät in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1909). The names of those holding positions of rector, con-rector, dean, and member of the Ten were found in the archives of the theological faculty at the Universitätsarchiv in Leipzig, specifically, Bestand Rektor, Repert. I/XVI/No. 13/Sectio I. Conclusa Dnn. Decem virorum ab Anno 1709 ad Annum 1718 and Repert. I/XVI/No. 17/Sectio I. Conclusa Dnn. Decanorum ab Anno 1711. usq. ad annum 1715.

49. Pietism in Leipzig is a major theme of Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007).

50. For example, Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*, 157, cites support by Rechenberg, then university rector, of the Pietists during an investigation of them in 1689. She also refers to him as a Pietist on p. 182, a designation she also applies to Gottfried Olearius (206). Otto Kirn, *Die Leipziger theologische Fakultät*, maintains, on the other hand, that whereas Rechenberg was considered a patron of the Pietists, he nonetheless adhered to orthodox religious doctrine (135) and that Gottfried Olearius, who did criticize some ceremonial aspects of orthodox Lutheranism (noted by Kevorkian, 206), nonetheless never committed himself to the furtherance of the Pietist movement (143f.). As Kevorkian states

(206), "the professors were able to reconcile fiery Pietist preaching with elaborate music," the latter, of course, being strongly opposed by genuine Pietists. This demonstrates that Pietism certainly did affect, but did not dominate, Leipzig's religious practices and university.

51. Kirn, *Die Leipziger theologische Fakultät*, 143, and Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Theol. Fak. 055 (Theologisch-dogmatische Streitigkeiten, 1710–15).

52. Julius August Wangenmann, "Rechenberg, Adam," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1970; repr. of 1888 edition), 27:756, and Günter Mühlpfordt, "Gelehrtenrepublik Leipzig," 67f.

53. Two of the catalogs are in Dresden at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: *Bibliothecae selectae B. Joh. Cypriani, . . . —2: Libros juridicos, medicos, philosophicos, mathematicos, historiae . . .* (Leipzig: Titius, 1724) and [Gottfried Olearius, Collector], *Catalogus Librorum, Praecipue Theologico-Philologico-Philosophico-Historico-Miscellaneorum . . .* (Leipzig: Titius, 1716). The third catalog, of F. C. Boerner's library, is in the Leipzig University Library: *Catalogus Bibliothecae Boernerianae. Binis partibus theologiam historiam ecclesiasticam atque litteras Elegantiores Continens*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1754).

54. He also engaged in a personal feud with Gottfried Olearius. Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, Theol. Fak. 096 (Streit zwischen Cyprian und Gottfried Olearius, Anschaffung eines Dekanatsmantels).

55. The decision was made in 1707 with the support of the ministers of the Geheimes Kabinett von Pflugk, von Fleming, and von Hoym. These overruled the university, which had nominated Cyprian. Blettermann, *Die Universitätspolitik August des Starken*, 60.

56. Blettermann, *Die Universitätspolitik August des Starken*, *passim*, esp. 20ff. On the process of professorial appointments, see 47ff. As examples of court-influenced appointments, Blettermann cites (among others) the Elector's mother's successful intervention to have Rechenberg named First Professor of Theology in 1699 (instead of his having to work his way up through the ranks) and the appointment of Christian Friedrich Börner as Professor of Greek and Latin over the wishes of the university, which had nominated somebody else.

57. Goldberg, "Die sächsisch-polnische Verbindung," 253f.

58. Olearius had a special interest in the New Testament, the text of which was especially difficult to deal with. The Greek *textus receptus* essentially went back to the faulty 1516 edition of the Renaissance humanist Erasmus. It was Erasmus's text that was the basis for Luther's German translation and thus for the defining of Lutheran orthodoxy. The first scholar to make an edition of the New Testament without relying on the *textus receptus*, but instead on manuscript sources whose readings were then freshly evaluated, was Johann Albrecht Bengel, whose new edition of the Greek New Testament appeared, after many years of work, in 1734. See Henning Graf Reventlow, "Wurzeln der modernen Bibelkritik," in *Historische Kritik und biblischer Kanon in der deutschen Aufklärung*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, Walter Sparr, and John Woodbridge (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 47–63, esp. 48–51.

In the meantime, Olearius published in 1713 his most important work, the *Observationes sacrae in Evangelium Matthaei*, an interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew

based on his encyclopedic knowledge of history, ancient languages, and theology. Utilizing the principles of the new philology, Olearius altered the *textus receptus* as he felt the source evidence required, and trained his students to do the same; needless to say, this resulted in criticism, predictably from the conservative Wittenberg theologians, to which he replied that there was no official canonical New Testament text and that there were many different editions in use anyway. Moreover, he noted that the changes made did not challenge orthodox belief. Kirn, *Die Leipziger theologische Fakultät*, 142f.

59. That toleration was a central issue of the time is flatly stated in 1687 by the exiled Swiss editor of the Amsterdam-based journal *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*. He says it is so important "in the time in which we live" that "almost nothing else is spoken of today." Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 283.

Although Bayle would grant Jews freedom of conscience and religious practice, he views Judaism as antithetical to his own values: Mosaic law, to which Jews are always bound in his view, has no place for such freedoms or for personal conscience. This therefore causes the Jews to be ejected from Bayle's moral world. Adam Sutcliffe, "Enlightenment and Exclusion: Judaism and Toleration in Spinoza, Locke and Bayle," *Jewish Culture and History* 2, no. 1 (1999): 38. Bayle's principal work on toleration is his *Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ, Contrain-les-d'entrer* (Rotterdam, 1686), trans. and ed. by Amie Godman Tannenbaum (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 119. See also Myriam Yardeni, "La vision des juifs et judaïsme dans l'oeuvre de Pierre Bayle," in *Les juifs dans l'histoire de France*, ed. Myriam Yardeni (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 86–95, and also chapters on Bayle and Locke in Zagorin, *Religious Toleration*. Bayle's writings on tolerance were represented in the holdings of the three Leipzig theologians (Johann Cyprian, Gottfried Olearius, and Christian Friedrich Boerner) for whom library catalogs were found in the course of this research.

60. In the web-based John Locke Bibliography compiled by John C. Attig, [www.libraries.psu.edu/tas/locke/index.html#toc](http://www.libraries.psu.edu/tas/locke/index.html#toc), Olearius is credited with the preface to a 1708 translation entitled *Herrn Johann Locks Unterricht von Erziehung der Kinder* and as a translator of *Unterricht von Erziehung der Kinder* editions published in 1708 and 1729 (entries 601 and 601A in the bibliography).

61. This, the most influential seventeenth-century tract on toleration, the argument of which was worked out during Locke's stay in Holland, was published in 1689 in both Latin (Gouda, Holland) and in English translation (London): A *Second Letter* and *Third Letter Concerning Toleration* were published in 1690 and 1692. Locke was working on a *Fourth Letter for Toleration* when he died in 1704.

62. Attig's web bibliography includes only the 1710 and 1729 editions (entries 75 and 75A in the bibliography); Jean S. Yolton, *John Locke: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1998), 17–21, cites the 1714 and 1724 editions as well.

63. A sample of Locke's views regarding toleration of Jews is this excerpt from the first *Letter*: "Nay, if we may openly speak the Truth . . . neither Pagan, nor Mahumetan, nor Jew, ought to be excluded from the Civil Rights of the Commonwealth, because of his Religion. The Gospel commands no such thing. . . . If we allow the Jews to have private Houses and Dwellings amongst us, Why should we not allow them to have Synagogues? Is their Doctrine more false, their Worship more abominable, or is the Civil Peace more endangered, by their meeting in publick than in their private Houses? But if these things may be granted to Jews and Pagans, surely the condition of any



Christians ought not to be worse than theirs in a Christian Commonwealth." John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. with an introduction by James H. Tully (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1983), 54. If Locke expressed some tolerance for "Jews and heathens," he nonetheless had a real fear that English Roman Catholics saw their primary allegiance to the pope rather than to the crown of England, and his seemingly liberal remarks on Jews cover his belief (stated elsewhere) that tolerance would help pave the way for the conversion of the Jews. For a highly skeptical treatment of Locke's ideas on tolerance of Jews, see Murray Smith, "Locke's Jews" (MA thesis, Philosophy, McGill University, 1988).

64. See note 43.

65. In Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790–92; repr. 1976); text in *Bach-Dokumente* III, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, and Leipzig: VEB Verlag, 1972), no. 950: 476. In addition to BWV 198, and Anh. 13, Gottsched provided the text for BWV 198 (the memorial cantata honoring the Electress Christiane Eberhardine, 1727) and BWV Anh. 196 (a wedding cantata of 1725).

66. See Christian Friedrich Boerner, "Johannis Cypriani simvlque Adami Rechenbergii et Gottfridi Olearii memoriae dicata habitque," in *Orationes et recitationes* (Leipzig: Apud Ioh. Christian Langenhemim, 1751), 193–218.

67. As explained in note 56, he was named Professor for Greek and Latin in 1708 directly through court patronage without being formally nominated by the university. Blettermann, *Die Universitätspolitik August des Starken*, 58.

68. *Catalogue d'Estampes* [inserted in pen: *de Mr Fr. Chr. Boerner*] (Dresden: Chretien Henry Hagenmuller, 1755). According to the catalog, the collection included 1,243 portraits including 446 "Theologiens Lutheriens" and more than one hundred "Theologiens Reformé Suisses, Francois, Hollandois, Allemands, Remonstratistes, Anabaptistes, Fanatiques, Separatistes, Socinianiens, Juifs, Athéistes" (nos. 1,116–1,243). Included is one Jew, "Jac. Saportas, Rabbi Synag. Amstel." (Engraver: P. Van Gunst). The breadth of religious (even antireligious) persuasions represented suggests that Boerner was not a narrow-minded man, although in fact Roman Catholics were excluded from the collection. The catalog is preserved at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden.

69. D. Christiani Friderici Boeneri, *Vitae Suae Descriptio* (Leipzig: Ex Officina Breitkopfia, 1793). His travels are described on pages viii–xvi. See also Günter Wartenberg, "Christian Friedrich Börner (1683–1753), ein Wegbereiter philologisch-historischer Schriftauslegung an der Leipziger Theologischen Fakultät," in *Johann Sebastian Bachs historischer Ort*, ed. Reinhard Szeskus (Wiesbaden & Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel Musikverlag, 1991), 36–48.

70. "der Religionseifer eine höchst verderbliche, die Duldung fremder Glaubensgenossen hingegen eine höchst nützliche und vernünftige Sache sey." J. C. Gottsched, *Gesammelte Reden* IX/2, in *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. Rosemary Scholl (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), 463. Cited in Dagmar C. G. Lorenz and Gabriele Weinberger, *From Insiders and Outsiders: Jewish and Gentile Culture in Germany and Austria* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1994), 31f. Gottsched was also a strong advocate for women's education and took a personal interest in Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, librettist for nine Bach cantatas. His wife, Luise Adelgunde



Victoria Gottsched (née Kulmus), another of Gottsched's literary protégées, apparently did not share his progressive notions about Jews; a number of her works have anti-Jewish elements. See Alison Scott, "Frau Gottsched and the Jews," *Modern Language Notes* 91, no. 3 (April 1976): 512–14.

71. Discussion of Lange's political position in Leipzig and at court is scattered throughout Ulrich Siegele, "Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 69 (1983): 7–50; 70 (1984): 7–43; and 72 (1986): 33–67. An abridged version and translation by Carol K. Baron, with Susan H. Gillespie and Ruben Weltsch, is in *Bach's Changing World*, ed. Carol K. Baron (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 127–73, esp. 130 and 163–65.

72. Information from Ulrich Siegele.

73. *The New Bach Reader*, 103.

74. John 18:27 has simply, "Again Peter denied it [the third time]; and at once a cock crowed," with no reference to Peter's bitter remorse. The wording is from *The Jerusalem Bible*, gen. ed. Alexander Jones (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday & Co., 1968), *The New Testament*, 42.

75. The Bach references are to Arthur Mendel's NBA edition of the *St. John Passion*, 43 and 141; see note 7.

76. This is not to say that the theologians might not have argued elsewhere for the conversion of the Jews, just that the *Gutachten* stays completely clear of this issue and does not blame the resistance of the Jews to conversion for their mistreatment by Christians. For a concise but insightful treatment of different concepts of toleration in the philosophies of Locke and Bayle (and Spinoza, too), see Sutcliff, "Enlightenment and Exclusion."

# Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness

Robert W. Eshbach

For Richard M. Schwartz

*But time and change shall naught avail. . .*

The centenary of Joseph Joachim's death has brought a welcome new focus on this important artist and has led to a substantial body of new scholarship about his life and work. This development is long overdue. The first (1898) edition of Andreas Moser's landmark biography, *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, was written in anticipation of the violinist's "Sixty Years' Jubilee": the anniversary celebration of his performing debut, which took place in Berlin on 17 March 1899. An updated English edition of the book, *Joseph Joachim: A Biography (1831–1899)*, translated by Lilla Durham, was published in London in 1901, while Joachim was still alive. A later expanded German edition, published by Verlag der Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft in 1908, the year after Joachim's death, adjoins the final chapter to the story of Joachim's remarkable career. Until recently, Moser's authorized biography has remained the only comprehensive account of Joachim's life. Others, such as Karl Storck's *Joseph Joachim: Eine Studie* (1902) and J. A. Fuller-Maitland's *Joseph Joachim* (1905), are shorter appreciations of Joachim's career and influence, which rely heavily upon Moser's work. The first modern biography, Beatrix Borchard's *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim. Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (2005), is a dual biography of Joachim and his wife that brings a significant amount of new information and an original perspective to our understanding of this influential artistic couple. The recent spate of interest in Joachim, coupled with the extensive nature of Borchard's research, has given Borchard's viewpoint an unrivaled degree of authority in modern Joachim scholarship. Borchard's entries on Joachim in *Grove's Dictionary of Music* and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* will be definitive for years to come. For these reasons, we should be especially attentive to the nuances of her work. Borchard's recent article, "Als Geiger bin ich

Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar'—Joseph Joachim: Identitätsfindung über Abspaltung"<sup>1</sup> as well as her most recent volume, *Musikwelten—Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*,<sup>2</sup> offers me an opportunity to discuss certain important aspects of Joachim's life and career as she portrays them, particularly in light of her most recent project: the exploration of "*Musik als Akkulturationsmedium*" (music as a medium of acculturation).

In a contextualizing article for her *Musikwelten—Lebenswelten* book, which commemorates the centenary of Joachim's death, Borchard writes: "The history of jazz or of rock music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries demonstrates that music, like sport, still offers an opportunity for social advancement, specifically to people from underprivileged population groups."<sup>3</sup> In her Joachim biography and subsequent articles, Borchard tells the story of Joachim's early life as one of "*Entfremdung von seiner Herkunft und zugleich enormen Aufstieg*" (estrangement from his heritage, and at the same time enormous ascent).<sup>4</sup> Most recently, Borchard has attempted to link Joachim's identity as an acculturated Jew to certain of his aesthetic viewpoints, most notably his advocacy of "absolute" instrumental music—that is, universally comprehensible "*Musik ohne Worte*"—music without words.

At first glance, the fact that a Hungarian Jew, born in a tiny backwater town on the Austrian border could rise to the very peak of the Prussian musical establishment seems an extraordinary feat of acculturation. It is certainly a story of successful assimilation, and of a highly successful musical career. But was Joachim in any commonly accepted sense culturally or economically "underprivileged"? To what extent did he consciously use music as a "medium of acculturation"—as a tool for social advancement, or for what he himself once contemptuously referred to as "*Carrière-Sucht*" (career-addiction)? Most important, what was Joachim's Jewish identity, and what consequences, if any, did that identity have for his artistic outlook and his musical career? Given Joachim's prominence as a principal arbiter of nineteenth-century German cultural norms, these are important questions to understand. Since Joachim is here held up as a prototype for an emerging area of study—"music as a medium of acculturation"—we should examine his background with particular care.

## Joachim's Youth

To tell a story of "enormous ascent," it is necessary to postulate humble beginnings. In the cited article, and in her biography, Borchard gives the

following description of Joachim's birth house (today at No. 7 Joseph Joachim Platz, Kittsee, Austria; see figure 1):

Today, a German-language plaque hangs on the house. It was put up in 1931, on the occasion of Joseph Joachim's 100th birthday.<sup>5</sup> The house displays modest middle-class prosperity in the midst of rural surroundings. In reality, Joachim is said to have been born not here but in a tiny, unremarkable house diagonally across the way. After the Second World War, residents of the village allegedly hung the fallen-down plaque on the locality's most representative house, because it seemed more fitting as the birth-house of an important artist.<sup>6</sup>

We cannot be certain that the house at No. 7 was Joachim's birthplace. At the time of his birth, Jews were forbidden to own real property; therefore, deeds and other documentary proofs apparently do not exist.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, a photograph survives, showing the dedication of the Hungarian-language plaque that graced the house's entryway before it was replaced by the German plaque in 1931—proof that, at the very least, the house at No. 7 Joseph Joachim Platz has been recognized as Joachim's birthplace since 1911, four years after his death (figure 2).

There is nothing in Joachim's story that suggests humble origins. The Kittsee *Kehilla* (Jewish community) of Joachim's birth was one of the culturally prominent *Sheva Kehillot*, the "Seven Communities" of Deutschkreutz, Eisenstadt, Frauenkirchen, Kittsee, Kobersdorf, Lackenbach, and Mattersburg,<sup>8</sup> that arose in the late seventeenth century and stood under the protectorate of the powerful Esterházy family. Though small Jewish communities have existed in Austria's



Figure 1. 7 Joseph Joachim Platz, Kittsee.





Figure 2. Kittsee *Bürgermeister* Johann Werner unveiling the Hungarian plaque, July 1911. Photo courtesy Dr. Felix Schneeweis, Ethnographisches Museum Schloss Kittsee.

Burgenland region since early times,<sup>9</sup> the modern settlers of the *Sheva Kehillot* were refugees, driven out of Vienna by Emperor Leopold I in the early 1670s.<sup>10</sup> Prince Paul (Pál) Esterházy (1635–1713) accepted the outcasts into his lands and granted them his protection.<sup>11</sup> Though he undoubtedly did so for economic reasons, or perhaps to curry favor with the emperor, the prince was nevertheless known for his exceptionally indulgent treatment of the Jews in his lands, many of whom accepted his offer of refuge in hopes of eventual repatriation to Vienna.

The *Sheva Kehillot* were among the wealthiest of the Hungarian Jewish communities, and their members were among the best educated of Hungary's Jews.<sup>12</sup> In Joachim's youth, many of their residents traveled freely throughout the region, maintaining close contact with Vienna's resurgent Jewish population, as well as with the large numbers of their co-religionists in Pressburg and Pest. In the early 1820s, Joachim's maternal grandparents, Isaac and Anna Figdor, left Kittsee and settled in the Viennese *Vorstadt* of Leopoldstadt, the district along the Danube canal that was home to most of Vienna's Jewish population (figure 3).<sup>13</sup> That the Figdors, as Jews, were permitted to live in Vienna at that time (that is, before the loosening of residential restrictions in 1848) is an indication of special status, and suggests affluence.<sup>14</sup>

What we assume to be the Joachims' home was one of the largest, most attractive houses in Kittsee. By local standards, the Joachims were evidently well-to-do. According to the Hungarian census of 1821, Julius Joachim's household of five employed a servant.<sup>15</sup> Joseph was the seventh of eight children, the eldest of whom, Friedrich, was already



Figure 3. Vienna: Leopoldstadt from the Friedrichsbrücke, ca. 1842. In 1841, Isaac Figdor & Söhne was headquartered in the neoclassical building on the right, An der Donau No. 579.

nineteen when his little brother was born.<sup>16</sup> Joachim's mother, Fanny (Franziska) Figdor Joachim, was the daughter of one of the region's most successful and prominent wool merchants.<sup>17</sup> Joseph's father, Julius Friedrich Joachim, also a wool merchant, was born in the town of Frauenkirchen (Boldogasszony), twenty miles to the south, on the eastern edge of the Neusiedlersee.<sup>18</sup> The Figdors undoubtedly knew him through business relations. It seems unlikely that, as prominent members of the community, they would have allowed their daughter to marry an impoverished, incompetent, or uneducated man, or that they would have allowed their grandchildren to grow up in straitened circumstances.

Everything we know of Julius Joachim reveals a hardworking, serious character. His few surviving letters show him to be thoughtful and literate, a practical man concerned with his business and his family's welfare. Julius was involved in the family wool trade at a time when wool was a profitable and expanding business.<sup>19</sup> Wool was one of Hungary's principal articles of commerce and a major source of capital for the Hungarian economy, primarily because it was one of the few export commodities that the Austrian government did not tax.<sup>20</sup> Due to improved farming methods and the introduction of Spanish merino sheep to the region, Hungarian wool was of exceptional quality and highly prized by English woolen manufacturers.<sup>21</sup> Each year, nearly nine

million pounds of wool were offered for sale at the spring trade fair in Pest, most of it bought by German merchants for resale in England. This trade in wool was largely carried on by strategically networked Jewish families, many of whom, like the Figdors, had relatives placed in each of the wool-trading capitals of Europe. The Figdor family connections extended from Pest and Vienna to Leipzig, London, and Leeds. This network of family and business connections was critical to the establishment, guidance, and promotion of Joachim's musical career, which in its early years, not coincidentally, was centered in those same cities.

The Joachims were an amicable, intelligent, highly cultured family. Despite the distances that would come to separate them, they remained on intimate terms for life. In later years, Joseph grew particularly close to his older brother Heinrich, who entered the family wool trade and, as "Henry" Joachim, settled in London. There, in 1863, Henry married the "kind and amiable" Ellen Margaret Smart, a member of one of Britain's most prominent musical families. On their wedding certificate, Henry listed his father's profession as "gentleman." Henry and Ellen's son, Harold Henry Joachim (1868–1938), was Wykeham Professor of Logic at Oxford University until his retirement in 1935. Harold eventually married his own first cousin, Joseph's youngest daughter Elizabeth (1881–1968).<sup>22</sup> Henry and Ellen's daughter, Gertrude, married Francis Albert Rollo Russell, the son of British prime minister John Russell and the uncle of philosopher Bertrand Russell.

Another of Joseph's siblings, Johanna, married Lajos György Arányi (1812–1877), a prominent physician and university professor in Pest who, in 1844, founded one of the world's first institutes of pathology. Their son Taksony Arányi (1858–1930), Budapest's chief of police, was the father of the distinguished violinists Adila (Arányi) Fachiri (1886–1962) and Jelly d'Arányi (1893–1966).

Family wealth, culture, and connections played a critical role in the furtherance of Joseph Joachim's education and musical career. From the age of eight, he was raised by his mother's niece Fanny (Figdor) Wittgenstein and her husband Hermann. Fanny and Hermann's descendants eventually counted among the leading industrialists, merchants, musicians, philosophers, architects, collectors, and patrons of art in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe.<sup>23</sup>

Joachim lived at a time when being a professional musician was not necessarily viewed as a high social distinction. In a letter to his parents, for example, his uncle Wilhelm Figdor expressed himself quite strongly on the subject of his thirteen-year-old nephew's compositional studies, saying that he must persevere—because "*wenn er älter als bloßer Violinspieler dasteht, so ist er nichts*" (when he is older, if he stands there



merely as a violin player, then he is nothing).<sup>24</sup> For Joseph, a musical career was therefore a dubious “opportunity for social advancement.”<sup>25</sup> On the contrary, over the course of his career, Joachim’s intelligence and extraordinary personal dignity did much to elevate the common perception of the musician’s status in society.<sup>26</sup>

When Joachim was two years old, the family resettled in the Hungarian capital—so Moser tells us—as if a move were a natural part of life. However, Jews were tied to their place of birth. Only there did they have—if at all—the right to settle and reside. In Pest, the Joachim family initially belonged to the “neither tolerated nor *commorirten*”<sup>27</sup> Israelites.” However, since his father-in-law Isac Victor was a “*comorirte Jude*,” Julius Joachim and his family were allowed to settle as “*Productenhändler*” [retailers] at the edge of Pest’s Jewish quarter, Theresienstadt. This toleration could nevertheless be revoked at any time.<sup>28</sup>

The picture that Borchard paints of domestic insecurity within an alien cultural environment deserves to be questioned as well, or at least subjected to thick description. There is nothing we know of Julius Joachim’s character that suggests he would take an extraordinary gamble in leaving the comfortable circumstances and relative freedom of the Kittsee *Kehilla*, taking his wife and eight children to pursue, as Borchard claims, a modest, highly insecure living on the edge of Pest’s Jewish quarter. On the contrary, all evidence suggests that the move was made with a sober assessment of risk, in order to take advantage of the great financial and cultural opportunities that Jewish life in Pest provided.

The legality of the Joachims’ residential status in Pest is a complicated matter. It had been fifty years since Joseph II’s *Toleranzpatent* (tolerance decree) opened the door for the first Jews to settle in Pest and the other royal free cities. That door nearly slammed shut again a mere seven years later, with the emperor’s deathbed renunciation of his own decrees. However, legislation passed by the Hungarian Diet prevented the royal free cities from carrying out their intended expulsion of Jews. That statute (Law 38 of 1791) nevertheless allowed the eviction any Jew who had not been a lawful resident before 1 January 1790. Though unenforced, the act was technically still in effect when the Joachims settled in Pest’s Theresienstadt district. It remained on the books until 1840, when the National Assembly passed Law 29, permitting all indigenous and naturalized Hungarian Jews to settle in the royal free cities.<sup>29</sup>

Despite this legal ban on immigration, the Jewish population of Pest swelled dramatically, from 114 in 1787 to approximately 8,000 in 1840—the most rapid rate of growth in Europe.<sup>30</sup> When the Joachims



arrived in 1833, there were 1,356 Jewish families in Pest, and a total Jewish population of 6,983.<sup>31</sup> Of these, only 530 families enjoyed tolerated status or were *Commoranten* (sojourners)—Jews who had the right of temporary residence. Put another way, nearly two-thirds of these residents were illegal aliens whose status the government found it expedient to ignore, partly because they were engaged in beneficial or vital activities, and partly because the local authorities lacked the resources to enforce the law.<sup>32</sup>

During their first years in Pest, “*Productenhändler*” Joachim and his family were apparently among the city’s illicit inhabitants. As a practical matter, however, their risk of expulsion was probably nonexistent. Julius may have derived some benefit from the fact that his father-in-law, Isaac Figdor—who enjoyed a rare and coveted “tolerated” status in Vienna—also had temporary residential privileges in Pest.<sup>33</sup> Julius may also have had family of his own in Pest: Isac Joachim, born in Frauenkirchen (Boldogasszony), and almost certainly a relative—possibly Julius’s father or brother—had been living there since 1817.<sup>34</sup> In any case, by 1833, the days of expelling Jews from Pest were over.

Pest’s well-established Jewish life centered on the Orczy House, a massive structure with three large courtyards, occupying an entire block beside the Jewish Market (*Zsidók piarca*).<sup>35</sup> Constructed and reconstructed over the course of the eighteenth century by the philo-Semitic Orczy family, it functioned as a kind of “metropolitan shtetl,” a welcoming point and refuge within the larger city. Among the buildings in old Pest, this “Jewish caravansary” was second in size only to the Károly Barracks, encompassing 142 rooms with kitchens and 37 vaulted store-rooms for the adjacent market place. Orczy House was said to offer everything that a traditional Jew may ever require in life: two synagogues (one Orthodox and one Neolog), ritual baths, a ritual slaughterer, several restaurants, numerous shops, a Jewish bookstore, and a bank.<sup>36</sup>

To the northeast of Orczy House lay the rapidly expanding and poorly regulated Theresienstadt district, consisting almost entirely of three- and four-story buildings, with apartments above and shops on the ground floor. With very few exceptions, the residents of Theresienstadt were the families of Jewish merchants, among whom there were, roughly speaking, three classes. At the top of the pyramid were the *Großhändler* (wholesalers), a number of whom amassed considerable fortunes, and whose appearance and lifestyle did not differ noticeably from that of the city’s Christian population.<sup>37</sup> (Joachim’s grandfather, Isaac Figdor, was a *k. k. Großhändler* in Vienna.)<sup>38</sup> At the bottom were the *Trödelvolk*, the “rag dealers from the tribe of David,” whom a writer for the *Hungarian Miscellany* described as crowding the area near Orczy House, swarming

together like bees, trafficking among themselves, or fixing themselves upon any passerby who appeared likely to trade with them.<sup>39</sup>

A third class of traders were the *Händler* and *Sensale* (retailers and brokers), who, lacking the means of the *Großhändler*, were nevertheless able to carve out a substantial living for themselves as middlemen. Available sources suggest that Julius Joachim was occupied at the upper end of this middle level, and that he was able to provide his family with a comfortable middle-class living. In 1845, Julius was enrolled as a retailer with an annual income of 160 forints: toward the lower end of what a wholesaler might expect to earn, but well above the typical income for a Jewish retailer, which was between 30 and 90 forints per year.<sup>40</sup>

If Pest in the mid-1830s was a thriving center of commerce, it was not yet a music capital. There was as yet no indigenous Hungarian classical music culture from which a young boy, Jew or Gentile, might emerge, or to which he might acculturate. All Western musical activity had ceased under the rule of the Turks (1541–1686), and it was only in the late eighteenth century that Budapest began to establish a modest reputation as a provincial musical outpost on the southeastern edge of the German *Kulturbereich*. During the Classical era, the most important performances took place in Buda: stagings of French operas by Grétry, Monsigny, and Dalayrac, and early performances of Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio*, *Magic Flute*, *Marriage of Figaro*, and *Don Giovanni*. The first instrumental soloist of stature to appear there was Joseph Haydn's concertmaster Luigi Tomasini, who made the journey from Eisenstadt in 1789. Both Haydn and Beethoven visited Buda in 1800—Haydn for a performance at the royal castle of *The Creation*; Beethoven to accompany a horn player called Giovanni Punto, whose real name was Johann Wenzel Stich. "Who is this Bethover?" asked the critic for the *Ofener und Pester Theatertaschenbuch*. "The history of German music is not acquainted with such a name. Punto of course is very well known."<sup>41</sup>

Regular concert seasons did not begin in Pest until 1834—the year after the Joachims' arrival—when Szechenyi's National Casino began hosting a series of chamber concerts. Early orchestral and concerto performances date from this period as well. Most concerts in Pest were given by local musicians: the difficulty and danger of travel, as well as restrictions by the Austrian government, conspired to keep Pest off the tour for traveling virtuosi. It was only in the late thirties that a trickle of foreign artists, including the seventeen-year-old Henri Vieuxtemps in 1837 and Ole Bull in 1839, began to take advantage of steamboat travel to debut in Pest.

It is all the more remarkable, then, that the otherwise unmusical Julius Joachim should have taken an interest in the musical education of his young son. Borchard tells us: "*Der Geigenunterricht war von vornherein berufsorientiert.*" (From the beginning, the violin studies were professionally oriented.)<sup>42</sup> There is no evidence of this in the first years, however. Rather, it seems that the impetus for learning violin came from the simple delight that Joseph took in hearing and making music. Joseph's sister studied voice. Young "Pepi" was fascinated by the guitar she used to accompany her songs, and is said to have spent untold hours exploring its many possibilities.<sup>43</sup> Joachim later told Britain's Lord Redesdale that when he was about four years old, his father went to town one day to attend a fair and brought home a "little sixpenny toy fiddle" as a "fairing" for his son. "Little Joseph seized upon it eagerly," writes Redesdale. "It became his constant companion, he contrived to coax a tune out of it, and his destiny was fixed."<sup>44</sup>

A memorial article in the *Pester Lloyd*, ostensibly by one of Joachim's former students, asserts a "little-known" fact that Joseph received his first formal violin lessons from Gustav Ellinger (1811–98), a first violinist and later concertmaster with Pest's German Theater.<sup>45</sup> Reportedly, young Joseph took his lessons together with another student, "Karl M.," who subsequently became a noted writer. When Ellinger repeatedly criticized Joseph, comparing him unfavorably to his companion, the Joachims took their son to another teacher: the concertmaster and conductor of the opera in Pest, Stanisław Serwaczyński.

After several years of study, Joseph's success in repertoire by de Bériot, Cremont, and Mayseder was such that Serwaczyński arranged for him to make his debut appearance, on 17 March 1839, at the Nemzeti Casino, nicknamed the Casino of the Nobility (*Adelskasino*), in Pest. Several portraits exist of the young debutant, showing him holding his violin, and fingering a G-major chord. Borchard says of this debut: "*Der Ort des Debüts ist bezeichnend: Das Pester Adelskasino.*" (The venue of the debut is significant: Pest's Casino of the Nobility.) Of one of the portraits, she writes: "A Jewish child from modest circumstances is here portrayed as a member of the nobility. A little prince with blond curls in a sky-blue coat adorned with mother-of-pearl buttons, of which Joachim was very proud."<sup>46</sup> Here, Borchard hints at unseemly pride and ambition on the part of parents and child alike. One is born a prince; to aspire to be one is pretension. On the other hand, to aspire to be a professional and, at the age of seven, to have successfully appeared in public as the protégé of a celebrated master is already an attainment worthy of praise—and pride.



The nickname *Adelskasino* is not significant.<sup>47</sup> The National Casino was the obvious choice of locale for Joachim's debut. Other than the *bel étage* of the coffeehouse *Zu den sieben Kurfürsten*, it was the only concert room then in use in the city. The concert was clearly intended to pave the way to a professional career, presenting the child in a place where he could gain the interest of influential patrons. Whether the portraits were intended to present an inflated image of wealth or status is questionable, however. It is at least as likely that they simply present a true picture of a Jewish boy from a well-to-do family, sitting for a portrait at a significant event in his life. A recently discovered portrait, thought to be of the thirteen-year-old Joachim, confirms this impression of Biedermeier wellbeing.<sup>48</sup> In any case, one of the portraits, done at the time of the *Adelskasino* debut can easily be read, not as the image of an ersatz prince, but as an homage to—and imitation of—a respected teacher, and an indication of legitimate aspiration (figure 4).

Joseph's successful debut brought him to the attention of an important benefactor: Count Franz (Ferenc) von Brunsvik, a liberal aristocrat and a pillar of Pest's musical community.<sup>49</sup> At the same time, it won him the enthusiasm of the count's sister Therese (Teréz), and of Brunsvik's old school friend, Adalbert Rosti. Brunsvik was an ardent and expert amateur cellist, and his generation-younger wife, Sidonie, a gifted pianist of professional-level attainments.<sup>50</sup> The couple employed the eminent violinist Leopold Jansa as a chamber music partner for their daily music making.<sup>51</sup>



Figure 4. (A and B) Joseph Joachim at the time of his debut at the *Adelskasino* in Pest; on right, Stanisław Serwaczyński. From Andreas Moser, *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908), 1:5–8.



In Pest during the winter months, the Brunsviks hosted chamber music *soirées* several times a week, in which the best professional musicians took part—including, later in 1839, Franz Liszt, and in 1842, the twelve-year-old Anton Rubinstein.<sup>52</sup> After his debut, Joseph became a regular guest at these evenings. There, the seven-year-old was introduced to the great chamber music tradition of the Danube region, hearing for the first time the string quartets of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Onslow, played by professionals and amateurs who had been personally acquainted with the works' creators.<sup>53</sup> On several occasions "Pepi" was asked to sit in on the music making.<sup>54</sup> The brief time he spent in these surroundings was the beginning of his devotion to the art of string quartet playing, of which he would later become the greatest exponent. It also kindled his lifelong reverence and affinity for the works of Beethoven, whose name the child heard spoken with "holy awe."<sup>55</sup>

Gradually, Joachim was being drawn into what remained of Beethoven's professional milieu. Yet, just as he celebrated his first great success, he was about to lose his mentor: Serwaczyński had decided to leave his post and depart from Pest. Serwaczyński may have been among the first to suggest to the Joachims that they send their son to Vienna to continue his professional training.

Why did the Joachims want their son to become a violinist, and why send him to Vienna to study? Borchard explains:

In Andreas Moser's Joachim biography, a sort of disguised autobiography of the violinist, the extended family makes an appearance without further comment after the first concert, in the form of his cousin Fanny Figdor. After the successful debut, she persuaded his parents to send their child to Vienna to continue his training. According to the surviving records Joachim's parents were not well-to-do, though his maternal relatives belonged to the wealthiest families in Pest [sic]. Given a talent worthy of promotion, it was therefore only natural that this branch of the family should undertake to pay for his training, and at the same time take control of Joachim's future. Wool merchant or virtuoso: this was the professional alternative that characterized young Joachim's initial situation. Fanny Figdor took him with her to Vienna, where, at first, he lived in his grandfather's house.<sup>56</sup>

Like so much in Moser's carefully managed biography, this explanation obscures as much as it reveals. By accepting it at face value, Borchard is forced to give an incomplete explanation for this momentous family decision. It is true that at this point in his life the extended family assumed a leading role in Joachim's upbringing and support. However, any suggestion that the Joachims coolly ceded their parental authority to

the wealthier, more “respectable” branch of the family is demonstrably false.<sup>57</sup> Recent events had made the prospect of entering the family wool business untenable, at least in the short term, and Joseph’s extraordinary talent offered him an alternative career path. To understand this series of events, it is necessary to return to the previous year.

In January 1838, winter hit hard. Snow fell relentlessly in southern Europe and the ice froze three feet thick on the Danube. In Pest, even the main streets were impassable, and the work of digging out was never quite completed before the snows fell again. Twelve-foot drifts lay against the rammed-earth and timber walls of Theresienstadt’s cob houses. The city was cut off from the outside world. In the midst of such ominous and crystalline silence, the river began to rise—twenty feet by 6 January—filling cellars and undermining foundations in low-lying Pest’s sandy soil. A six-foot-high manure and sand embankment was built along the riverfront, and residents operated pumps day and night in a vain attempt to control the water level.

After ten days, the flood receded somewhat, but fourteen-foot levels persisted through February. In March, an upstream snowmelt swelled the waters; the thaw created large floes and ice dams as far north as Vienna, and inundated the *puszta* from Esztergom to the mouth of the Dráva River. By the morning of 13 March the Danube at Pest stood at twenty-three feet, three inches above normal. North of the city, a large ice barrier had formed at Margaret Island, creating an obstruction of gigantic proportions. That evening, the ice dam began to give way, releasing a foaming torrent of water. The embankments were breached, and the rapidly rising Danube engulfed the city with up to seven feet of icy, yellow-brown water. The flood entered the sewers with such force that they blew apart, eroding the surrounding sandy soil, and causing tremors that toppled buildings throughout the city.<sup>58</sup>

Wednesday, 14 March dawned dreary and raw, exposing the disaster. Eyewitness Anton Benkert wrote:

Horror was painted on every face. . . . People stole silently through the parts of the city that were still dry, to view the inexpressible.—The most beautiful streets, where the happy crowds would promenade, where it behooved the industrious merchants and tradesmen to have their shops, resembled a muddy lake. . . . It pierced one’s heart to see how the honest merchant regarded the grave of his property. All the warehouses on the Danube, all the vaults in the Waitzner-, Schlangen-, Bruck- und Dorotheer- streets, held enormous treasures in wares, which were now awash and destroyed by the flood.—No one knew how great was his loss,

for all thought of resistance against the waves—every attempt to enter a warehouse or vault—was in vain.<sup>59</sup>

Things were even worse in the crescent of outlying districts. Theresienstadt, Leopoldstadt, and Franzstadt were swallowed up. Soaked and cold, the residents sought higher ground, or found refuge on rooftops. While profiteers charged as much as a hundred forints to ferry individuals across the river to Buda's high ground, exhausted rescuers searched the city in boats, rafts, washtubs, vats, and odd, makeshift craft cobbled together from loose boards—whatever could be made to float—bringing food and succor to victims. Across the Danube in Buda, the nobility struggled to provide food and shelter for the victims, and the Palatine opened his palace. All available public buildings were opened to the needy, and as many as twenty thousand found refuge in the Invalid Hospital and the Ludovicia. The latter institution, originally intended for a military academy, was reportedly filled with “filth, squalor and misery” by “the half-naked, half-famished crowd mingled together in its vast chambers and corridors.”<sup>60</sup> Thousands remained there until May.

By 18 March nearly the entire city lay muddied and exposed, free of water. In the days that followed, the toll in lives and goods would gradually be revealed. The entire commercial sector of the city was wiped out. The shops replete with fabrics, flowers, carpets, silks and satins, bronzes and books; the warehouses full of fruit, tobacco, oil, soda, and wool were all destroyed. Benkert lamented, “In short, everything that industry and diligence of art had stored up in the flourishing commercial city of Pest, as the main storage place for all of Hungary and the Orient, was immersed in muck and mire, and most of it was completely destroyed; one had to have been in the warehouses when they were opened to be able to comprehend how incredible this unparalleled destruction was.”<sup>61</sup> The disaster could not have hit at a worse time. The nineteenth, St. Joseph's Day, was to have been the start of the spring fair, and all the storerooms were filled to capacity.

Residences were equally hard hit. In the outlying districts, Franzstadt, Josefstadt, and Theresienstadt, entire rows of houses had been carried away, and a chaotic mess of debris hindered rescuers. Whole neighborhoods were unrecognizable. In Theresienstadt, where the Joachims lived, 811 buildings had fallen down—another 404 were gravely damaged. Only 166 stood fast. In the entire city, only a quarter of the nearly 4,600 buildings escaped unscathed. About 150–200 people perished in the flood. Fifty thousand were made homeless.

The flood is nowhere mentioned in the Joachim literature. This must be an intentional omission, as the flood's consequences—for



Julius's business at the very least—must have been severe. We know from the violinist Edmund Singer's memoirs, however, that the Joachim family lived through the event, and escaped across the river to Buda:

My father left his house in a large dough-trough together with his family. We were lucky enough to reach the higher-situated marketplace, where we had to spend the night in the open. . . . After the exceedingly unpleasant night spent in the marketplace, a big barge was rented and the journey across the Danube to Buda undertaken, which was not unperilous, due to the numerous ice drifts; so that we breathed a sigh of relief when we were finally able to land, half frozen, in Buda. There a happy accident led to the two befriended *Joachim* and *Singer* families finding lodging in the same building, and the two boys, *Joseph* and *Edmund*, who were almost the same age, could be taught the difficult art of reading, writing and arithmetic by the same tutor.<sup>62</sup>

It seems probable that the heavy losses associated with the flood encouraged Julius and Fanny to consider an alternative career for their young son, and predisposed them to consider for him the life of a musician. The violin is nothing if not portable, and a musician does not need to lay up goods in trade. It is in this context that the significance of Joseph's *Adelskasino* recital becomes clear. The recital took place the following year on 17 March—one year to the day after the flood's end—suggesting that the date was deliberately chosen, and that Joseph's triumph that day was a compelling symbol of the family's revived hopes for the future. It was in this context, too, that the sudden appearance of Joseph's musical cousin Fanny Figdor should be seen.<sup>63</sup>

According to Edmund Singer, Joachim "had several uncles, who were filthy rich (*steinreich*), and supported their brilliant nephew in the most liberal way."<sup>64</sup> One of these uncles was Fanny's father, Wilhelm Figdor (1793–1873) (figure 5).<sup>65</sup> Wilhelm can be seen as a prime mover in this next phase Joseph's career. Wilhelm's brother Nathan also played a role in supporting their sister's talented son. According to Fanny's granddaughter Hermine Wittgenstein, "Wilhelm Figdor and his son Gustav . . . lived in Vienna as respected, resident wholesalers (a letter of recommendation for Wilhelm F., signed by Prince Metternich, testifies to his respectability). . . . They were Jews, but they felt themselves to be Austrians—as one could in those days—and they were also regarded as such by others."<sup>66</sup> Wilhelm was a partner in the wool-trading firm of Isaac Figdor & Söhne, a shareholder and director of the Austrian National Bank, and a man of considerable property.<sup>67</sup> One measure of his wealth is the estate in Koryčany (currently in the Czech Republic) that he acquired from Salomon Mayer Rothschild in 1851. An aerial view of the imposing





Figure 5. Wilhelm Figdor. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Wittgenstein Archive, Cambridge.

Baroque *Schloss* and *Hof* can be seen on Google maps (keyword: Koryčany).

Wilhelm's daughter Fanny, who acted as a go-between, would ultimately become a surrogate mother to Joseph. She was a particularly sympathetic figure, a good pianist, and her letters reveal her to be intelligent, respectful, and caring—though her granddaughter also referred to her as “an outspoken, and indeed an edgy (*kantige*) personality.”<sup>68</sup> As painful as the decision to send Joseph away may have been, both for the boy and his family, the Joachims must have derived some sense of consolation knowing that she was the family member who would best understand and care for him. On 18 April 1839, she wrote to Julius and Fanny, thanking them “for the friendly reception that you and your family showed me in such a high degree,” and telling them that in their family life they were, in her eyes, “richer than Rothschild himself.” She continues with a postscript to Joseph:

My dear, good Joseph,

In order to show you how much our correspondence means to me, I will begin it, contrary to all formality, and say to you that I thought of you very often during our very pleasant return trip. May you fulfill all the beautiful expectations that our all too short acquaintance has permitted me to have for you. I hope that your determination will not fail you;

good determination is already half the battle. Write to me very soon, but not as a little boy who first composes a letter and then laboriously copies it, but rather like when you play the violin on Saturday, as though you were 18 years old. Tell me freely and openly what seems pleasant or unpleasant to you—and very convincingly, so that I find it interesting and appealing. That way you will find your style and give order to your thoughts, and immensely please your Fanny who loves you dearly.

Give my best wishes to your esteemed music master.<sup>69</sup>

Sometime after this letter was written, just shy of his eighth birthday, Joseph traveled to Vienna to further his formal studies, supported by his “filthy-rich uncles.” This was indeed the beginning of his “enormous ascent,” which took place largely within the bosom of his extended family, and was supported by influential members of Vienna’s Jewish community.<sup>70</sup> From this time forward, Joachim lived a life of privilege and success, virtually unparalleled among nineteenth-century musicians.

### Joachim’s Jewishness

A letter to Hannover’s *Polizeipräsident* Habben, dated 22 May 1935, seeks to have Hannover’s Joachimstraße renamed:<sup>71</sup>

Until now, the street connecting Bahnhof-Thielenplatz has borne the name of the Jew *Joachim*, former concertmaster in the local theater.

It would be very desirable to give this street another name. Reason

1. Jew

Read it how you will: with that one word, the writer simultaneously states both a profound truth and an insidious lie. What is in a name? Never was there a word more laden with history; never a word more in need of contextualization to be understood.

Every identity is reification: it is what we understand it to be. What was Joachim’s Jewish identity? What effect did that identity have on his life as an artist? As important as these questions are to ask, they are also exceedingly complex and problematic to answer. Each answer provokes a new question. We may ask: identity for whom? At which period in his life? In what company? Relating to which activity? Was this identity ethnic, religious, political? The list proliferates. And yet if we engage this knotty problem it is important to attempt a *dénouement*.

Given the complexity of the issue, Borchard is understandably reluctant to define her terms:

In the following, we shall not discuss whether there is such a thing as one identity, let alone a Jewish identity, or whether we must proceed from volatile, temporally contingent identities, and those that vary according to social context. In the present context the concept of identity serves heuristic purposes.<sup>72</sup>

Granted. Yet the meaning of "identity" lies precisely in its derivation from *idem*: sameness, as distinguished from *similitas* (likeness), or *unitas* (oneness). Borchard's explicit acknowledgment of individual and cultural complexity undermines the usefulness of her paradigm, and by default leaves the field open to negative stereotype.

In the absence of a clear concept of identity, how are we to understand what Borchard means by "*Identitätsfindung über Abspaltung*" (bridging division to find identity) or "*jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*" (the Jewish search for identity in the German musical culture)? How are we to understand the process of "*Entfremdung von Herkunft und zugleich enormen Aufstieg*" (estrangement from heritage, and at the same time enormous ascent) implied in the word *Akkulturation*, that ostensibly characterized Joachim's entry into the world of professional music? The lack of overarching definitions—or perhaps even the ability to make such definitions—makes it all the more essential that the facts of Joachim's life be fully and accurately presented. In such a context, as Borchard herself acknowledges, the word *identity* must refer first to the characteristics of an individual. In the words of Joseph Butler, frequently quoted by Isaiah Berlin, "Everything is what it is, and not some other thing." We must seek to understand the man before we engage the paradigm.

Joachim acquired his culture the way most people acquire culture: through family and friends, teachers and colleagues, and through active participation in society. In that sense, his life was less a journey of acculturation than of *enculturation*—the original process of cultural acquisition. From the beginning, this *Bildung* journey took place in a remarkably diverse ethnic and cultural landscape. The Hungary of Joachim's birth, under Habsburg rule since the defeat of the Turks, was poor, virtually without infrastructure, industry, banking, or trade—a puzzle of secluded villages and feudal demesnes. From earliest times, the plains of Hungary had been swept by successive waves of invasion and immigration, and the resident population bore the impress of many cultures, from ancient Celts and Romans to modern Magyars, Slovaks, Germans, Roma, Turks, and Jews. "The mixture of languages in Hungary itself is so great, that scarcely one-third of the inhabitants speak the Hungarian," wrote the English visitor Dr. Richard Bright in

1818; “and thus, every one who hopes to travel beyond the village in which he was born, is compelled to learn some other language or dialect. Hence probably it is that Latin has been retained as a common medium of communication.”<sup>73</sup> The Joachims spoke German; Joseph never had more than a nodding acquaintance with the Hungarian language.<sup>74</sup>

From this unique and complex social environment (one cannot speak of a monoculture much less of a “nation”) emerged a host of violinists, among them Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Miska Hauser, Edmund Singer, Ludwig Straus, Adolph Pollitzer, Eduard Reményi, Jakob Grün, Karl Goldmark—and Joseph Joachim. Of these, all were Jewish, and all studied in Vienna with Joseph Böhm. The difficulty of constructing a similar list of Gentile violinists from the region might lead one to the plausible conclusion that, far from being an estrangement, the initial stage of Joachim’s education and career was a *characteristic* expression of Hungarian Jewish culture—as well as Jewish aspiration—at the time. This career path was largely unavailable to previous generations of Jews. One might therefore assume that though the profession was new to them what sparked this remarkable efflorescence was not some sudden change in the underlying nature of Jewish values, but a change in the freedoms accorded to Jews.

As a musician, Joachim was to the manor born. Even before settling in Vienna, he entered the elite circle of Beethoven’s friends. In Vienna, he studied violin with Beethoven’s colleague Joseph Böhm (and lived with Böhm in Vienna’s Alser Vorstadt, two blocks from the Schwarzschanerhaus, where Beethoven died). He learned music theory from the *regens chori* of St. Stephen’s Cathedral, Gottfried Preyer, himself a pupil of the eminent Simon Sechter. By the age of twelve, he had become the protégé of the leading German musician of the time, Felix Mendelssohn, and was studying composition with Leipzig Thomaskantor Moritz Hauptmann—in Bach’s former apartment. As a violinist, he learned from the example of Ferdinand David, Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, and Louis Spohr. While in Leipzig, he performed regularly in the Thomaskirche and as a member of the Gewandhaus Orchestra. He taught at the Leipzig Conservatory. After Mendelssohn’s death, he grew close to Robert and Clara Schumann. While still in his teens, he became a professional colleague and protégé of Franz Liszt in the seat of German Classical culture, Weimar. There he came under the irresistible influence of the famous friend and worshipper of Goethe and Beethoven, Bettina von Arnim, and became romantically linked with Bettina’s daughter, Gisela. As a member of the Arnim circle, he developed a close friendship with the writer and art historian (and the first



German translator of Ralph Waldo Emerson) Herman Grimm, the son of the renowned philologist Wilhelm Grimm. In his early twenties, he studied logic, history, and architecture at Göttingen University, becoming the first important violinist to receive a university education. In short, no nineteenth-century European musician came by his culture earlier or more authentically than Joseph Joachim, and no musician of his generation could boast a closer personal connection to the canonic works of Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner, and Liszt, or the writings of Goethe, Schiller, Arnim, Brentano, Grimm, and Emerson.

In his youth, Joachim was in the vanguard of new cultural ideas and trends, and we celebrate him today, not for how he was able to assimilate into the prevailing culture, but for the ways in which he transformed it. He achieved his position of authority as a cultural gatekeeper in early midlife. In that unassailable position, he was a leader, not a follower—an authority, sponsor, and role model, even to such iconic German musicians as Johannes Brahms. In later years, he maintained his position despite powerful onslaughts from the “New German” school of Wagner and Liszt. In the end, Joachim stood apart as virtually the sole defender of a particular vision of culture whose historical moment had passed. His is the story of a transformative figure in the history of German music who emerged from a rich Jewish culture that—despite his adult conversion to Christianity—deeply informed his life’s work.<sup>75</sup>

In Joachim, the acculturation process, if we wish to call it that, was fulfilled in early childhood. As an adult, he possessed a dual identity as a German and a Jew (figure 6).<sup>76</sup> He spoke the language of German-Christian culture—no less than that of Jewish culture—authentically, and with perfect fluency. In Eduard Hanslick’s words, he was “German through and through, from the core outward, to the smallest external details.”<sup>77</sup> Joachim’s colleague Heinrich Ehrlich, like Hanslick an assimilated Jew, went further: “In my much-traveled life, I have never met a man of Jewish descent who in bearing, manners and speech, in artistic and moral character, appeared so Christian, in the best sense of the word; I would almost say that even Joachim’s faults and weaknesses are Christian, not Jewish, in nature.”<sup>78</sup> Joachim’s appearance was not a pose. This is not to say, however, that he no longer identified as a Jew, or that he was immune from the inner conflicts and struggles that a dual identity imposes—particularly in his younger years.

In the nineteenth century, there were multiple ways of being German. (How else could Berlioz and Liszt be counted among the leaders of the New German School?) For many, Germany was seen as a universal, embracing nation. In an article about Jewish identity, Marjorie



Figure 6. Joseph Joachim in Hungarian dress.

Perloff cites a seminal study by Paul Mendes-Flohr, who “begins by reminding us that Germany was a ‘belated nation,’ becoming a nation-state only after 1870 under Bismarck.”<sup>79</sup> Perloff continues:

Before 1870, proponents of a unified German identity were obliged to appeal either to ethnic or to cultural criteria. The former gave us what was called the *Volksnation*—the concept of “a given people, which, ontologically prior to the state, is bound less by an original accord than by a common relation of its members to some combination of historical memory, geography, kinship, tradition, mores, religion, and language.” To be *German*, in this scheme of things, was a question of shared myth, ethnicity, and history. The alternative to this construction of nationality was the *Kulturnation* of German Enlightenment culture—the liberal cosmopolitan ethos of *Bildung* that had its roots in the classical Greek notion of *paideia*. *Bildung* was more than “civilization,” since, as Wilhelm von Humboldt pointed out . . . it was conceived as having a distinct spiritual dimension. Thus the cult of *Kultur* was gradually transformed into a kind of religion.

The German (and Austrian) Jews obviously chose the second alternative. Even if they had wanted to, they could hardly have been assimilated into the *Volksnation*, whose ethnicity, history, and foundational myths they did not share.<sup>80</sup>

This was certainly Joachim's understanding of German culture, and of his place in it. He believed, as the Mendelssohn family believed, that to belong to the German *Kultur* implied no essential contradiction to his heritage as a Jew. In a letter to his nephew, the Spinoza scholar Harold Joachim, he writes (in English) of another musician from his birth-region: "I cannot call Haydn slavonic like lesser people, (Dvorak, Smetana, Tschaikowsky) no more than I call Mozart italian (in spite of the great italian influence he does show). He lifts the material into a higher sphere, and has the german gift to assimilate, so that it becomes a universal ideal thought, intelligible to all nations. Göthe is essentially German in that sense."<sup>81</sup>

"Like lesser people"—here, Joachim asserts a belief that would be useful for us to share: artists should use but not be defined by their ethnicity.

It is telling that Joachim suffered very little direct discrimination during his lifetime.<sup>82</sup> Such anti-Semites as Hans von Bülow held him in awe, and even Wagner paid him grudging respect. The anti-Semitic acts that Borchard enumerates in her work occurred either postmortem or to others in Joachim's circle, such as Joachim's protégé Jakob Grün.<sup>83</sup> Joachim's occasional, very real emotional suffering as a Jew resulted mostly from his undiminished identification with what he called his "*Stammesgenossen*" (those who shared his lineage), and from his reaction to the stereotypical thinking, double-standard, and hypocrisy that always attend anti-Semitic acts. The complexity of this issue is demonstrated by a joint letter that Joachim and Bülow wrote to Liszt (while Bülow was enjoying Joachim's hospitality in Hannover), in which Bülow decried the "*bâtards de mercantilisme et de judaïsme musical*"—by which he meant Ferdinand David and Joachim's other Leipzig friends.<sup>84</sup>

Joachim's pain and struggle with his Jewish identity came mostly from expressions such as these: the constant denigration by the "New Germans" of his musical father, Mendelssohn; the anti-Semitic opinions expressed by Wagner and Liszt in notorious publications, and shared in informal colloquy by their disciples and friends.<sup>85</sup> Joachim struggled to come to terms with these opinions, stemming as they did from authority figures otherwise worthy of high regard. His pain was heightened by his own sense that as an artist he belonged heart and soul to the tradition of German Classical culture—in many ways more so than the anti-Semites. This understanding drove a wedge between him and those who would naturally have been his closest friends and comrades. It doubtless had much to do with his leaving the fold of the *neudeutsche Schule*. That he was sensitive to these issues, even in his late thirties, may be seen from his reaction to his onetime friend Peter Cornelius, the translator of

the deplorable, and in places venomous, German edition of Liszt's book, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*:

In 1870 . . . when Cornelius saw Joachim on the street in Munich, he wished to show his erstwhile comrade-in-art, with whom he had never had the slightest dispute, that party wrangling had not diminished his esteem, and approached him with cordial gestures. . . . But Joachim coldly turned his back on him and left him standing there.—In his old age he is said to have spoken warmly about Cornelius.<sup>86</sup>

At age twenty-one, Joachim wrote a long midnight missive to his girlfriend Gisela von Arnim, in which he claimed that his frequent depressions were deep-rooted, and that it “perhaps came from the Orient” that he so easily fell into bad moods. Later in the same letter, he wrote: “A proper composer [*Tondichter*, tone poet] must, like every other poet, find a connection to the personal, inner tone of his soul; his music must also sound in the eternal Becoming of everything around him—Oh, I know full well how it is supposed to be, but my tones still show the exact opposite of that—they are not free enough to loose their fetters, with which they are bound to the morbid in me.”<sup>87</sup>

Citing this letter, Borchard writes: “Joachim knew the 1850 essay *Das Judenthum in der Musik*, in which Wagner—at that time still anonymously—denied all Jews the capacity of autonomous creative work. . . . By linking his compositional inability with his oriental ancestry, he adopted Wagner's reasoning, and turned it against himself.”<sup>88</sup> Borchard later strongly suggests that “Joachim's largely falling silent as a composer”<sup>89</sup> was a way of resolving the emotional dissonance he felt due to his Jewish heritage.

A single nocturnal letter from a moody twenty-one-year-old is a slim reed upon which to found such a comprehensive theory. Certainly, this letter has nothing to say about Wagner. It does have a great deal to say about the insecurities of a sensitive, introverted young Jewish musician, obsessively in love with the willful, pampered, glib, and mildly anti-Semitic daughter of a famous German baron and literary lion (and lioness).<sup>90</sup> Gisela well knew that the source of Joachim's depressions did not come from any belief in a biological predisposition.<sup>91</sup> In a letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson, she explained that Joachim's *herrlich(e)* (magnificent) compositions were “still young, still austere,—too somber (for a sad youth has weighed heavily upon him).”<sup>92</sup> We may speculate about what this “*Jugendschicksal*” may have been, but, in any case, it is clear that the opinions expressed in Wagner's “Judenthum” article had nothing to do with the matter.



The source of Joachim's musings is a comparison of his life's circumstances with hers: "You do not know about that, everything is always much too bright for you, you know heavenly solace, you know the inner transfiguration of pain."<sup>93</sup> Far from being discouraged from composition, he is determined to persist: "You see from all this that I am not made for satisfaction. I am prepared, if need be, to fight a lifelong battle with myself and with others. Strife is life!"<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere in the letter he writes enthusiastically of his newly composed *Demetrius Overture*, and of the "*Seeligkeit*" (bliss) of composing, concluding: "That will be magnificent, if someday I will have nothing else to do but to compose, and I hope that such a time will come."

Nevertheless, Joseph complains:

It also happens that I always vacillate between longing to be a virtuoso, conductor, and composer; and therefore, in making preparations and coming to decisions, I often do not get down to real work, like a housewife who, out of a mania for cleaning never arrives at a tidy, comfortable family life—but a spoiled child "*unter den Zelten*" would know nothing of such hardworking, diligent artisan souls—or at best from the "*Fruit and Thorn Pieces*." You fortunate people, who have but to follow your inclinations.<sup>95</sup>

From this, Borchard concludes that Joseph similarly ascribed this inability to focus his artistic energies to his "oriental descent"—something she calls "*Zerrissenheit als 'jüdisches Erbe'*" (inner conflict as a "Jewish legacy").<sup>96</sup> "In this feeling of inner conflict, Joachim believed he had found the reason why he was incapable of composing a music that, in his own phrase, 'spoke warmly to its hearers.'"<sup>97</sup>

It was not Joachim who made this connection between his *Zerrissenheit* and his Jewish heritage, however. It was Gisela who first raised this argument with him, and it became her constant refrain. As late as 1868, she writes to him:

Whenever I consider all the beautiful power that heaven has given you,—I admit that it often makes me feel sorry,—that it is not used for that which would so often have given you joy—for creating your own works. Anyone who sees what great abilities you have—he would feel sorry. This summer, old Professor von Sagg, a comical archenemy of the Jewish nation, said to me—I will tell you I have observed the Jews my whole life, and they have a failing,—they can't work—how so—well, they fragment themselves, they take something up, but they

almost never come to individual works. I do not know exactly what he meant, I need to think about it. But when I think that so much has been lost to you in actual immersion in real work—for which heaven has at the same time given you the power—yes, it makes me sorry.<sup>98</sup>

Joseph had a name for this argument: “Have a little patience for my poor self!” he writes to her in March 1854, presumably in response to similar complaints. “The copyist is still not finished with the overture, though he has had it for about 3 weeks now. I need to hear it first; if it pleases me, I will send it to you and Herman [Grimm], and then if you want to Jew-bait me, go ahead. Neither I nor the work will be the worse for it. I long indescribably for my sounds—I think they would drown out my inner disquiet.”<sup>99</sup>

What follows is an attempt to make visible, at least in its main features, a central line of tradition for the history of culture and music in Germany that stretches from Moses Mendelssohn to Joseph Joachim. It is concerned with the influential concept of instrumental music as an “all-comprehending and all-comprehensible” world language without words.<sup>100</sup>

Borchard’s method proceeds by questions. In her *Musikwelten* essay, she sets up a dichotomy: would the late nineteenth-century German *Bildungsprojekt* be pursued through vocal music, or instrumental music—that is, music with words, or music without words? The answer, which she traces through Felix Mendelssohn back to Moses Mendelssohn, was “*eindeutig: Musik ohne Worte*” (unambiguous: music without words). This answer, ostensibly promoted by Joachim, is seen to have had particular resonance for Jewish musicians, “*denn Sprechen trennt, gemeinsames Musizieren und Hören verbinden*” (for speaking divides; shared music making and hearing unites).<sup>101</sup>

This is a characteristic example of both the strengths and weaknesses of Dr. Borchard’s heuristic method: she is onto something important here, but to my mind does not quite frame the question properly. There can be no doubt that, as I have pointed out elsewhere, Joachim “breathed Mendelssohnian air,” that he believed implicitly in the universalist message of the Mendelssohnian project, and that he was in his time the foremost representative of German instrumental music. Since the Enlightenment’s universalist premise was the great prelude to emancipation, it would have been unusual indeed for an enlightened Jew like Joachim to reject this premise, or to refuse to acknowledge its (and his) connection to the Mendelssohn family—the indispensable contributors

to the *Haskalah*, to whom he felt so akin and to whom he owed so much. However, though “instrumental music as an ‘all-comprehending and all-comprehensible’ world language” may have resonated with enlightened Jews, it was not, in the main, a Jewish idea. The “absolute music” train left the station about the time of Felix Mendelssohn’s birth, and was already considered old-fashioned by the middle of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding Moses Mendelssohn’s views on the subject, this idea was associated primarily with the music of Beethoven. Joachim was brought up with this aesthetic, which he received as much from Böhm, Hauptmann, Schumann, and Bettina von Arnim as he did from Mendelssohn.

The absolute music aesthetic had little to do with words per se, or their combination with music. It had everything to do with the strong concept of music as an independent language that could stand alone, or on an equal footing with a text. From the time Joachim left the fold of the *neudeutsche Schule* until his death, he fought to preserve this idea in the face of the progressives who rejected it. Why? Borchard claims Mendelssohn’s influence. However, notwithstanding Mendelssohn’s *Lieder ohne Worte* and the sentiments expressed in his famous letter to Souchay, Mendelssohn had no quarrel with the association of words with music. It seems implausible to claim that the performer who grew up in the bosom of Zelter’s *Singakademie*, and whose great early achievement was the historic revival of Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*, would in some way be a paragon exponent of music “ohne Worte”—that the composer of *St. Paul* and *Elijah*, of the *Lobgesang* Symphony, of the *Erste Walpurgisnacht*, and of numerous songs, psalms, motets, cantatas, and anthems, who in his last months was discussing with Chorley his plans to write operas, might in some way take issue with the combination of music and words, or indeed that the composer of the *Hebrides* Overture, the *Reformation*, and *Italian* symphonies should be too closely associated with the Hanslickian ideal of “absolute” music.

Likewise, Joachim was too great an artist to be governed by such a reductionist *lex parsimoniae* as words/no words. If that had been his goal, he could easily have followed the well-trodden virtuoso route—virtuoso music is also universally intelligible and lacks words—but this is something he steadfastly refused to do. Like Mendelssohn, Joachim was a great lover of words, and was well traveled in classical and contemporary literature. He numbered many writers among his friends, including the Arnims, Grimms, Tennyson, Browning, Thackeray, Dickens, and Eliot. It was not the presence or absence of words that concerned him, but rather the timeless quality of the composition at hand. What mattered

was not that great instrumental music lacked a text—what mattered was that it *was* a text.

Throughout his adult career, Joachim was engaged in the creation and interpretation of a musical canon—an activity utterly congenial to someone with a Jewish upbringing and education. The first criterion for a canonic work is that it must be universal and timeless in its appeal. It must “lift the material into a higher sphere, . . . so that it becomes a universal ideal thought,” and it must pass this test of quality when viewed, in Spinoza’s term, *sub specie æternitatis*, from the aspect of eternity (Joachim, like his nephew, read Spinoza).<sup>102</sup> This is, in the end, the difference between a canonic work and a mere repertory item.

It was the works of Beethoven that formed the core of the emerging canon. As Carl Dahlhaus wrote:

Beethoven, virtually in one fell swoop, claimed for music the strong concept of art, without which music would be unable to stand on a par with literature and the visual arts; . . . Beethoven’s symphonies represent inviolable musical “texts” whose meaning is to be deciphered with “exegetical” interpretations; a Rossini score, on the other hand, is a mere recipe for a performance, and it is the performance which forms the crucial aesthetic arbiter as the realization of a draft rather than an exegesis of a text. . . . That a composer who did not care a whit about Ignaz Schuppanzigh’s “wretched fiddle,” as Beethoven called it, could successfully demand that performances be a function of the text, rather than vice versa, can only have astonished early nineteenth-century contemporaries; and even though this view is now taken for granted among the artistically well educated, historians ought to receive it in its original spirit. The new insight that Beethoven thrust upon the aesthetic consciousness of his age was that a musical text, like a literary or philosophical text, harbors a meaning which is made manifest but not entirely subsumed in its acoustic presentation—that a musical creation can exist as an “art work of ideas” transcending its various interpretations.<sup>103</sup>

Joachim—in Gisela von Arnim’s words “*ein feuriger Musiker ganz durchdrungen von Bethoven [sic]*” (a fiery musician thoroughly steeped in Bethoven)<sup>104</sup>—learned this principle early, at Böhm’s knee; it was later reinforced by others: Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Bettina.

If one wishes, then, to tease out a single, “central line of tradition” that reaches from Joachim back through Felix Mendelssohn to Moses Mendelssohn, it might be this: the idea of a canon, grounded in timeless, inviolable texts whose meaning is to be deciphered through exegetical interpretations. This quintessentially Jewish *modus* met with the Romantic Beethoven tradition as water with water, and provided



Joachim with a way to reconcile the conflicting demands of his cultural, intellectual, and moral life.

We may perhaps begin to seek Joachim's "falling silent as a composer" in his feeling that he was unable to compose to a canonic standard. As a violinist, however, he had no self-doubts. The rigorous selection and exceedingly limited nature of his concert repertoire suggests that, for him, there was no distinction between canon and repertoire. In this, he followed Mendelssohn, whose axiom it was that "a true artist should play only the best." "As a violinist, I am a German," wrote Joachim, and he may well have added "as a violinist, I am a Jew." In Joseph Joachim the violinist, Torah and Talmud met Bach and Beethoven to give life to the idea of the interpretive performer. In this, I believe Beatrix Borchard and I can agree: it was as a violinist—through the interpretation of timeless, canonic, *German* works—Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms—that Joachim was able to reconcile his Jewish and German identities, his religious and artistic sensibilities, "bridging division to find identity"—and in the process radically transform our understanding of the role of the performing musician.

Joachim's life story is an astonishing journey through religious and cultural diversity. His ability to integrate diverse influences in his personality and life's work was not achieved without difficulty, and in fact represents an immense accomplishment. One has only to think of Liszt, whose career in many ways closely parallels Joachim's, and who in the end gave up all pretense of reconciling the cultural contradictions of his existence, living out his life in a celebrated "*vie trifurquée*," dividing his time between Rome, Weimar, and Budapest. Joachim and Liszt both had family roots in sheep farming in Kittsee, Joachim's father as a wool merchant, and Liszt's as the intendant of the Esterházy sheepfolds. Of the two families Joachim's was decidedly the more cosmopolitan. As an adult, Liszt was the consort of a princess. Yet no one suggests that Liszt used his music as a "*soziale Aufstiegsmöglichkeit*" (opportunity for social advancement).<sup>105</sup> No one writes Liszt's biography as a story of acculturation. Liszt is simply seen for what he was: a musical genius—a man of energy, ambition, and deep *Bildung*—a man of the world, who changed the prevailing culture as much as it changed him. This begs the question as to whether the acculturation paradigm is appropriate for Joseph Joachim—whether applying it contributes to our understanding, or leads us ineluctably down false paths.

Successfully assimilated minorities bring important gifts to society's table. Joachim's story has much to tell us about the assimilation process—about the ways in which individuals can absorb, integrate, and embody diverse cultural influences within their own persons,

transcending social contexts that are invested in maintaining the illusion of ethnic or cultural purity. In today's multicultural world, this is an increasingly important process to understand.

## Notes

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1. "Joseph Joachim (1831–1907): Europäischer Bürger, Komponist, Virtuose," in *Anklänge* 2008, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, ed. Michele Calella and Christian Glanz (Vienna: Mille Tre Verlag, 2008).
2. Beatrix Borchard and Heidy Zimmermann, eds., *Musikwelten–Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2009). This volume arose out of Borchard's conference, "Lebenswelten/Musikwelten: Die Rolle der Musik im jüdischen Akkulturationsprozess," at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg, on the occasion of the centenary of Joachim's death, 8–11 November 2007.
3. "Die Geschichte des Jazz oder die der Rockmusik im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert zeigen, daß Musik wie der Sport nach wie vor gerade Menschen aus unterprivilegierten Bevölkerungsgruppen eine soziale Aufstiegsmöglichkeit bietet." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 31. If not otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.
4. Beatrix Borchard, *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim. Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), 79.
5. No one has yet produced birth records to verify Joachim's birth date. Though "28. Juni 1831" is engraved on Joachim's birth house and tombstone, it is not clear where that date comes from. Borchard notes: "Nach Joachims eigener Angabe erfuhr er erst 1854, dass er am 28. Juni 1831 geboren war. Bis dahin feierte er am 15. Juli sein Geburtstag. Auch 24. Juli stand zur Debatte." (According to Joachim's own statement, he first learned in 1854 that he had been born on 28 June 1831. Until then, he had celebrated his birthday on 15 July; 24 July was also a date in question.) Beatrix Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," in *Anklänge* 2008, 17. This is confirmed in official documents: On 9 November 1850, for example, Liszt's new concertmaster was inscribed in Weimar's residential record as "the son of a merchant in Pest," born in July 1830. Joachim's boyhood friend Edmund (Ödön) Singer (b. 14 October 1831, Totis, Hungary, d. 1912), also calls Joachim's birth year into question: "Alle Nachschlagwerke gaben das Jahr 1831 als das Geburtsjahr sowohl Joachims wie meiner Wenigkeit an. . . . Joachim selbst fragte mich eines Tages: 'Wie kommt es, daß wir überall als im gleichen Jahre geboren angeführt werden? Ich bin doch mindestens ein Jahr älter als du!'—Ich selbst habe nach vielen Jahren endlich mein glorreiches

Geburtsjahr festgestellt, während Joachim das falsche Datum ruhig weiter gehen ließ." (All reference works gave the year 1831 as the birth year of Joachim and my humble self. . . . Joachim himself asked me one day: "How does it happen that we are always mentioned as having been born in the same year? I am at least a year older than you!"—I, myself, finally established my glorious birth year after many years, while Joachim tacitly allowed the wrong date to persist.) Edmund Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* (Stuttgart) 32, no. 1 (1911): 8.

6. "Heute hängt am Haus eine deutschsprachige Tafel. Sie war 1931 anlässlich des 100. Geburtstages von Joseph Joachim angebracht worden. Das Haus zeigt bescheidenen bürgerlichen Wohlstand inmitten einer bäuerlichen Umgebung. Tatsächlich soll Joachim jedoch nicht hier geboren worden sein, sondern in einem winzigen, unauffälligen Gebäude schräg gegenüber. Dorfbewohner haben angeblich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg die heruntergestürzte Tafel an das repräsentativste Haus des Orts gehängt, weil es als Geburtshaus eines bedeutenden Künstlers passender erschien." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 18.

7. Prior to 1867, Hungarian Jews were forbidden to own real property or to claim the rights of Hungarian citizenship. In the eyes of the law, they remained a *corpus separatum*; ethnically, religiously, politically, and culturally they existed largely as a people apart—a nation without a country—tenants without permanent status, their presence tolerated in proportion to their ability to make themselves useful. Like most European Jews, they were subject to comprehensive and meticulous restrictions on their numbers, practice of profession, and other aspects of their daily lives. The rights and restrictions under which they lived were spelled out in *Schutzbrieife*, which had to be renewed at regular intervals, or upon the death of the ruler or a change of regime. Despite such restrictions, the members of the *Kehilla* (Jewish community) were granted an exceptional degree of religious and civil autonomy in exchange for upholding the terms of their contract with the sovereign. As a community of faith, the *Kehilla* had control over religious observance and education. As a civil authority, it was responsible for the collection of taxes and protection fees as well as the maintenance of law and order. Many functions of the *Kehilla*, such as care for the sick, relief of the poor, and burial of the dead, were both religious and civil in nature. In the *Sheva Kehillot*, community members were subject to the judgments of their own rabbinical courts, which settled cases according to *halakah*, the traditional Jewish law.

8. Hungarian: Németh-Keresztur, Kis-Martón, Boldogasszony, Köpcsény, Kábold, Lakompak, and Nagy Marton, respectively. Before 1924, Mattersburg was called Mattersdorf.

9. Jewish populations were first mentioned in Eisenstadt in 1373, Mattersdorf (Mattersburg) in 1453, Lackenbach in 1496, Kobersdorf in 1526, Deutschkreutz in 1560, and Kittsee in 1659, shortly before Leopold's 24 April 1671 expulsion order. Milka Zalmon, *Der Weg der vertriebenen Juden*, [http://www.misrachi.at/judentum/geschichte\\_kehillot\\_17.php](http://www.misrachi.at/judentum/geschichte_kehillot_17.php).

10. Johannes Reiss, ed., *Aus den Sieben Gemeinden: Ein Lesebuch über Juden im Burgenland* (Eisenstadt: Österreichisches Jüdisches Museum, 1997), 11.

11. The Kittsee community received its privilege on 1 January 1692. Zalmon, *Der Weg der vertriebenen Juden*.



12. A contemporary account claims that Kittsee was “wo die reichsten Juden nebst einigen Großhändlern sich befinden” (where one finds the richest Jews together with a few wholesalers). Johann v. Csaplovics, ed., *Topographisch-statistisches Archiv des Königreichs Ungern*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Anton Doll, 1821), 201. The Hungarian Jewish Lexicon (1929) describes the Kittsee Kehilla as “prestigious” (*tekintélyes*). In her “Familienerinnerungen,” Hermine Wittgenstein writes: “Von den Vorfahren der Familie Figdor, die in Kittsee in Ungarn lebten, weiß ich auch, daß einige von ihnen als Subskribenten für ein geschichtliches Werk in hebräischer Sprache aufscheinen, daß also geistige Interessen überhaupt in der Familie heimisch waren.” (Of the ancestors of the Figdor family, who lived in Kittsee in Hungary, I also know that several of them appear as subscribers to a historical work in the Hebrew language; in other words, that intellectual interests were indeed indigenous to the family.) Hermine Wittgenstein, “Familienerinnerungen,” unpublished typescript, 1944, 4; quoted with kind permission from the Wittgenstein Archive, Cambridge, UK.

13. Joseph’s maternal grandparents were Isaac (Israel, Isak, Isac) Figdor (Vigdor, Victor) (1768–9 October 1850), *k.k. priv. Großhändler*, and Anna Jafé–Schlesinger Figdor (d. 12 April 1833). Isaac and Anna had eight children. Patricia Hollington, “Julius and Fanny Joachim and Their Remarkable Family,” unpubl. typescript (Elizabeth Vale, 2006), 24. Records of the Währinger Friedhof, Vienna. Burial registries can be accessed via [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). In the 1801 census, Israel (Isaac), David, and Nattan Vigdor were enrolled in Kittsee as the sons of Jakob Vigdor. Hungarian census records from 1808 show Isaak Victor living in Kittsee with his wife, four sons, three daughters, and a servant. In 1817, Isak Victor was living in Kittsee with his wife and four sons. In the same census, he is listed as “a merchant together with Nathan Victor, David Victor and Mendl Strasser.” JewishGen Hungary Database, [http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=mendl&gsln=strasser&uidh=fj6&pcat=ROOT\\_CATEGORY&h=27854&recoff=8+9&db=JG\\_HungaryOtherCen&indiv=1](http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=mendl&gsln=strasser&uidh=fj6&pcat=ROOT_CATEGORY&h=27854&recoff=8+9&db=JG_HungaryOtherCen&indiv=1). Isak Figdor appears for the first time on the list of Vienna’s Jewish families in 1823. This list was not published every year. A. F. Pribam, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien, Erste Abteilung, Allgemeiner Teil 1526–1847* (1849), 2 vols. (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1918), 2:419.

14. Isaac Figdor’s father, Jakob, a magistrate in the Kittsee community, resided in Vienna as early as 1793. Isaac’s mother, Regine Sinzheimer, was the granddaughter of Isaac Sinzheim (ca. 1692–1734), who in turn was the brother of the famous Löb (Loew) Sinzheim, the principal Court Jew in Vienna and, in 1730, the chief creditor of the Habsburgs. Between 1703 and 1739, Sinzheim lent the Austrian government more than ten million florins. Löb Sinzheim died without issue, and bequeathed his estate to his brother Abraham. E-mail to author from E. Randol Schoenberg; *Hungarian Jewish Lexicon* (1929) entry: *Figdor-Kittsee*, <http://mek.oszk.hu/04000/04093/pdf/f.pdf>; and Max Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer und sein Kreis* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1913), 168, 211. In 1830, Isaac Figdor & Söhne, Großhändler, donated the large sum of 150 florins to aid the victims of the flood in Vienna. Franz Sartori, *Wiens Tage der Gefahr und die Retter aus der Noth: Eine authentische Beschreibung der unerhörten Ueberschwemmung Wiens* (Wien: C. Gerold, 1830), 98.

15. 1821 census, p. 201, JewishGen records, reference MOL, DJ(C55)-1821-F1-No. 281. <http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&ms>



T=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=julius&gsln=joachim&uidh=fj6&pcat=ROOT\_CATEGORY&h=27787&recoff=7+8&db=JG\_HungaryOtherCen&indiv=1.

16. The siblings were Friedrich (1812–28 November 1882, m. Regina Just, d. 27 December 1883), Josephine (1816–83, m. Thali Ronay), Julie (b. 1821, m. Joseph Singer), Heinrich (1825–97, m. Ellen Margaret Smart, 1844–1925), Regina (ca. 1827–62, m. William Österreicher, m. 2. Wilhelm Joachim), Johanna (1829–83, m. Lajos György Arányi, 1812–77), and Joseph (1831–1907, m. Amalie Marie Schneeweiss). An 1898 interview with Joachim (*Musical Times*, 1 April 1898, 225) claims that Joachim was “the youngest of seven children.” In his authorized biography, however, Moser claims that Joseph was “the seventh of Julius and Fanny Joachim’s eight children.” The name and fate of the eighth and last sibling is unknown. Hungarian census records for 1830/31 (Köpcsény, p. 249, record 73) list Julius Joachim (household 73) as having a wife, three sons (18 years or younger) and four daughters (18 years or younger). In the 1848 census, household 73, presumably the house currently at 7 Joseph Joachim Platz, was occupied by Henrik Figdor, 54, and his wife Juli, 50. [http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=henrik+&gsln=figdor&uidh=fj6&pcat=ROOT\\_CATEGORY&h=28535&recoff=6+7&db=JG\\_C1848L&indiv=1](http://search.ancestrylibrary.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsfn=henrik+&gsln=figdor&uidh=fj6&pcat=ROOT_CATEGORY&h=28535&recoff=6+7&db=JG_C1848L&indiv=1).

17. Figdor wool was given the Prize Medal (first place) at the 1851 British Exhibition as “the finest and most legitimate specimen in the whole Exhibition . . . whilst opinions were unanimous as to the superior character of the wools, generally, from Austrian Silesia and Hungary.” *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851. Reports by the Juries . . . etc.* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1851), 158. In 1839, “Philipp Strasser, und Adolph Heksch, Kaufleute in Pesth, through their representatives I. Figdor und Söhne, wholesalers in Vienna (Leopoldstadt, No. 537)” were granted a patent “for the invention of a benign method of washing all kinds of wool, such that the wool not only acquires a clean, bright white appearance, but also a softness and suppleness, by which the value of the wool is considerably increased.” *Jahrbücher des kaiserlichen königlichen polytechnischen Institutes in Wien*, ed. Johann Joseph Prechtel (Vienna: Carl Gerold, 1839), 416.

18. Julius Friedrich Joachim was born in 1790 and died in 1865. His wife, Fanny Franziska Figdor, was born in Kittsee in 1790 and died in Vienna 27 June 1867.

19. The Esterházy family maintained substantial flocks in Kittsee. Adam Liszt, the pianist’s father, was from the area, and had lived as a child in Kittsee (several of Adam Liszt’s siblings were born there, including a brother named Franz). At the time of Franz Liszt’s birth, Adam was employed as intendant of the Esterházy sheepfolds (Ovium Rationista Principis Esterházy) in the nearby town of Raiding.

20. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, England had been importing wool from Spain to feed the insatiable maw of its ever-expanding mills. Austrian and Hungarian merchants were quick to set up an effective competition with their Spanish rivals, however, and by the second quarter of the nineteenth century they were providing fully two-thirds of England’s wool imports. Austrian taxes on most Hungarian exports were punitive, arising out of a conflict between the government in Vienna and the Hungarian nobles, who refused to give up their personal tax-exempt status.

21. The original breed of Hungarian sheep was the *Zackelschaf* (*Ovis strepsiceros*), with long, upright spiral horns and shaggy, coarse wool. In the early nineteenth century, the

improvement of breeding stock was a major concern of the Hungarian nobility on their feudal demesnes. The Esterházy flocks alone numbered more than fifty thousand head. Until the early eighteenth century, the export of merino sheep from Spain had been a crime punishable by death. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Spanish sheep were sought for breeding stock throughout Europe, particularly in the German lands, because of the fine quality and great quantity of their wool.

22. A leading Spinoza scholar, Harold Henry Joachim, is remembered today for *A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza* (1901), *The Nature of Truth* (1906), and for his translations of Aristotle's *De lineis insecabilibus* and *De generatione et corruptione*. Harold Joachim was a talented amateur violinist and an eminent intellectual, educated at Harrow School and Balliol College, Oxford.

23. Joachim grew up in the same household as the industrialist Karl Wittgenstein, the Austrian Carnegie, father of the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and the pianist Paul Wittgenstein.

24. Vienna, 2 December 1844. Quoted by kind permission of British Library, Joachim Correspondence, bequest of Agnes Keep, Add. MS 42718.

25. Though Joseph's violin career did not necessarily represent a means of social or economic advancement for the family, they had a natural pride in his achievements. This pride extended to the German Jewish community generally, so that by 1840 one could read (in a Leipzig Jewish periodical) in an article about "Accomplishments of the Israelites" in Pest: "Allgemeine Bewunderung erregt der junge, achtjährige Joachim in Pesth, welcher bedeutend auf der Violine zu werden verspricht." (General admiration was aroused by the eight-year-old Joachim in Pest, who promises to become an important violinist.) In *Der Orient: Berichte, Studien und Kritiken für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 1 (4 January 1840; Leipzig): 8.

26. This was especially true in England. On a long walk through Hyde Park, Joachim asked Thomas Carlyle if he knew Sterndale Bennett. "No," replied Carlyle—(pause)—"I don't care generally for musicians. They are an empty, *windbaggy* sort of people." "This was not very complimentary to me," Dr. Joachim laughingly said." *Musical Times* 48, no. 775 (1 September 1907): 577. Donald Francis Tovey relates: "My father was for a long time convinced that no musician but a Church organist could have any social status at all. He was enlightened by a visit to Eton of Joachim, whose ambassadorial presence, perfect command of English and obviously profound general culture completely changed his ideas of what a musician might be. He never forgot how when Joachim was told of my progress in Latin and Euclid he asked, 'And does he know it *gründlich* [thoroughly]?' " Mary Grierson, *Donald Francis Tovey: A Biography Based on Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 4–5.

27. That is, having right of temporary residence.

28. "Als Joachim zwei Jahre alt war, zog die Familie in die ungarische Hauptstadt, so berichtet Moser, als sei ein Umzug selbstverständlicher Teil des Lebens. Juden waren jedoch an ihren Geburtsort gebunden. Nur dort hatten sie—wenn überhaupt—Niederlassungs- und Wohnrecht. Die Familie Joachim gehörte in Pest zunächst zu den 'weder tolerirt noch commorirten Israeliten.' Da der Schwiegervater Isac Victor aber 'comorirte Jude' war, durfte sich Julius Joachim mit seiner Familie als 'Productenhändler' am Rande des Pester Judenviertels Theresienstadt niederlassen.

Diese Duldung konnte jedoch jederzeit widerrufen werden." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 18.

29. Howard Lupovitch, *Beyond the Walls: The Beginnings of Pest Jewry*, Austrian History Yearbook 36 (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 41.

30. In the same period, the total population of Pest increased from just under thirty thousand to more than seventy thousand. The Jewish population of Budapest continued to grow apace. By 1920, Budapest was home to more than two hundred thousand Jews—nearly a quarter of the population of the city that Vienna's mayor Karl Lueger famously called "Judapest."

31. Data from Peter I. Hidas, <http://www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/Jews.html>. The *Jewish Encyclopedia* gives the number of Jewish families as 1,346.

32. For a complete discussion of this immigration, see Lupovitch, *Beyond the Walls*. Counting the *Commoranten* who stayed in Budapest permanently, Lupovitch claims that in 1830 "nearly 80 percent resided illegally."

33. Upon moving to Budapest, he was listed in the "Deduction der Fremden, weder tolirirt noch commorirten Israeliten, welche aber Schwiegersöhne derselben sind" (list of aliens, who are neither tolerated nor *commorirt*, but who are the sons-in-law of those who are). Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 51.

34. Hidas, <http://www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/Jews.html>.

35. The building was on the corner of the Landstrasse (today Károly körút) and the König-von-Engellandgasse (Angliai Király utca).

36. Spiritus asper and Spiritus lenis (pseud. Friedrich Korn), *Panorama von Ofen und Pesth, oder Charakter- und Sittengemälde der beiden Hauptstädte Ungarns* (Leipzig: Hartmann, 1833), n198; Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Komoróczy, Viktória Pusztai, and Andrea Strbik, *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 71ff.

37. Spiritus asper, *Panorama von Ofen und Pesth*, 145 ff.

38. To obtain a license as a *Großhändler* in Pest, one needed property worth thirty thousand forints. As a *Productenhändler*, Julius Joachim would have needed property worth at least ten thousand forints. Since there were few banks in Hungary at the time, the *Großhändler* also took on the role of banker. A contemporary account by Baron Frigyes Podmaniczky (1824–1907) mentions a Figdor, possibly Isaac, in this regard: "Figdor war der Großhändler, als mein Vater noch lebte, der regelmäßig von uns die Schaffwolke kaufte und die Rolle des Hausbankiers auf sich nahm. Ich hatte in den letzten Zeiten die Gelegenheit gehabt, ihn näher kennenzulernen und eins kann ich doch sagen: er war der ehrlichste und anständigste Mensch, den ich je kannte." (While my father was still alive, Figdor was the wholesaler who regularly bought wool from us, and took upon himself the role of the house banker. In later times, I had the opportunity to come to know him better, and I can say this: he was the most honorable and decent man that I have ever known.) Frigyes Podmaniczky, *Memoiren eines alten Kavaliers: Eine Auswahl aus den Tagebuchfragmenten 1824–1844*, ed. Ferenc Tibor Tóth. Manuscript available at <http://mek.niif.hu/00900/00957/index.phtml>, 133.



39. Richard Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary; With Some Remarks on the State of Vienna during the Congress, in the Year 1814* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1818), 223.

40. Data from Hidas, <http://www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/Jews.html>. Hidas's speculation that Kadisch Joachim was Julius Joachim's son is not correct and reverses the order of Joachim Kadisch's name.

41. Elliot Forbes, ed., *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), 256. Beethoven returned in February 1812 for the opening of the Municipal Theatre (Városi Színház) in Pest, having written incidental music for Kotzebue's dramatic prologue and epilogue on subjects from Hungarian history—*King Stephen* and *The Ruins of Athens*—with which the new house was to be inaugurated. The Pest Opera, with its excellent orchestra (mostly Bohemian musicians), fine soloists, and mediocre chorus continued to present a series of contemporary opera productions, including works by Weber, Rossini, Auber, Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, and Marschner, until the Municipal Theatre burned in 1847.

42. Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 77.

43. Otto Gumprecht, *Musikalische Charakterbilder* (Leipzig: H. Haessel, 1876), 261; "Joseph Joachim," *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 39, no. 662 (1 April 1898): 225.

44. Lord Redesdale, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., *Memories*, 2 vols. (New York: E. Dutton & Co., n.d.), 659. This story, also found in Moser, is related by Lord Redesdale, in a somewhat inaccurate way as regards place: Kittsee. By then the family had moved to Pesth. The story of the toy fiddle is also found in Gumprecht, *Musikalische Charakterbilder*, 261. In each source, the story probably stems from Joachim himself, though the similarity of this account to that of any number of other nineteenth-century musician biographies must lead us to take it *cum grano salis*.

45. "Minder bekannt ist, daß er im alten Pest zwei Lehrer hatte, den alten Ellinger, der vor wenigen Jahren starb, und einen der besten Geiger jener Zeit, Szervaszinsky. Bei Ellinger erging es dem kleinen Joachim ungefähr so, wie später in Wien bei Hellmesberger sen., der den halbwüchsigen Jungen wegen Unbrauchbarkeit der rechten Hand aus der Schule entließ. Wie Ellinger über seinen Schüler dachte, erhellt am besten aus einer Anekdote, die in unseren Musikkreisen noch heute fortlebt. Zwei Knaben genossen in einer und derselben Stunde Ellinger's Unterricht: Josef Joachim und Karl M., nachmals ein sehr geschätzter volkswirtschaftlicher Schriftsteller. Der Professor wurde nicht müde, Joachim immerfort auf das Talent seines Unterrichtsgenossen zu verweisen, diesen als nachahmenswerthes Muster zu preisen, dem kleinen Josef aber jede Zukunft abzusprechen. Welche Prophetengabe in dem sonst ausgezeichneten Lehrer steckte, wurde schon ein Jahr später offenbar, als Joachim, der inzwischen bei Szervaszinsky überraschende Fortschritte gemacht hatte, im März 1839 öffentlich auftrat und in Gemeinschaft mit seinem Lehrer ein Konzert von Eck unter beispiellosem Jubel spielte." (It is less well known that he had two teachers in old Pest: the old Ellinger, who died a few years ago, and one of the best violinists of that time, Szervaszinsky. With Ellinger he fared approximately the same as later in Vienna with Hellmesberger senior, who dismissed the adolescent boy from his school, on account of his unserviceable right hand. What Ellinger thought of his pupil can best be learned from an anecdote that lives on in our musical circles. Two boys had their lessons with



Ellinger in one and the same hour: Josef Joachim, and Karl M., later a highly esteemed writer on political economy. The professor never tired of admonishing Joachim, pointing to his fellow student as a model to be emulated, while at the same time denying that young Josef had any future. What powers of prediction the otherwise excellent teacher possessed became apparent already one year later, when Joachim, who in the meantime had made surprising progress with Szervaszinsky, appeared in public in March 1839, playing a concerto by Eck, together with his teacher, to unparalleled jubilation.) *Pester Lloyd*, 16 August 1907, 3. This is a unique account, and cannot therefore be asserted with certainty; nevertheless, as a little-known—or unknown—fact, it rings true. Ellinger was the first teacher of two other distinguished violinists, both of them Joachim's friends and contemporaries: Edmund (Ödön) Singer (1831–1912) and Jakob Grün (1837–1916). The Singers and Joachims were acquainted, and "Pepi" Joachim and "Mundi" Singer were boyhood friends. The account erroneously describes Joachim's father as "a poor Kittsee schoolteacher," which undermines its authority. Nevertheless, Joachim's fellow student is named, if not identified, and the article purports to be by one of Joachim's former students. Stanisław Serwaczyński is generally credited with being Joachim's first formal teacher, though a family friend named Stieglitz, or Stiegnitz, introduced him to the instrument.

46. "Ein jüdisches Kind aus einfachen Verhältnissen wird hier als Adeliger porträtiert. Ein kleiner Prinz mit blonden Locken in einem himmelblauen, mit Perlmutterknöpfen besetzten Rock, auf den Joachim sehr stolz war." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 20.

47. A nineteenth-century German or Hungarian "casino" was the equivalent of a London club. Széchenyi's National Casino had been inaugurated on St. Stephen's Day, 1827, as a venue for social gathering, entertainment, and the discussion of public issues among the leaders of Hungarian society. Its building, occupying an entire block along the quay, was the Lloyd Palace, originally built as the "Merchants' House" by the Bourgeois Trade Corporation of Pest, and still housing the mercantile exchange on the third floor. As such, Joseph's father would have been a regular visitor to the building, though not to the club. Although the Nemzeti Casino was also called the Adelskasino, the club was in principle also open to a limited class of non-nobles who could afford to pay the rather steep dues.

48. See also "Geigen-Spiel-Kunst; Joseph Joachim und der 'Wahre' Fortschritt," *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 69, no. 2 (2007): 66ff.

49. Brunsvik, the dedicatee of Beethoven's *Appassionata* Sonata, op. 57, had been among the earliest performers of Beethoven's string quartets. Beethoven was also particularly close to the count's sister, Therese, to whom he dedicated his op. 78 sonata, and who has been proposed at various times as a candidate for the composer's mysterious "Immortal Beloved."

50. (Sződónia) Justh Brunsvik (1800–66). According to Anton Schindler, Sidonie was the best female Beethoven interpreter of her time after Dorothea von Ertmann.

51. After Ignaz Schuppanzig's death, Jansa went to Vienna to take over the first violin chair in Schuppanzigh's quartet and another professional violinist, János Mihály Taborszky, was retained to fill out the Brunsvik family trio. Mária Hornyák, "Ferenc Brunsvik, ein Freund von Beethoven," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32, no. 1 (1990): 230.

52. Among the regular auditors was the respected composer Robert Volkmann. "I . . . experienced beautiful musical pleasures at Count Brunsvik's, where string quartets, quintets, duos and piano trios were played very artistically," he wrote in 1841. "The count . . . plays cello very well, and his wife is an outstanding pianist, who plays with great brilliance, power and spirit. Her interpretation of various composers, Beethoven, Hummel, Chopin is exceptional." Quoted in Hornyák, *Ferenc Brunszvik*, 231.

53. According to Mária Hornyák, the Brunsviks played "above all works of the Viennese classic composers: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Carl Czerny, Hummel and Spohr. But they also liked to play works by Cherubini, Onslow, Bernard and Andreas Romberg, and, among the Romantics they liked primarily Chopin and Mendelssohn." The Brunsviks' music library, consisting of 560 pieces—solo, chamber music, orchestral and operatic works—was taken over by the Musikhochschule Franz Liszt in 1937–38. See Hornyák, *Ferenc Brunszvik*; and also Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, 1:10.

54. Andreas Moser, *Geschichte des Violinspiels: Zweite verbesserte und ergänzte Auflage von Hans-Joachim Nösselt*, 2 vols. (Tutzing: Schneider, 1967), 245.

55. Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, 1:10.

56. "In der Joachim-Biographie von Andreas Moser, eine Art verkappte Autobiographie des Geigers, tritt ohne weiteren Kommentar nach dem ersten Konzert die Großfamilie in Gestalt der Cousine Fanny Figdor in Erscheinung. Sie überredete die Eltern, nach dem erfolgreichen Debüt das Kind zur weiteren Ausbildung nach Wien zu schicken. Den erhaltenen Akten zufolge waren Joachims Eltern nicht wohlhabend, während die mütterlichen Verwandten zu den reichsten Familien in Pest [*sic*] gehörten. Es lag also nahe, dass angesichts eines förderungswürdigen Talentes dieser Teil der Familie die Finanzierung der Ausbildung übernahm und damit über Joachims weitere Zukunft entschied. Wollhändler oder Virtuose, das war die berufliche Alternative, die die Ausgangssituation des jungen Joachim kennzeichnete. Fanny Figdor nahm ihn mit nach Wien, wo er zunächst im Hause des Großvaters wohnte." Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 20–21.

57. It was Julius Joachim, after all, who decided to send his son to Leipzig, against the wishes of Joseph's Figdor uncles.

58. Friedrich Witthauer, ed., *Album, unter Mitwirkung vaterländischer Schriftsteller zum Besten der Verunglückten in Pesth und Ofen* (Vienna: Anton Strauß's sel. Witwe, 1838), viii–ix.

59. "In allen Gesichtern malte sich das Entsetzen. . . . Stumm schlichen die Menschen in den noch trockenen Theilen der Stadt umher, das Nahmenlose zu schauen.—Die schönsten Straßen, wo sonst die frohe Menge lustwandelte, wo der betriebsame Kauf- und Gewerbsmann seinen Geschäften oblag, glichen einem trüben See. . . . Herzdurchbohrend war es zu sehen, welche Blicke der brave rechtliche Kaufmann auf das Grab seines Eigenthums richtete. Alle Magazine an der Donau, alle Gewölbe in der Waitzner-, Schlangen-, Bruck- und Dorotheer-Straße, bargen enorme Schätze an Waaren, die nun alle von der Fluth umspielt und vernichtet waren.—Niemand wußte wie groß sein Verlust sey, denn alles Denken auf Widerstand gegen die Wogen, jeder Versuch in irgend ein Magazin oder Gewölb zu gelangen war vergebens." Anton Benkert, ed., *Wuth des Elements und Milde des Menschenherzens: Erinnerungsbuch an die verheerende Ueberschwemmung der Städte Pesth und Ofen im Monate März des Jahres 1838* (Pesth: Ludwig Landerer Edlen von Fűskút, 1838), 13.

60. Miss [Julia] Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar, or Hungary and Her Institutions in 1839–40* (London: George Virtue, 1840), 2:24.

61. "Kurz alles was Industrie und Kunstfleiß in der blühenden Handelsstadt Pesth, als dem Hauptstappelpfad für ganz Ungarn und den Orient aufgelagert hatte, war von Schlamm und Koth umgeben, und das Meiste ganz zerstört worden; man muß selbst in den Magazinen beim Eröffnen derselben gewesen sein, um das Unglaubliche einer so beispiellosen Zerstörung zu begreifen" Benkert, *Wuth des Elements und Milde des Menschenherzens*, 28–29.

62. "Mein Vater verließ mit seiner Familie das von ihm bewohnte Haus in einem großen Backtroge. Und war denn auch so glücklich, in ihm den höher gelegenen Marktplatz zu erreichen, wo die Nacht im Freien verbracht werden mußte. . . . Nach der höchst ungemütlich auf dem Marktplatz verbrachten Nacht wurde ein großer Kahn gemietet und die Fahrt über die Donau nach Ofen [Buda] angetreten, eine Fahrt, die wegen des starken Eisgangs nicht ungefährlich war, so daß man erleichtert aufatmete, als man endlich halb erstarrt in Ofen landen konnte. Hier fügte ein glücklicher Zufall es, daß die befreundeten Familien *Joachim* und *Singer* in einem und demselben Hause Unterkunft fanden und die beiden fast gleichalterigen Knaben *Joseph* und *Edmund* von demselben Hauslehrer in der schweren Kunst des Lesens, Schreibens und Rechnens unterwiesen werden konnten." Edmund Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," *Neue Musik-Zeitung* (Stuttgart) 32, no. 1 (1911): 8.

63. Fanny Christiane Figdor (b. 7 April 1814 in Kittsee–d. 21 October 1890 in Hietzing/Vienna) the daughter of Fanny Joachim's brother, Wilhem Figdor. Like his father, Wilhelm Figdor was a successful wool merchant whose network of business interests and family connections encompassed many of the capitals of Europe. Poet and playwright Franz Grillparzer was a family friend, as were Bauernfeld and Castelli. After enjoying good port wine with Wilhelm's family in Islington, England, on 2 June 1836, Grillparzer noted in his diary that Fanny was "Scheinbar ein höchst liebenswürdiges Frauenzimmer" (appeared to be a most amiable young woman). In *Grillparzer's Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1872), 10:393. In 1839, Fanny married Hermann Christian Wittgenstein (b. 12 September 1802 in Korbach–d. 19 May 1878 in Vienna). Together they had eleven children, among them the prominent Austrian industrialist Karl Wittgenstein (1847–1913), father of pianist Paul Wittgenstein (1887–1961) and philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951).

64. Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," 8. This would seem to contradict Borchard's claim: "Den teuren Privatunterricht bezahlte vermutlich die Familie Wittgenstein." (The expensive private tuition was presumably paid for by the Wittgenstein family.) Borchard, "Als Geiger bin ich Deutscher, als Komponist Ungar," 24. This support included providing Joseph with fine instruments, among them a Guarneri del Gesù and a Stradivari.

65. Fanny's mother was Amalie Veith Figdor (1789–1863). Pribam, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden*, 542; Hollington, *Julius and Fanny Joachim and Their Remarkable Family*, 26.

66. "Wilhelm Figdor und sein Sohn Gustav . . . lebten in Wien als angesehene, ansässige Großhändler (ein vom Fürsten Metternich eigenhändig unterzeichnetes Empfehlungsschreiben für Wilhelm F. spricht für dessen Angesehenheit). . . . Sie waren



Juden, fühlten sich aber, wie man das damals konnte, als Österreicher und wurden auch von Anderen als solche betrachtet." Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," 3.

67. "Laut Kundmachung vom 11. December 1841 für das Jahr 1842." *Hof- und Staats-schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* (Vienna: k. k. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey, 1842), 639. In her "Familienerinnerungen," Hermine Wittgenstein writes: "Wilhelm Figdor, der das Bürgerrecht der Stadt Wien erhielt, war durch viele Jahre Finanzberater der Gemeinde Wien." (Wilhelm Figdor, who received the right of citizenship in the city of Vienna, was for many years the financial advisor of the Viennese community.) She quotes his obituary: "In den Wiener Gemeinderat wurde Wilhelm Figdor 1861 gewählt und er gehörte demselben bis 1876 ununterbrochen an. Die großen Geschäfte, welche er als Chef seines Hauses durchführte, gaben ihm insbesondere in finanziellen Angelegenheiten eine solche Fülle von großen Gesichtspunkten, daß er dieselben auch in Beziehung auf die finanziellen Fragen der Kommune durch lange Jahre in trefflicher Weise verwertete. Sein Votum in Finanzfragen war daher in den meisten Fällen von entscheidender Bedeutung und er hat sich in dieser Beziehung sehr große Verdienste um die Kommune erworben." (Wilhelm Figdor was elected in 1861 to the Vienna city council, and he served continuously until 1876. The large commercial transactions he carried out as head of his company gave him, especially in financial matters, such an abundance of great viewpoints, that for many years he was also able to make excellent use of them regarding the financial concerns of the municipality. Therefore his vote in matters of finance was in most cases of decisive impact, and in this connection he was accorded high regard around the town.) Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," 4.

68. Wittgenstein, "Familienerinnerungen," 3.

69. "Mein lieber guter Joseph! Um dir zu zeigen wie sehr mir um unserer Correspondenz gelegen ist, mache ich gegen alle Kleiderordnung den Anfang, u. sage dir, daß ich während unserer sehr angenehmen Rückreise sehr oft an dich gedacht habe. Mögest du nur all die schönen Erwartungen erfüllen, zu denen mich die allzu kurze Bekanntschaft mit dir berechtigt hat! An deinem Willen hoffe ich wird es nicht fehlen, u. der gute Wille ist schon die halbe Kraft. Schreibe mir ja recht bald, aber nicht als kleiner Knabe der sich erst einen Aufsatz macht u. ihn dann mühsam aufschreibt, sondern denke dabei wie wenn du Samstag Violine spielst, du seist 18 Jahre alt. Was angenehmer oder unangenehmer auf dich einwirkt das theile mir ungezwungen u. offen mit. u. se[h]r überzeugt, daß es mich interessiert u. in mir Anklang findet. Du wirst dadurch deinen Styl u. deine Gedanken ordnen u. damit ungemein erfreuen deine dich herzlich liebende Fanny. Empfehle mich bestens deinem Musikmeister." Quoted by permission of British Library, Joachim Correspondence, bequest of Agnes Keep, Add. MS 42718, 193.

70. Borchard's biography implies that by living with the Böhms in Vienna, Joachim made a more or less clean break with his Jewish life. This is almost certainly not the case, as Joachim continued to have frequent contact with his family, and to live with them during various months of the year. Borchard's account also fails to mention the important contributions of influential Jewish tastemakers such as Ludwig August Frankl and Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (who were also family friends) to this early Viennese phase of Joachim's career. Frankl's *Sonntagsblätter* followed young Joseph's artistic growth with interest and sympathy, and Saphir not only wrote favorable reviews in his journal *Der Humorist* but engaged Joseph to play in his benefit entertainments alongside the most



eminent talents from the Imperial Opera and Burgtheater. For example, he performed at the academy in Baden bei Wien on 7 August 1843 for the benefit of the victims of a wasting fire in the Galician town of Rzeszów.

71. "Bis heute führt die Verbindungsstraße Bahnhof-Thielenplatz den Namen des Juden *Joachim*, ehemaliger Konzertmeister am hiesigen Theater. Es wäre sehr erwünscht, dieser Straße eine andere Bezeichnung zu geben. Grund 1. Jude." The letter is contained in Joseph Joachim's personnel file in the Hannover Theatermuseum and is quoted by kind permission.

72. "Hier soll im folgenden nicht die Frage diskutiert werden ob es überhaupt so etwas wie eine Identität, geschweige denn eine jüdische Identität gibt oder ob wir von wechselnden, zeitlich bedingten und je nach sozialem Kontext sich wandelnden Identitäten ausgehen müssen. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang dient der Begriff der Identität heuristischen Zwecken." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 31.

73. Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, 213.

74. "Joachim ist . . . ein Ungar genau wie Liszt, welcher gleichfalls außer 'Eljen' kein Wort ungarisch verstand. . . . Was sich in Joachims Compositionen an magyarischen Anklängen findet, ist gerade wie bei Liszt, nicht sowohl unvertilgbarer Jugendeindruck, als vielmehr späterer, mit künstlerischem Bewußtsein nachgeholter Erwerb." (Joachim is . . . a Hungarian exactly like Liszt, who likewise understands not a word of Hungarian except 'Eljen.' . . . Just as in Liszt, the Magyar echoes in Joachim's compositions are not so much indelible impressions of youth as a later acquisition, recovered with artistic awareness.) Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches und Litterarisches: Kritiken und Schilderungen*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Litteratur [sic], 1890), 161. As Borchard points out, Jews from Joachim's native region were required by law to speak German.

75. Joachim converted to the Lutheran faith in May 1855.

76. Not to mention a significant third identity as a Victorian English gentleman, practically ignored by his German biographers, or a fourth as a Hungarian. The story of Joachim's life in England has yet to be written.

77. "durch und durch Deutscher, vom Kerne aus in die kleinsten Aeüßerlichkeiten." Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalisches und Litterarisches*, 161.

78. "Ich bin in meinem viel bewegten Leben keinem Manne jüdischer Abkunft begegnet, der in Haltung, Benehmen und Sprache, in künstlerischem und moralischem Charakter so ganz christlich, im besten Sinne des Wortes, erschien; ich möchte fast sagen, selbst Joachims Fehler und Schwächen sind christlicher, nicht jüdischer Art." Heinrich Ehrlich, *Dreissig Jahre Künstlerleben* (Berlin: Hugo Steinitz, 1893), 154.

79. Paul Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 4–5, 16.

80. Marjorie Perloff, "German by the Grace of Goethe," *Common Knowledge* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 367–68. She quotes from Paul Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity*, 16.

81. Johannes Joachim and Andreas Moser, eds., *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1911–13), 3:482. The unusual orthography is Joachim's own.

82. Notwithstanding Borchard's assertion: "In privaten Korrespondenzen stößt man immer wieder auf gegen ihn gerichtete antisemitische Bemerkungen." (In private correspondence, one continually comes upon anti-Semitic observations that are directed at him.) Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 45. In the course of a seventy-year career, such comments were inevitable, particularly for an opponent of the Wagnerian circle. In my reading, they were also remarkably rare.

83. See also Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 34ff.

84. Hans von Bülow to Franz Liszt, Hannover, 9 January 1854, in Marie von Bülow, ed., *Hans von Bülow: Briefe und Schriften* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899), 167. Original can be found in Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 59/10.

85. Once again, the complexity of these issues can be shown by the feelings of Edmund Singer, an observant Jew, toward Franz Liszt. Liszt was not embarrassed to send Singer a copy of his *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn*, the 1861 German edition of his *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859)—anonymously elaborated by his mistress, the notoriously anti-Semitic Princess Carolyne von Wittgenstein, and containing fulminations against the Jews worthy of Wagner, including the argument that Jews *qua* Jews are incapable of genuine creative work. Nevertheless, Singer wrote: "Franz Liszt war der toleranteste Mensch von der Welt und zeigte namentlich im Gegensatze zu Wagner und zu Bülow (der allerdings später davon abkam) keine Spur von Antisemitismus. Beweis dafür, daß Joachim, Laub, Lassen, Coßmann, Reményi . . . und sein Freund Löwy als Juden sich seiner Zuneigung und Gunst rühmen durften.—In einer späteren Auflage einer seiner Schriften hatte er, von Wagners Antisemitismus angesteckt, den Passus geschrieben, 'man müsse alle Juden nach Palästina verbannen und dort von christlichen Wächtern bewachen lassen.' Der bekanntlich sehr witzige Cellist Popper kam eines Tages nach Weimar, um Liszt zu besuchen. Liszt empfing ihn äußerst herzlich und sagte: 'Nun, lieber Popper, woher, wohin?' 'Auf der Reise nach Palästina,' lautete die Antwort Poppers, worüber sich Liszt anfangs etwas betroffen fühlte, was ihn aber nicht hinderte, sich bald darauf von Herzen darüber zu amüsieren." (Franz Liszt was the most tolerant man in the world, and, in contrast to Wagner and to Bülow, who admittedly later changed his ways, showed not a trace of anti-Semitism. This is evidenced by the fact that Joachim, Laub, Lassen, Cossmann, Reményi . . . and his friend Löwy, as Jews, could boast of his affection and favor.—In a later edition of one of his writings, infected by Wagner's anti-Semitism, Liszt had written the passage: "We should banish all Jews to Palestine, and there have them watched over by Christian guards." The famously very witty cellist Popper came one day to Weimar to visit Liszt. Liszt greeted him exceedingly cordially, and said: "So, dear Popper, whither and where?" "On the way to Palestine," replied Popper, at which Liszt was initially somewhat shocked, but it did not prevent him from laughing heartily over it soon thereafter.) Singer, "Aus meiner Künstlerlaufbahn," 315. Liszt's "affection and favor" apparently included helping Joachim overcome the anti-Semitism of others, though the specifics of this are unclear. He reportedly told August Göllerich that Mendelssohn might have wanted to go to Weimar as Hofkapellmeister, but that the Weimar Court "wollte ihn aber nicht als Israeliten" (would not have him as a Jew). "Aus demselben Grunde mußte ich später auch wegen Joachim manche Schwierigkeiten besiegen," Liszt continued. (For the same reason, I later also had to conquer many difficulties with regard to Joachim.) August Göllerich, *Franz Liszt* (Berlin: Marquardt Verlagsanstalt, 1908), 129.

86. "Als Cornelius . . . anno 1870 Joachim in München auf der Straße sah, wollte er dem einstigen Kunstgenossen, mit dem er persönlich nie den geringsten Zwist gehabt, zeigen, daß Parteigezänk seiner Verehrung keinen Eintrag tue, und schritt mit herzlichen Gebärden auf ihn zu. . . . Joachim jedoch wandte ihm kalt den Rücken und ließ ihn stehen.—Im Alter soll er sich warm über Cornelius geäußert haben." Carl Maria Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius: Der Wort- und Tondichter*, 2 vols. (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1925), 1:336n. In the second volume of this portrait of his father, Carl Maria Cornelius writes: "Die Juden als Rasse gingen auch ihm wie jedem echten Deutschen wider den Geschmack, aber dem Einzelnen wollte er sein Recht lassen. Allerdings hatte er, wie er einmal froh bekennt, 'Glück mit Juden' gehabt, das heißt er war solchen nahegetreten, die die Vorzüge ihrer Rasse in seltenem Masse vereinigten. Es ist eine stattliche Reihe mehr oder weniger sympathischer Semiten, denen er freundschaftlich verbunden war. Wenn man sie aufzählt in der Reihenfolge, wie sie seinem Herzen nahestanden, so sind natürlich zuerst Tausig, Damrosch, die Porges, Lassen, sowie Dehn zu nennen. In zweiter Linie stehen dann Joachim, Coßmann, Singer, Remenyi, Kuh, Kulke, Davidsohn und schließlich Goldmark, Altschul, Thausing, einige Ärzte wie Basch und Samuel Stern, der Schwager von Porges, sowie sein alter Berliner Gönner Schlesinger und ganz zuletzt Rubinstein. Dabei verkannte Cornelius nie die Kluft zwischen dem Juden und dem Germanen, die im Grunde unüberbrückbar ist. Er führte gern das Reimwort an: 'Jud bleibt Jud, so christlich er auch tut.' (Besser müßte es heißen: so deutsch er auch tut.) Börnes und Heines vergiftenden Einfluß hat Cornelius bei aller Achtung für ihr Talent immer sehr bitter empfunden." (The Jews as a race were distasteful to him as to every true German, but he was prepared to give individuals their due. Certainly he had had, as he once happily confessed, "luck with Jews"; that is, he had been close to some who incorporated the virtues of their race in uncommon measure. It is a grand array of more or less congenial Semites with whom he was bound in friendship. If one enumerates them in the order that they were near to his heart, then naturally one should name Tausig, Damrosch, Porges, Lassen, and Dehn. In second rank, then, stand Joachim, Cossmann, Singer, Remenyi, Kuh, Kulke, Davidsohn, and finally Goldmark, Altschul, Thausig, a few doctors like Basch and Samuel Stern, the brother-in-law of Porges, as well as the Berlin benefactor Schlesinger, and at the very end, Rubinstein. At the same time, he never misconstrued the chasm that lay between the Jew and the German, which is fundamentally unbridgeable. He liked to quote the rhyme: "A Jew remains a Jew, no matter how Christian he acts." (It would be better to say: no matter how *German* he acts. For all his respect for their talent, he was always very bitter about Börne's and Heine's poisonous influence.) Cornelius, *Peter Cornelius*, 2:86.

87. "Ein rechter Tondichter muß, wie jeder andere Dichter, überall Beziehung zum eigenen, inneren Ton seiner Seele finden, im ewigen Werden aller Dinge um sich her muß auch seine Musik erklingen—ach ich weiß recht gut, wie's sein müßte, aber noch zeigen meine Töne nur das rechte Widerspiel von dem—sie sind nicht frei genug, ihre Fesseln zu lösen, mit denen sie an dem Krankhaften in mir haften." Joseph Joachim to Gisela von Arnim, "In der Sonntag-Nacht am 3ten und 4ten [Dez. 1853]." Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:117.

88. "Joachim kannte die Schrift Das Judenthum in der Musik, in der Wagner 1850—damals noch anonym—allen Juden die Fähigkeit zu eigenschöpferischer Arbeit absprach. . . . Indem Joachim das Gefühl seines kompositorischen Unvermögens mit



seiner orientalischen Abstammung in Verbindung brachte, übernahm er Wagners Argumentation und wandte sie gegen sich selbst." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 38.

89. "Joachims weitgehendes Verstummen als Komponist." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 39.

90. Joachim, sensitive to the difference in social rank between himself and the Arnims, nevertheless maintained his innate dignity. In a letter of 23 May 1854 to Gisela's sister Armgart, he writes: "Sie nannten mich 'weniger edel' als Sie gedacht: wenn Sie mit dem Ausdruck einen Mangel an Erfahrung und Klarheit in mir bezeichnen wollten (ich bin das zu bekennen schuldig) so hatten Sie recht—wenn aber das Wesen des Adels in der rücksichtslosen Harmonie des Handelns mit unserm seelischen zustande beschafft so thaten Sie mir großer Unrecht." (You called me "less noble" than you had thought: if, by this expression, you wished to describe a lack of experience and clarity in me [I have to admit it] then you were right—but if the essence of nobility lies in the heedless harmony of action with our spiritual condition, then you did me a great injustice.) Holograph can be found in the archives of the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main, catalog no. HS-14526.

91. Borchard makes clear that she understands this in a biological sense (*Stimme und Geige*, 129). In another sense, Joachim may indeed have had misgivings about Jewish composers, arising out of Herder's commonly accepted theory that art must have its roots in the landscape and in folk culture. Joachim's friend Charles Villiers Stanford reports: "On one occasion I had a long and most interesting discussion with him about the position attained by Jews [Footnote: 'He was by descent a pure Jew, and extremely proud of it.'] in creating music (as distinct from performing it). He commented upon the curious fact that, while many like Spinoza and Heine had excelled in philosophy, literature, and science, music, which was one of their greatest gifts, did not possess one Jewish composer of the absolutely first rank, and he thought it possible that this was due to their lack of a native soil, and a folk music emanating from it." Charles Villiers Stanford, *Studies and Memories* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1908), 131.

92. "noch jung noch herb,—zu dunkel, (denn ein trauriges Jugendschicksal hat ihn schwehr bedrückt)." "Joseph Joachim ein feuriger Musiker ganz durchdrungen von Bethoven,—würde Ihr Herz mit dem ersten Bogenstrich seiner Violine für immer einnehmen, er spielt Bethoven so als hätte er ihn durchlebt, es kann es niemand in gleicher Weise. Es liegt eine Kraft eine Gewalt und doch eine so innige Wärme in seinem Ton, das es einem ist als bekäme man von einem rechten Helden so eine Wunde mitten ins Herz, und zugleich heilte es das himmlische Öl des besten Samariters mit sanfter Gluth zusammen. Er spricht nicht gewandt und geistreich, aber seine stumme Bewegung reißt zur Liebe hin—wenn er nur ins Zimmer tritt fühlt man er ist groß und gut und wo er geht und steht vom Tiefsten durchdrungen. Seine Compositionen sind herrlich—noch jung noch herb,—zu dunkel, (denn ein trauriges Jugendschicksal hat ihn schwehr bedrückt) aber der edelste Wein. Auch dieser ehrt Sie von ganzem Herzen." (Joseph Joachim, a fiery musician thoroughly steeped in Bethoven [sic], would capture your heart forever with the first bowstroke on his violin. He plays Bethoven as if he had lived him; no one else can do it that way. There is a strength, a power, and yet so deep a warmth in his tone that it is as if one were wounded by a true hero, right in the heart, and at the same time healed with a gentle fervor by the heavenly oil of the best Samaritan. He does not speak cleverly and wittily, but his silent gesture makes one love him—if he only enters a room, one feels that he is great and good, and that wherever he goes he is penetrated with the deepest [thoughts]. His



compositions are magnificent—still young, still ascerbic—too somber (for a sad youth has weighed heavily upon him)—but the noblest wine. He, too, honors you wholeheartedly.) Gisela von Arnim to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Berlin, 9 December 1858, in *Harvard Library Bulletin* 25, no. 4 (October 1977): 435–36. Holograph can be found in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

93. “Du kennst das nicht, Dir ist's viel zu licht immer, Du kennst überirdischen Trost, Du kannst weinen, Du kennst des Schmerzes Verklärung in Dir.” Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:113.

94. “Du siehst aus alledem, zum Behagen bin ich nicht geschaffen, ich bin darauf vorbereitet, in meinem ganzen Leben mit mir selbst und mit andern, wenn's sein muß, zu kämpfen. Kampf ist Leben!” Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:114.

95. “Das wird herrlich sein, wenn ich erst gar nichts anderes werde zu thun brauchen als zu componiren, und ich hoffe es soll noch solche Zeit kommen.” “Dazu kommt, daß ich auch immer zwischen Virtuosen-, Dirigenten- und Componisten-Gelüsten schwanke, und darum komme ich oft vor Anstalten, vor Entscheidungs- und Scrupeln nicht zu wirklichen Arbeiten, wie eine Hausfrau, die vor Scheuerwuth nie zu reinlich bequemer Häuslichkeit gelangt—doch von solchen zerarbeitenden, gewissenhaften Handwerkseelen weiß wohl ein verwöhntes Kind unter den Zelten nichts—oder höchstens aus den ‘Frucht- und Dornenstücken.’ Ihr glücklichen Leute, die nur der Neigung folgen dürfen.” Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:114–15. “Unter den Zelten” is a reference to the Arnim's Berlin address “Frucht und Dornenstücken” to the work of Jean Paul. Joachim owned and read the complete works of Jean Paul, having received them as an honorarium for a concert he played as a young boy. His ability to quote from Jean Paul's *Flegeljahre* was one of the things that first endeared him to Felix Mendelssohn. Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, 59.

96. Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 36ff.

97. “In diesem Zerrissenheitsgefühl glaubte Joachim die Ursache dafür gefunden zu haben, daß er sich nicht in der Lage sah, eine Musik zu komponieren, ‘die warm zu den Hörern spricht,’ so seine eigene Formulierung.” Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 37.

98. “Wenn ich all die schönen Kraft betrachte die dir der Himmel gegeben,—so thut es mir öfter leid, ich gestehe es,—das [sic] das nicht dafür angewendet ist—was dich oft ganz beglückt hätte, eigene Werke zu schaffen, wehr sieh wie viel du Arbeitskräfte hast—dem thut das leid. Diesen Sommer sagte mir der alte Professor von Sagg, ein komischer Erzfeind der jüdischen Nation—Ich will ihnen sagen ich habe mein ganzes Leben lang die Juden beobachtet sie haben einen Fehler,—sie können nicht arbeiten—wie so—ja sie zersplittern sich sie bringe etwas vor sich aber zum individuellen Arbeiten, dazu kommen sie fast nie. Ich weiß noch nicht recht was er gemeint hat, ich muß mich erst besinnen. Aber wenn ich denke das [sic] so viel an dir verlohren ist an wirklicher Vertiefung in wirkliche Arbeit—wo zu dir der Himmel zugleich auch die Kraft gegeben hat—ja thut es mir leid.” Gisela von Arnim to Joseph Joachim, ca. 1868, Freies Deutsches Hochstift, HS-10473. For all her literary acumen, Gisela was only poorly educated in the finer points of spelling and grammar.

99. “Habe ein wenig Geduld mit meiner armen Person. Der Schreiber ist noch immer nicht fertig mit der Ouverture, obwohl er sie nun schon wohl 3 Wochen hat. Ich muß sie erst hören; gefällt sie mir, so schicke ich sie Dir u. Herman [Grimm], u. willst Du

dann mit mir Juden ködern, so thu's. Weder ich noch das Werk werden dadurch schlechter werden. Ich sehne mich unbeschreiblich nach meinen Klängen—ich denke sie würden meine innere Unruhe übertönen." Joachim and Moser, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:170.

100. "Im Folgenden geht es um einen Versuch, zumindest in Grundzügen eine für die deutsche Kultur- und Musikgeschichte zentrale Traditionslinie sichtbar zu machen, die sich von Moses Mendelssohn bis zu Joseph Joachim spannt. Es geht um das wirkungsmächtige Konzept von Instrumentalmusik als 'allverstehende und allverständliche' Weltsprache ohne Worte." Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 32.

101. Borchard, *Musikwelten*, 57.

102. Thus the connection for him between music and the moral life—his conviction that ethics and aesthetics are one. As Ludwig Wittgenstein would later write: "The work of art is the object seen *sub specie aeternitatis*; and the good life is the world seen *sub specie aeternitatis*. This is the connection between art and ethics." Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Notebooks 1914–1916* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961), 83e.

103. Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 9–10.

104. Gisela von Arnim to Emerson, 9 December 1858, 435.

105. Though it is often noted that Liszt proudly wore his medals and decorations onstage, ostensibly as a means of elevating the status of musicians.















